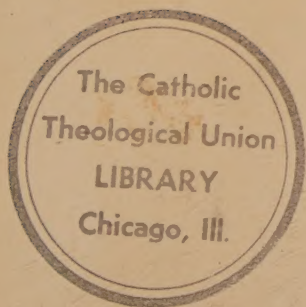


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TOTEMISM AND EXOGAMY



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Totemism and Exogamy

A Treatise on Certain Early Forms
of Superstition and Society

BY

J. G. FRAZER, D.C.L., LL.D., LITT.D., F.B.A.

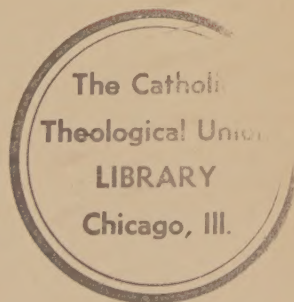
FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

PROFESSOR OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

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AN ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY
OF TOTEMISM (*Concluded*)

CHAPTER XVI

TOTEMISM IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

§ 1. *Distribution of the Totemic Tribes*

THE institution of totemism was first observed and described by Europeans among the Indian tribes of North America, and it is known to have prevailed widely, though by no means universally, among them. Within the great area now covered by the United States and Canada the system was most highly developed by the tribes to the east of the Mississippi, who lived in settled villages and cultivated the soil; it was practised by some but not all of the hunting tribes, who roamed the great western prairies,¹ and it was wholly unknown to the Californian Indians, the rudest representatives of the Redskin race in North America, who had

Totemism prevailed among the tribes to the east of the Mississippi, who lived in settled villages and tilled the soil; it was practised by some, but not all, of the

¹ On this subject Mr. James Mooney, speaking of the Arapahoes, the most westerly of the Algonkin tribes, observes: "There seems to be no possible trace of a clan or gentile system among the Arapaho, and the same remark holds good of the Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Comanche. It was once assumed that all Indian tribes had the clan system, but later research shows that it is lacking over wide areas in the western territory. It is very doubtful if it exists at all among the prairie tribes generally. Mr. Ben Clark, who has known and studied the Cheyenne for half a lifetime, states positively that they have no clans, as the term is usually understood. This agrees with the result of personal investigations and the testimony of George Bent, a

Cheyenne half-blood, and the best living authority on all that relates to his tribe. With the eastern tribes, however, and those who have removed from the east or the timbered country, as the Caddo, the gentile system is so much a part of their daily life that it is one of the first things to attract the attention of the observer" (J. Mooney, "The Ghost-dance Religion," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1896), p. 956). The absence of totemic clans among the Arapahoes is confirmed by another investigator. See A. L. Kroeber, "The Arapaho," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. xviii. Part i. (New York, 1902) p. 8.

hunting
tribes of
the western
prairies ;
and it was
wholly
unknown
to the rude
savages of
California.

made little progress in the arts of life and in particular were wholly ignorant of agriculture. Again, totemism flourishes among the Pueblo Indians of the South-West, who live in massively-built and fortified towns of brick or hewn stone and diligently till the soil, raising abundant crops of cereals and fruits, and whose ancestors even constructed canals on a large scale to irrigate and fertilise the thirsty land under the torrid skies of Arizona and New Mexico.¹ It is certainly remarkable that over this immense region, extending across America from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the institution of totemism should be found to exist and flourish among tribes which have made some progress in culture, while it is wholly absent from others which have lagged behind at a lower level of savagery. As it appears unlikely that these rude savages should have lost all traces of totemism if they had once practised it, while the system survives among their more cultured brethren, we seem driven to conclude that

¹ *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, i. (Washington, 1907) pp. 24-26, 80, 191, 809. As to the Pueblo Indians, their architecture, agriculture, and other arts of life, see H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. 526 sqq.; and below, pp. 195 sqq. Totemism appears to have been unknown among all the Indian tribes who inhabited the Pacific slope of the Rocky Mountains within the area of the United States. "The Indians west of the Rocky Mountains seem to be, on the whole, inferior to those east of that chain. In stature, strength, and activity, they are much below them. Their social organization is more imperfect. The two classes of chiefs, those who preside in time of peace, and those who direct the operations of war,—the ceremony of initiation for the young men,—the distinction of clans or totems,—and the various important festivals which exist among the eastern tribes, are unknown to those of Oregon. Their conceptions on religious subjects are of a lower cast" (H. Hale, *United States Exploring Expedition, Ethnography and Philology* (Philadelphia, 1846), p. 199). Again, George Gibbs, speaking of the tribes of Western Washington

and North-western Oregon, observes: "No division of tribes into clans is observable, nor any organization similar to the eastern tribes, neither have the Indians of this Territory emblematical distinctions resembling the totem" (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, i. (Washington, 1877) p. 184). Again, Mr. A. S. Gatschet says that the Klamath Indians of South-western Oregon "are absolutely ignorant of the gentile or clan system as prevalent among the Haida, Tlingit, and the Eastern Indians of North America" (*The Klamath Indians of South-western Oregon* (Washington, 1890), p. cvi.) (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. ii. Part i.). As to the absence of totemism among the Californian Indians, see S. Powers, *Tribes of California* (Washington, 1877), p. 5 (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. iii.); *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, i. 191. As to the Maidu, a Californian tribe, Mr. R. B. Dixon says: "No trace has been found of any gentile or totemic grouping" ("The Northern Maidu," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. xvii. Part iii. May 1905, p. 223).

among the Indians of North America totemism marks a degree of social and intellectual progress to which the more backward members of the Redskin family have not yet attained.

§ 2. *Totemism among the Iroquois*

At the time when America was discovered and for centuries afterwards the Confederacy of the Iroquois was the most powerful Indian nation to the north of Mexico. The six tribes which composed the League were perhaps inferior in the arts of life to some of the southern tribes who dwelt towards the Gulf of Mexico; but they were second to none in political organisation, statecraft, and military prowess. While they waged war, if necessary, with relentless cruelty, the aim of their confederacy was wise and statesmanlike; it was to establish a widespread peace among the surrounding tribes, extinguishing war and substituting the regular forms of civil government for the uncertainties and excesses of private feuds. According to native tradition the League was founded about the middle of the fifteenth century by the sage and benevolent chief Hiawatha, the hero of Longfellow's poem. It reached the height of its power towards the latter end of the seventeenth century, when its dominion extended over the greater parts of the present States of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, together with portions of Canada to the north of Lake Ontario. All the Iroquois tribes were sedentary and agricultural, depending on the chase for only a small part of their subsistence. Their staple food was maize. At intervals varying from ten to twenty years they shifted the sites of their towns, when the supply of fuel in the neighbourhood was exhausted and the diminished crops under their primitive mode of agriculture shewed the need of fresher soil. The use of metals was unknown to the Iroquois; they felled trees and hewed timber by means of fire and stone chisels. Their language belongs to what is called the Huron-Iroquois family, the tribes of which in historical times have occupied a long irregular area of inland territory stretching from Canada to North Carolina. The speech of all these tribes, including the Hurons, the Attiwandaronks or Neutral

The League of the Iroquois, a powerful confederacy of six tribes.

All the Iroquois tribes were sedentary and agricultural.

Nation, the Eries, and the Andastes or Conestogas, as well as the Iroquois, shewed a close affinity, and there can be little doubt that the ancestors of the tribes once dwelt together in a common home. That home, according to the traditions of all the surviving tribes, the Hurons, the Iroquois, and the Tuscaroras, was the lower valley of the St. Lawrence River.¹

The land
of the
Iroquois.

The Iroquois were first discovered by the Dutch in 1609. Till then they had dwelt enshrouded in the great forests which in those days overspread the country now comprised within the State of New York. At the time of their discovery and for about a century later the confederacy was composed of five tribes, namely the Mohawks or Caniengas, as they should properly be called, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas or rather Sonontowanas. Of these tribes, the Mohawks possessed the Mohawk River and covered Lake George and Lake Champlain with their flotillas of large canoes, which they handled with the boldness and skill of practised boatmen. West of them the Oneidas held the small river and lake which bear their name, the first in a series of beautiful lakes joined by interlacing streams like fish immeshed in nets of silver. Still further west the Onondagas, the central and in some respects the ruling tribe of the league, owned the two lakes of Onondaga and Skeneateles, together with the common outlet of this inland lake system, the Oswego River, to its issue into Lake Ontario. Still moving westward, the lines of trail and river led to the long winding reaches of Lake Cayuga, about which were clustered the towns of the tribe who gave their name to the sheet of

The
Mohawks.

The
Oneidas.

The
Onondagas.

The
Cayugas.

¹ Horatio Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites* (Philadelphia, 1883), pp. 9 sqq., 18 sqq., 50, 177 sqq.; Lewis H. Morgan, *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois* (Rochester, 1851), pp. 3 sqq., 358, 370; *id.*, *Ancient Society* (London, 1877), pp. 123 sqq.; *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, i. 615 sqq. Our principal modern authorities on the Iroquois are the two distinguished American ethnologists Lewis H. Morgan and Horatio Hale. The

former was brought into frequent intercourse with these Indians and was adopted into one of their tribes (the Senecas). Compare Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois* (Albany, 1847), pp. 44 sqq.; R. M. Beauchamp, "The Origin and Antiquity of the New York Iroquois," *The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, viii. (1886) pp. 358-366; *Archæological Report, 1898* (Toronto), pp. 54 sqq.

water ; and beyond them, over the wide expanse of hill and dale surrounding Lakes Seneca and Canandaigua, were scattered the populous villages of the Senecas. The whole of this territory between the Hudson River and Lake Eyrie, embracing the best parts of the modern State of New York, was the home country of the Iroquois as distinguished from the vast territories to north, south, east, and west which they held by the slender tenure of Indian conquest and occupied only in the season of the hunt. But New York was their hereditary country, the centre of their power, and the seat of their council-fires. Here amid the silence of the virgin forests were their villages, their fields of maize and tobacco, their fishing and hunting grounds, and the burial-places of their fathers. The Long House, to which they likened their confederacy, opened its eastern door upon the beautiful Hudson River and its western on the roar of Niagara. It was a noble patrimony, nor were they insensible of its natural and political advantages. It was their boast that they occupied the highest part of the continent. Situated on the head-waters of the Hudson, the Delaware, the Susquehanna, the Ohio, and the St. Lawrence, flowing in every direction to the sea, they held in their hands the gates of the country and could through them swoop down on any point at will ; while valleys, divided by no mountain barriers, and short portages between the upper waters of the rivers, afforded them the means of easy communication among themselves.¹

The
Senecas.

The com-
manding
situation
of the
home of the
Iroquois.

To this league of five tribes the Tuscaroras, expelled from North Carolina, were admitted as a sixth tribe in 1712, and ever afterwards they were regarded as a constituent member of the confederacy, though they were not admitted to a full equality with the older members of the league. A portion of the Oneida territory to the north of the Susquehanna River was assigned to them as their domain.²

The
Tuscaroras.

The progress in the material arts of life which the Iroquois had made at the time when they were first

¹ L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, pp. 38-41 ; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, pp. 125 sq. ; H. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, pp. 9 sq.

² L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 44.

Progress
made
by the
Iroquois
in the
material
arts.

discovered by Europeans has been concisely described by L. H. Morgan, our chief modern authority on the nation. He says: "When discovered the Iroquois were in the Lower Status of barbarism, and well advanced in the arts of life pertaining to this condition. They manufactured nets, twine, and rope from filaments of bark; wove belts and burden straps, with warp and woof, from the same materials; they manufactured earthen vessels and pipes from clay mixed with siliceous materials and hardened by fire, some of which were oramented with rude medallions; they cultivated maize, beans, squashes, and tobacco, in garden beds, and made unleavened bread from pounded maize which they boiled in earthen vessels; they tanned skins into leather with which they manufactured kilts, leggins and moccasins; they used the bow and arrow and war-club as their principal weapons; used flint stone and bone implements, wore skin garments, and were expert hunters and fishermen. They constructed long joint-tenement houses large enough to accommodate five, ten, and twenty families, and each household practised communism in living; but they were unacquainted with the use of stone or adobe-brick in house architecture, and with the use of the native metals. In mental capacity and in general advancement they were the representative branch of the Indian family north of New Mexico."¹

The large
communal
houses
of the
Iroquois.

The large communal houses of the Iroquois were constructed of bark boards fastened on a framework of wooden poles and rafters. A single house was generally from fifty to a hundred and thirty feet long by about sixteen wide, with partitions at intervals of about ten or twelve feet. Each apartment served as a separate house, having a fire in the middle and accommodating two families, one on each side of the fire. Thus a house one hundred and twenty feet long would contain ten fires and twenty families. However long the house, it never had more or less than two doors, one at each of the narrow ends. Over one of these doors was carved the totemic device or crest of the head of the family; which seems to imply, though we are not expressly told so, that only families of the same totem clan dwelt

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 69 sq.

together in a communal house. The largest villages numbered from eighty to a hundred and fifty houses with a population which, according to Morgan, probably numbered as much as three thousand souls. In ancient times the village was surrounded by a stockade, sometimes by a double or even triple palisade erected on low mounds. But as the power of the Iroquois grew, the need of fortifying their villages decreased and with it the custom.¹

Each of the six tribes which composed the Iroquois confederacy was subdivided into a number of totemic and exogamous clans. But these clans were not the same in all six tribes. Every tribe had indeed the three clans of the Wolf, the Turtle (Tortoise), and the Bear; and two tribes, namely the Mohawks (Caniengas) and Oneidas, had these three clans and no others. But the other four tribes had each eight clans, which bore different names in the different tribes. Thus the Onondagas had, in addition to the three clans already named, five other clans, namely those of the Deer, Eel, Beaver, Ball and Snipe. The Cayugas and Senecas had also eight clans, which were similar to those of the Onondagas, except that among the Cayugas the Ball clan was replaced by the Hawk clan, while among the Senecas both the Ball and the Eel clans disappear and are replaced by the Hawk clan and the Heron clan. The Tuscaroras had also eight clans, but among them the Hawk, the Heron, and the Ball clans had no place. Instead of them the Wolf clan was subdivided into two, namely the Gray Wolf and the Yellow Wolf; and the Turtle clan in like manner was subdivided into two, the Great Turtle and the Little Turtle. The Bear, Beaver, Eel, and Snipe

The
totemic
and
exogamous
clans of
the six
Iroquois
tribes.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, pp. 313-319; *id.*, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 153 note⁴. As to the crest carved on the house, Morgan's statement is that "over one of these doors was cut the tribal device of the head of the family" (*League of the Iroquois*, p. 318). By "tribal device" Morgan must mean the totem, since in this early work, as well as in his *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, he regularly uses the terms *tribe* and *tribal* in the sense in

which he afterwards used *gens* and *gentile* to designate what in this work I call the totem clan. It is to be observed that Morgan in all his writings hardly ever uses the word totem, though he very frequently referred to the thing, with which indeed probably no one was more familiar than he. This would suffice to prove how unsafe it is to argue from the absence of the word to the absence of the institution. Compare vol. ii. p. 151 note¹.

clans were found among the Tuscaroras as among the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. To put this in tabular form :—¹

IROQUOIS TRIBES AND CLANS

Tribes.	Clans.
Mohawks (Caniengas)	Bear, Wolf, Turtle (Tortoise).
Oneidas . . .	Bear, Wolf, Turtle.
Onondagas . . .	Bear, Wolf, Turtle, Deer, Beaver, Eel, Snipe, Ball.
Cayugas . . .	Bear, Wolf, Turtle, Deer, Beaver, Eel, Snipe, Hawk.
Senecas . . .	Bear, Wolf, Turtle, Deer, Beaver, Heron, Snipe, Hawk.
Tuscaroras . . .	Bear, Gray Wolf, Yellow Wolf, Great Turtle, Little Turtle, Beaver, Eel, Snipe.

Whereas all the other Iroquois tribes have eight clans each, the Mohawks and Oneidas have only three, namely the Bear, the Wolf, and the Turtle. It is uncertain whether the Mohawks and the Oneidas have lost five clans, or whether the other Iroquois tribes have gained them.

The question naturally arises, Why have the Mohawks and the Oneidas only three clans each, while all the other tribes have eight? Have the Mohawks and Oneidas lost five clans or have the other tribes gained them? The eminent ethnologist, L. H. Morgan, inclined to the former view: he thought that among the Mohawks and Oneidas five clans must have become extinct.² On the other hand the descendants of the ancient Mohawks and Oneidas affirm that their ancestors never had but three clans, the Bear, the Wolf, and the Turtle (Tortoise); and their statement is corroborated by old treaties, now in the archives of the United States, in which these clans only are mentioned. Further confirmation is supplied by the Book of Rites, a native work compiled and written in the Mohawk language about the middle of the eighteenth century; for in this book also only three clans are recognised as existing in the whole Iroquois nation at the time when the league was formed. Apparently all the towns of the nation were distributed among the three

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 70; H. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 53. Compare H. R. Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois*, pp. 128 sqq.; L. H. Morgan, *League of the*

Iroquois, pp. 79 sqq.

² L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 81; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, pp. 70, 92.

primary clans of the Bear, the Wolf, and the Turtle (Tortoise); if the other clans existed at all, it would seem that they did so merely as septs or subdivisions of the other three.¹ That the Iroquois clans have a tendency to split up appears to be shewn by the clans of the Tuscaroras, of which the Gray Wolf and the Yellow Wolf seem clearly to be subdivisions of an original Wolf clan, and the Great Turtle and the Little Turtle to be in like manner subdivisions of an original Turtle clan. And one of the subdivisions which has actually taken place among the Tuscaroras appears to be nascent among the Onondagas; for with them the Turtle clan includes two septs called respectively the Great Turtle and the Little Turtle, though as yet these septs are reckoned to form but one clan.² On this analogy we should infer that in the Iroquois tribes which have more than three clans the additional clans have been produced, not by amalgamation but by segmentation. According to a tradition of the Seneca Iroquois, the Bear and the Deer were their original clans, and all the rest were subdivisions of them.³ However, it is quite possible, as Horatio Hale inclined to think, that the additional clans were imported by captive members of foreign tribes, whom the Iroquois incorporated among themselves, either adopting them directly into their own families and clans or more commonly allowing them for a time to remain in separate towns, but treating them as Iroquois. In such cases constant intercourse and frequent intermarriage would soon obliterate all traces of alien origin, while the distinction of clan-ship might survive.⁴

It is no longer possible to attribute the institution of these totemic clans to the sagacity of savage law-givers who devised and created them for the purpose of knitting

The totemic clans, being

¹ H. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 54; as to the history of the "Book of Rites" see *id.* pp. 39 sqq. Early French writers seem to mention only the clans of the Bear, the Wolf, and the Turtle among the Iroquois. See *Relations des Jésuites*, 1647, p. 38 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858); Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains* (Paris, 1724), i. 94, 464; Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), v. 393 sq. The

last of these writers says that the clan of the Turtle was divided into two, the Great Turtle and the Little Turtle.

² H. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 53 note ².

³ L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 80; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 91.

⁴ H. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, pp. 54 sq.

distributed
between
the various
tribes of
the League,
formed a
bond of
union
between
them.

together the various tribes by the ties of marriage and consanguinity. Yet that the subdivision of the whole community into clans had this effect is undeniable. For the members of any one clan, to whatever tribe they belonged, looked upon each other as brothers, and thus all the clans were linked together by bonds of real or imaginary kinship. For example, a Mohawk of the Wolf clan regarded a Seneca of the Wolf clan as his brother; and similarly an Oneida of the Turtle clan welcomed as a brother a Turtle man of the Cayuga or the Onondaga tribe. When a man of one tribe visited a village of another, he was entitled to be received by members of his clan with the same rites of hospitality which he might expect at home. If he was a Bear man, he went to a hut which bore the badge of the Bear, and there he was hailed as a brother. And similarly with members of all the other totem clans. In the eyes of an Iroquois, we are told, every member of his own totem clan, in whatever tribe he might be found, was as much his brother or his sister as if they had been born of the same mother. This cross-relationship between members of the same clan in different tribes was, if possible, even stronger than the relationship between members of the same tribe.¹

Exogamy
of the
Iroquois
clans.

Regarding all the women of his own clan as his sisters, a man was naturally forbidden to marry any of them. In other words the Iroquois clans were exogamous. "Theory at this time," says Schoolcraft, "founded doubtless on actual consanguinity in their inceptive age, makes these clans brothers. It is contrary to their usages that near kindred should intermarry, and the ancient rule interdicts all intermarriage between persons of the same clan. They must marry into a clan whose totem is different from their own. A wolf or turtle male cannot marry a wolf or turtle female. There is an interdict of consanguinity. By this custom the purity of blood is preserved, while the tie of relationship between the clan themselves is strengthened or enlarged."²

¹ L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, pp. 81 sq.; H. R. Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois*, pp. 128, 130 sq.; H. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, pp. 52 sq.

² H. R. Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois*, p. 128. How "the purity of blood is preserved" by insisting that it must always be mixed with another, is not perfectly clear.

But marriage among the Iroquois was not regulated merely by the simple rule that a man might not marry a woman of his own clan but might marry a woman of any other. In tribes which were subdivided into eight clans, these clans were distributed in two groups, and the rule was that no man might marry a woman of any of the clans in his own group; but he might marry a woman of any clan in the other group. Thus the two groups of clans formed what among the Australian aborigines we are accustomed to call exogamous classes or phratries. Morgan's original account of these Iroquois classes or phratries is as follows. He says that in each tribe or, as he calls it, nation there were eight clans or, as he at first called them, tribes, arranged in two divisions and named as follows:—

1. Wolf	Bear	Beaver	Turtle.
2. Deer	Snipe	Heron	Hawk.

Further, the Iroquois clans were grouped in two exogamous phratries.

Originally, he tells us, the four clans of the first division, namely the Wolf, Bear, Beaver, and Turtle (Tortoise), being brothers, were not allowed to marry among themselves. For a similar reason the four clans of the second division, namely the Deer, Snipe, Heron, and Hawk, were in like manner forbidden to marry among themselves. Any of the first four clans, however, was free to intermarry with any of the second four, "the relation between them being that of cousins. Thus Hawk could intermarry with Bear or Beaver, Heron with Turtle; but not Beaver and Turtle, nor Deer and Deer. Whoever violated these laws of marriage incurred the deepest detestation and disgrace." In process of time, however, says Morgan, the rigour of the system was relaxed, until finally the prohibition was confined to the clan of the individual, which, among the residue of the Iroquois is still religiously observed. They may now marry into any clan but their own. Under the original as well as modern regulation the husband and wife were of different clans. The children always belonged to the clan of their mother.¹

But we have seen that the number and names of the Iroquois clans varied in the tribes, and accordingly the

¹ L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, pp. 79, 83.

List of the
phratries
and clans
in the
various
Iroquois
tribes.

grouping of the clans in exogamous classes or phratries within the tribe varied also. These variations have been recorded by Morgan in his later work, *Ancient Society*. From it we learn that in the different tribes the phratries or classes were composed as follows :—¹

Tribes.	Phratries and Clans.	
Seneca . .	First Phratry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bear 2. Wolf 3. Beaver 4. Turtle (Tortoise)
Cayuga . .	First Phratry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bear 2. Wolf 3. Turtle (Tortoise) 4. Snipe 5. Eel
Onondaga . .	First Phratry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Wolf 2. Turtle (Tortoise) 3. Snipe 4. Beaver 5. Ball
Tuscarora . .	First Phratry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bear 2. Beaver 3. Great Turtle (Tortoise) 4. Eel
	Second Phratry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Gray Wolf 6. Yellow Wolf 7. Little Turtle (Tortoise) 8. Snipe

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 90-93.

The two remaining Iroquois tribes, the Mohawks and Oneidas, had only three clans (the Bear, the Wolf, and the Turtle or Tortoise) and no phratries. It is doubtful, as we saw,¹ whether these tribes once had other clans and have lost them or whether they never had more than three. If the original organisation of the Mohawks and Oneidas resembled that of the other Iroquois tribes and consisted of eight clans arranged in two phratries, we must conclude that in the course of time the Mohawks and Oneidas have both lost a whole phratry and one clan of the remaining phratry besides. If on the other hand the Mohawks and Oneidas never had more than the three clans which are common to all the other four Iroquois tribes, it would seem to follow that in these four other tribes the five additional clans and their arrangement in two phratries are later modifications of the original tribal constitution. Which of these two views is the true one, the evidence at our disposal seems insufficient to decide.²

Each Iroquois clan, and apparently as a rule each clan of any Indian tribe, had personal names for its members which were its special property and might not be used by other clans of the same tribe. These names either proclaimed by their significance the clan to which they belonged or were known by common reputation to belong to such and such a clan. When a child was born, the mother chose its name, with the concurrence of her nearest relations, from the list of names belonging to the clan which happened at the time not to be in use. But the child was not deemed to be fully named until its birth and name, together with the name and clan of its mother and the name of its father, had been announced at the next ensuing council of the tribe. When a person died, his name could not be used again in the lifetime of his oldest surviving son without the consent of the latter. Two classes of names were in use, one adapted to childhood, and the other to adult life, and the two names were exchanged at the proper period in the same formal manner, one being taken away, to use the Indian expression, and the other bestowed in its place. This exchange of names took place at the age of sixteen or eighteen, the

The Mohawks and Oneidas have no phratries.

Each Iroquois clan had personal names for its members, which were the property of the clan. There were two classes of names, the childhood names and the adult names.

¹ Above, pp. 8 *sq.*

² L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 92.

ceremony being performed by the chief of the clan. At the next council meeting of the tribe the change of names was publicly proclaimed ; and if the person was a male he thereupon entered on the duties of manhood. A person who had the control of a particular name, as, for example, the eldest son controlled the name of his deceased father, might lend the name to a friend in another clan ; but after the death of the friend the name reverted to the clan to which it properly belonged.¹

Among the Iroquois the totemic clan, property, titles, and rights of every sort were inherited in the female line by children from their mother, not from their father. Influence of women.

Among the Iroquois the totemic clan, as well as property, titles, and rights of every sort, passed by inheritance in the female line from the mother, not from the father, to the children. Speaking of the Indians of Canada, particularly, it would seem, of the Iroquois and Hurons, Charlevoix observes that "children belong only to the mother and recognise none but her. The father is always like a stranger with regard to them, but so that if he is not considered as father he is nevertheless respected as the master of the hut."² Still more emphatically and perhaps with some exaggeration Lafitau writes that "nothing is more real than this superiority of the women. It is in the women that properly consists the nation, the nobility of blood, the genealogical tree, the order of the generations, the preservation of the families. It is in them that all real authority resides ; the country, the fields, and all their crops belong to them. They are the soul of the councils, the arbiters of peace and war ; they keep the purse or public treasury : it is to them that slaves are given : they make the marriages : the children are in their domain, and it is in their blood that the order of succession is founded. The men, on the contrary, are entirely isolated and limited to themselves, their children are strangers to them, with them everything perishes, it is only the woman who raises up the house ; whereas if there are only men in the house, however numerous they may be, and however numerous their children, their family is extinguished. . . . Marriages are contracted in such a way that husband and wife never quit their own family and their own house to make one family and one house by themselves. Each

Husband and wife did not live together.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 78 sq.

² Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), v. 424.

remains in his or her own home, and the children born of these marriages belong to the women who bore them; they are reckoned to the house and family of the wife and not to those of the husband. The husband's goods do not pass to his wife's house, to which he is himself a stranger; and in the wife's house the daughters are reckoned the heiresses in preference to the males, because the males have nothing there but their subsistence."¹ Hence among the Iroquois a man's son was perpetually disinherited: he belonged to his mother's clan and tribe: he could never succeed to his father's property, titles, or office. If, for example, an Onondaga man of the Wolf clan married an Onondaga woman of the Deer clan, their children were all Deer, not Wolves. If a Seneca man of the Bear clan married a Cayuga woman of the Beaver clan, the children were all Cayugas and Beavers, not Senecas and Bears. The same rule regulated the hereditary transmission of the sachemship or office of high chief. When the League of the Iroquois was at its height, it was governed by fifty sachems or high chiefs, whose office was hereditary, whose powers and dignities were equal, and whose jurisdiction was not limited territorially but was coextensive with the League. Of these fifty sachems the Onondagas contributed fourteen, the Cayugas ten, the Mohawks nine, the Oneidas nine, and the Senecas eight. On account of the prevalence of mother-kin among the Iroquois the sachemship was inherited not by the sachem's son but by his brother, or by the son of his sister. According to Schoolcraft, the brother inherited first, and only in default of brothers did the sister's son succeed. According to L. H. Morgan, a better authority, there was no preference for a brother over a sister's son nor any rule of primogeniture either among brothers or among the sons of sisters. Any brother or sister's son might succeed to the sachemship, but he had to be elected or "raised up," as the phrase was, to the office from among the eligible kinsmen by the council of all the other sachems. Thus the office of

The fifty sachemships (the principal chieftainships) of the Iroquois descended in the female line from a man to his brothers and to his sisters' children.

¹ Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains* (Paris, 1724), i. 71-73. The writer seems here to refer especially to the Iroquois and Hurons.

We may compare a similar state of things in some parts of Sumatra. See above, vol. ii. pp. 193 *seqq.*

Property
in like
manner
descended
in the
female line.

sachem was both hereditary and elective ; yet the rule of heredity was absolute. Once a sachemship had been assigned to a particular totem clan, it might never pass out of it but with the extinction of the clan itself. Hence if, for example, a sachemship had been assigned to the Deer clan of the Cayuga tribe at the original distribution of these offices, it would descend from Deer to Deer in the female line for ever, so long as the Deer clan existed ; but the son of a Deer sachem could never inherit his father's office, since he was never of his father's but always of his mother's totem. The descent of property was similar. Whatever a woman acquired or inherited she could dispose of at her pleasure in her lifetime, and at her death it was inherited by her children. What a man acquired or inherited he might in like manner dispose of in his lifetime ; if he thus bestowed land or property on his wife or children in the presence of a witness, she or they were allowed to hold it. But if he did not dispose of his property in his lifetime, it could not be inherited by his children at his death ; for his children were not of his totem, and it was a law of the Iroquois that property could not pass by descent out of the totem clan.¹

The
Iroquois
phratry
existed for
social and
religious
purposes.

Among the Iroquois, we are told, the phratry existed partly for social and partly for religious objects. In the game of ball, for example, the Senecas played by phratries, one phratry against the other, and they betted against each other upon the result of the game.² At a council of the tribe the sachems and lower chiefs in each phratry seated themselves on opposite sides of an imaginary council-fire, and the speakers addressed the two opposite bodies as representatives of the phratries.³ Again, when a man of one clan had murdered a man of another clan, the clan of the victim used to meet in council to concert measures for avenging his death ; while the clan of the murderer also met in council in order to procure a condonation of the crime. But if the two clans belonged to opposite phratries, then the clan to which the slayer belonged might call on the other clans of its

Function
of the
phratries in
cases of
homicide.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, pp. 62 sq., 83-85, 87 sq., 90 sq., 325 sqq. ; H. R. Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois*, pp. 128 sq.

² L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 94.

³ L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 95.

phratry to unite with it in its efforts to effect a peaceful settlement. For that purpose the phratry would meet in council and send delegates with a belt of white wampum to the council of the victim's phratry requesting them to use their good offices in the cause of peace, and offering apologies and compensation to the family and clan of the murdered man. These negotiations between the councils of the two phratries continued until a decision one way or another was arrived at.¹ Again, at the funerals of eminent persons the organisation in phratries played an important part. For while the phratry of the deceased in a body were the mourners, the ceremonies were conducted by members of the opposite phratry. If it was a sachem who had died, it was usual for the opposite phratry to send, immediately after the funeral, the official wampum belt of the deceased ruler to the central council fire at Onondaga as a notification of his death. There the belt remained till the successor was installed, when it was bestowed on him as a badge of office. When the Seneca sachem Handsome Lake died, the customary address to the dead body and the other addresses before the removal of the corpse were delivered by members of the phratry to which the dead chief did not belong; and it was by men chosen from that phratry, and not from his own, that his mortal remains were borne to their last resting-place.² Further, the phratry was directly concerned in the election both of sachems and of the inferior chiefs. After the clan of a deceased sachem or of an inferior chief had elected his successor, it was necessary that their choice should be accepted and ratified by both phratries. It was expected that the other clans of the same phratry would confirm the choice almost as a matter of course; but the other phratry must also assent. Accordingly a council of each phratry met; and if either of them rejected the nomination of the clan, that nomination was set aside, and the clan had to make a fresh one. Even after the choice of the clan had been accepted by both phratries, it was still necessary that the new sachem or the new chief should be inducted into his sachemship or his chieftainship by the

Function
of the
phratries
at funerals.

Function
of the
phratries at
the election
of sachems
and chiefs.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 95.

² L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* pp. 95 sq.

Medicine
Lodges
of the
phratries.

council of the whole confederacy, which alone had power to invest with office. This federal council was composed of the fifty hereditary and elective sachems.¹ Lastly, the Seneca Iroquois used to have two Medicine Lodges, as they were called, one in each phratry. To hold a Medicine Lodge was to observe their highest religious rites and to practise their deepest religious mysteries. But very little is now known concerning these lodges and their ceremonies. Each was a brotherhood, into which new members were admitted by a formal initiation.²

Little is
known
of the
religious
aspect of
totemism
among the
Iroquois.

While we thus possess some authentic information as to the social aspect of totemism among the Iroquois, very little is known of its religious or superstitious side. So far as I know, we are not even told whether people might or might not kill and eat their totem animals. According to L. H. Morgan, it can scarcely be said that any Indian clan had special religious rites; the six annual religious festivals of the Iroquois which he mentions were common to all the clans of the tribe, and were therefore not totemic but tribal.³ According to one account, the Iroquois professed to be descended from their three great totems, the turtle or tortoise, the bear, and the wolf; and of these animal ancestors the turtle was deemed the most honourable.⁴

The Turtle
or Tortoise
clan is said
to be
descended
from a real
turtle.

The mode in which the Turtle or Tortoise clan originated is said to have been as follows. In early days many mud turtles lived in a pool, but one hot summer the pool dried up, so the turtles had to set out to find another. One very fat turtle waddling in the great heat was much incommoded by his shell, which blistered his shoulders as he walked. At

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 97, 129. The federal council, consisting of the fifty sachems, assembled periodically, usually in autumn, at Onondaga, which was in effect the seat of government, to legislate for the commonweal. It declared war and made peace, sent and received embassies, entered into treaties of alliance, regulated the affairs of subject nations, and in a word took all needful measures to promote the prosperity and enlarge the dominion of the League. See L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, pp. 62-67.

² L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 97.

³ L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* pp. 81 sq. The six festivals were the Maple festival, the Planting festival, the Strawberry festival, the Green Corn festival, the Harvest festival, and the New Year's festival. For a description of these festivals, see L. H. Morgan, *The League of the Iroquois*, pp. 182 sqq.

⁴ Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York* (London, 1823), iv. 184, 185.

last by a convulsive effort he made a shift to heave it off altogether, after which he developed into a man and became the progenitor of the Turtle clan.¹

The Iroquois, like their kindred the Hurons, were very scrupulous with regard to the prohibited degrees of kinship: among them only those persons might marry each other between whom no relationship could be traced; even the artificial relationship created by adoption constituted a bar to marriage.² In these respects they resemble the greater part of the tribes of American Indians, among whom the rules barring the intermarriage of blood relations are very stringent.³ On the other hand there are no such restrictions laid on relatives by marriage after the death of a husband or wife.⁴ On the contrary, when a husband died, his brother was bound to marry the widow; and conversely, when his wife died, a man was bound to marry either her sister or, in default of a sister, such other woman as the family of his deceased wife might provide for him. The intention of these customs, we are told, was to raise up offspring to the dead. A man who should refuse to marry his deceased wife's sister would, we are told, expose himself to all the abuse and vituperation which the insulted woman chose to heap upon his devoted head; and this torrent of invective, conscious of his delinquency, he had to submit to in silence and with as good a grace as he could command.⁵

The Iroquois, like many, if not all the other nations of North American Indians, possess the classificatory system of relationship. Indeed the existence of that system, which is now known to prevail among so many races, was detected for the first time by the great American ethnologist Lewis H. Morgan in the Seneca tribe of Iroquois, with whom he lived as an adopted member of the tribe. At first he regarded the system as an invention of the Iroquois and

The rules forbidding marriage between persons near of kin were strictly observed by the Iroquois. But a woman was bound to marry her deceased husband's brother, and a man was bound to marry his deceased wife's sister.

The classificatory system of relationship was first discovered by L. H. Morgan in the Seneca tribe of Iroquois.

¹ E. A. Smith, "Myths of the Iroquois," *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1883), p. 77.

² Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains* (Paris, 1724), i. 558 sq.; Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), v. 419.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Con-*

sanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family (Washington, 1871), p. 164 (*Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. xvii.).

⁴ L. H. Morgan, *l.c.*

⁵ Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, v. 419; compare Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains*, i. 560.

Afterwards Morgan found the classificatory system among many other tribes of North American Indians and among many other peoples of the world. peculiar to them; but afterwards to his surprise he found the same elaborate and complicated classification of kindred among the Ojibways, a tribe of Indians of the Algonkin stock, who differ both in blood and language from the Iroquois. The discovery led him to extend his enquiries, chiefly by personal investigation, among the other Indian tribes from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains and from the Arctic Sea to the Gulf of Mexico; and the result was to prove that the many Indian nations scattered over this wide area, and speaking different languages or different dialects of the same language, all possess the classificatory system of relationship in fundamentally the same form, though the terms designating the various relationships differ with the language or the dialect of the tribe. Still further extending the scope of the enquiry, Morgan collected by means of printed circulars a large body of information as to the systems of relationship prevalent in Asia and the islands of the Pacific; and he was thus able to demonstrate that the classificatory system is still in use at the present day certainly among a very large part, and perhaps among the largest part, of the population of the globe. It is true that his enquiries elicited little or no response from Mexico, Central America, South America, and Africa; but subsequent research has made it probable that in Africa at least the same system is widespread among the many nations of the great Bantu stock.¹ As the classificatory system of relationship is intimately bound up with, if it did not originate in, the custom of exogamy, with which we are concerned in this work, it may be well to describe the Iroquois form of the system somewhat fully; both because the Iroquois form is typical of that which prevails among all the other American Indian tribes whose systems of relationship have been examined, and also because it possesses a special interest in having been the first example of the

Account of the classificatory system of relationship among the Iroquois.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, pp. 3 *sqq.* As to the evidence for the prevalence of the classificatory system in Africa, see above, vol. ii. pp. 386 *sqq.*, 401, 416 *sq.*, 444 *sq.*, 509 *sqq.*, 575 *sq.*, 615, 639 *sq.* It is to be observed that Morgan appears to have

collected no evidence of the prevalence of the classificatory system among the Indian tribes of California; and, as we have seen (p. 2, note), among these tribes totemism also is apparently absent. The coincidence, if it is such, can hardly be accidental. But to this subject we shall return later on.

institution which attracted the attention of scientific enquirers. In describing it I shall reproduce the exposition of its discoverer, L. H. Morgan, to some extent in his own words. The terms of relationship here given are those in use among the Seneca tribe of the Iroquois. They differ for the most part only dialectically from those in use among the other tribes of the confederacy.¹

It is characteristic of the Iroquois as of most other forms of the classificatory system that it has separate terms for elder brother and younger brother, for elder sister and younger sister, but no term for brother in general or for sister in general, though there is a compound term in the plural number and in the common gender for brothers and sisters in general.² This careful discrimination of elder brother from younger brother, and of elder sister from younger sister, proves that the distinction between the senior and the junior branches of the family must have been deemed very important at the time when the classificatory system was instituted or took shape. A suggestion as to the origin of the distinction has already been offered.³

In the classificatory system Morgan distinguishes certain features which he calls indicative. They are those, he says, which determine the character of the system, and to which the rest may be regarded as subordinate. In the Iroquois form of the system the following are the indicative features:—

Different terms for elder and younger brother and sister.

Indicative features of the classificatory system.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, pp. 154 sqq.; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, pp. 436 sqq. A brief notice of the system had been given by the author in his early book, *League of the Iroquois* (Rochester, 1851), pp. 85-87, before he was aware of the wide prevalence and far-reaching importance of the institution.

² L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, pp. 154 sq.; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 437. The terms in question are these:—

My elder brother	. <i>Hā'-je</i>
My younger brother	. <i>Hā'-gā</i>
My elder sister	. <i>Ah'-jē</i>
My younger sister	. <i>Kā'-gā</i> .

In all these terms the first syllable

(*Hā*, *Hā'*, *Ah'*, *Kā'*) appears to be the possessive pronoun "my." See L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 132, 137. If that is so, it would seem that the word for younger brother (*gā*) is also the word for younger sister, and that the word for elder brother (*je*) differs but little from the word for elder sister (*jē*). In not a few forms of the classificatory system, whereas there are different terms for elder brother and elder sister, there is only one term for younger brother and younger sister. Examples have met us in the course of this work. In the spelling of Indian terms of relationship *ā* is the long *a* as in *father*. Morgan represents it by *ā*, which I have altered throughout. The *a* has the sound of *a* in *ale*, *mate*.

³ See above, vol. i. pp. 179 sqq.

1. I, being a male, call my brother's children my children.

1. In the male branch of the first collateral line, myself being a male, I call my brother's son and daughter my son and daughter, *Ha-ah'-wuk* and *Ka-ah'-wuk*; and each of them calls me father, *Hā'-nih*. This is the first indicative feature of the system. It places my brother's children in the same category with my own children. Each of their sons and daughters I call severally my grandson and granddaughter, *Ha-yā'-da* and *Ka-yā'-da*, and they call me grandfather, *Hoc-sote*. The relationships here given are those which are actually recognised; the terms of relationship are those which are actually applied: no others are known.¹

2. I, being a male, call my sister's children my nephews and nieces.

2. In the female branch of the first collateral line, myself being still a male, I call my sister's son and daughter my nephew and niece, *Ha-yā'-wan-da* and *Ka-yā'-wan-da*; and each of them calls me uncle, *Hoc-no'-seh*. This is the second indicative feature. It restricts the relationships of nephew and niece to the children of a man's sisters, to the exclusion of the children of his brothers. The son and daughter of this nephew and of this niece are not, as might have been expected, my grand-nephew and grand-niece; they are my grandson and granddaughter; and they call me grandfather. This, however we may explain it, is characteristic of the classificatory system; under it the several collateral lines, in their several branches, are ultimately merged in the lineal line.²

I, being a female, call my brother's children my nephews and nieces, and I call my sister's children my children.

If now the speaker is a female, then in the male branch of the first collateral line I call my brother's son and daughter my nephew and niece, *Ha-soh'-neh* and *Ka-soh'-neh*; and each of them calls me aunt, *Ah-gā'-huc*. It will be noticed that the terms for nephew and niece which are used by females are quite different from those which are used by males. The son and daughter of this nephew and niece are not, as might have been expected, my grand-nephew and grand-niece; they are my grandson and granddaughter, *Ha-yā'-da* and *Ka-yā'-da*; and each of them calls me grandmother, *Oc'-Sote*.

Again, the speaker being still a female, in the female

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 155; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 437.

² L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 145, 156; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 438.

branch of the first collateral line I call my sister's son and daughter my son and daughter, *Ha-ah'-wuk* and *Ka-ah'-wuk*; and each of them calls me mother, *No-yeh'*. The children of this son and daughter are my grandchildren; and each of them calls me grandmother, *Oc'-sote*.¹

3. In the male branch of the second collateral line, on the father's side, myself being a male, I call my father's brother my father, *Ha'-nih*; and he calls me his son. This is the third indicative feature of the system. It places all of several brothers in the relation of a father to the children of each other.²

4. My father's brother's son is my elder or younger brother; if he is older than myself I call him my elder brother, *Ha'-je*, and he calls me his younger brother, *Ha'-gã*; if he is younger than me, these terms are reversed. Similarly, my father's brother's daughter is my elder or younger sister; if she is older than myself I call her my elder sister, *Ah'-je*, and she calls me her younger brother, *Ha'-gã*; if she is younger than me, I call her my younger sister, *Ka'-gã*, and she calls me her elder brother. This is the fourth indicative feature. It creates the relationship of brother and sister amongst the children of several brothers. Such brothers and sisters, to distinguish them from own brothers and sisters, may conveniently be called collateral brothers and sisters. The children of these collateral brothers, myself being a male, are my sons and daughters (*Ha-ah'-wuk* and *Ka-ah'-wuk*), and they call me father; their children are my grandchildren, and they call me grandfather. On the other hand, the children of my collateral sisters are not my children but my nephews and nieces (*Ha-yã'-wan-da* and *Ka-yã'-wan-da*), and they call me uncle; but the children of these nephews and nieces are my grandchildren, and they call me grandfather. It is thus that the classificatory system by its nomenclature brings back the divergent collateral lines into the direct lineal line. If I the speaker am a female, then the children of my collateral brothers are my nephews and nieces, and the children of my collateral sisters are my sons and daughters;

3. I call my father's brother my father.

4. I call my father's brother's children my brothers and sisters.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 156; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 438.

² L. H. Morgan, *ll. cc.*

but the children of these nephews and nieces and of these sons and daughters are all alike my grandchildren, the classificatory system merging as usual all these collateral relations in the direct lineal line.¹

5. I call
my father's
sister my
aunt.

5. In the female branch of the second collateral line, myself being a male, my father's sister is my aunt (*Ah-ga'-huc*), and she calls me her nephew. This is the fifth indicative feature of the system. It restricts the relationship of aunt to the sisters of my father and to the sisters of such other persons as stand to me in the relation of a father, to the exclusion of my mother's sisters. My father's sister's children are my cousins (*Ah-gare'-seh*, singular), and they call me cousin. With myself a male, the children of my male cousins are my sons and daughters, and they call me father, but the children of my female cousins are my nephews and nieces, and they call me uncle. With myself a female, these relationships are reversed: the children of my male cousins are my nephews and nieces, and they call me aunt, but the children of my female cousins are my sons and daughters, and they call me mother. All the children of these sons and daughters and nephews and nieces are alike my grandchildren, whether I am a male or a female, the classificatory system as usual bringing back the divergent collateral lines into the direct lineal line.²

6. I call my
mother's
brother my
uncle.

6. On the mother's side in the second collateral line, myself a male, my mother's brother is my uncle (*Hoc-no-sch*), and he calls me his nephew. This is the sixth indicative feature. It restricts the relationship of uncle to my mother's brothers, own and collateral, to the exclusion of my father's brothers; but it at the same time includes the brothers of all other women who stand to me in the relation of a mother. With myself a male, the children of my mother's brother are my cousins (*Ah-gäre'-sch*); the children of my male cousins are my sons and daughters, and they call me father, but the children of my female cousins are my nephews and nieces, and they call me uncle. With myself a female, these last relationships are reversed: the children of my

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 156 sq.; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, pp. 438 sq.

² L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 157 sq.; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 439.

male cousins are my nephews and nieces, and they call me aunt, but the children of my female cousins are my sons and daughters, and they call me mother. The children of all these sons and daughters and nephews and nieces, whether I am a male or a female, are alike my grandchildren, the classificatory system as usual bringing back the divergent collateral lines into the direct lineal line.¹

The relationship of uncle, that is, of the mother's brother, is in some respects the most important in Indian society, for the uncle is invested with authority over his nephews and nieces, the children of his sister. For practical purposes, indeed, he has more authority over them than their own father. For example, among the Choctaws, if a boy is to be placed at school, it is his uncle and not his father who takes him to the school and makes the arrangements. Among the Winnebagoes, a maternal uncle may require services of a nephew or administer correction, which the boy's own father would neither ask nor attempt. Similarly with the Iowas and Ottoes an uncle may appropriate to his own use his nephew's horse or gun or other personal property without being questioned, which the sufferer's own father would have no recognised right to do. Over his nieces the authority of the uncle, we are told, is still more significant on account of his participation in their marriage contracts, which in many Indian nations carry with them presents. In America, as in many other parts of the world, this authority of the maternal uncle over his nephews and nieces is founded on the principle of female kinship, in accordance with which a man's heirs are not his own but his sister's children.²

7. In the female branch of the second collateral line my mother's sister is my mother, *Noh-yeh'*, and she calls me her son. This is the seventh indicative feature of the system. It places all of several sisters, own and collateral, in the relation of a mother to the children of each other.³

8. My mother's sister's children are my brothers and

Importance of the mother's brother in Indian society; his authority over his sister's children is greater than that of their father.

7. I call my mother's sister my mother.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 158; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 439.

³ L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 158; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 439.

² L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Con-*

8. I call my mother's sister's children my brothers and sisters. sisters, elder or younger. This is the eighth indicative feature. It establishes the relationship of brother and sister among the children of sisters. The children of these collateral brothers are my sons and daughters, *Ha-ah'-wuk* and *Ka-ah'-wuk*, and they call me father; their children are my grandchildren, and they call me grandfather. But the children of these collateral sisters are my nephews and nieces (*Ha-yă'-wan-da* and *Ka-yă'-wan-da*), and they call me uncle; nevertheless their children are not my grand-nephew and grand-niece, but my grandchildren, and they call me grandfather. It is thus that the classificatory system merges the collateral lines in the direct lineal line. With myself a female, the relationships of the children of collateral brothers and sisters are reversed, as in previous cases: that is, the children of my collateral brothers are my nephews and nieces; the children of my collateral sisters are my children; and the grandchildren of both my collateral brothers and my collateral sisters are all alike my grandchildren, the classificatory system as usual merging the collateral lines in the direct lineal line.¹

9. I call my father's father's brother my grandfather, and he calls me his grandson. 9. In the third collateral line my father's father's brother is my grandfather (*Hoc'-sote*), and calls me his grandson. This is the ninth and last indicative feature. It places these brothers of my paternal grandfather in the relation of grandfathers to me, and thus prevents collateral ascendants from passing beyond this relationship. The principle which merges the collateral lines in the lineal line works upward as well as downward. The son of such a collateral grandfather is my father (*Ha'-nih*), and calls me his son; the children of this collateral father are my brothers and sisters; the children of these collateral brothers are my sons and daughters; the children of these collateral sisters are my nephews and nieces; and the children of these collateral sons and daughters, nephews and nieces are all alike my grandchildren, the classificatory system as usual merging the collateral lines in the direct lineal line. With myself a female, my relations to the children of my collateral brothers and sisters are reversed as in previous cases: that

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 158 sq.; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, pp. 439 sq.

is, the children of my collateral brothers are my nephews and nieces ; the children of my collateral sisters are my sons and daughters ; but the children of these collateral sons and daughters, nephews and nieces, are all alike my grandchildren.¹ "These relationships," says their discoverer, L. H. Morgan, "so novel and original, did not exist simply in theory, but were actual, and of constant recognition, and lay at the foundation of their political, as well as social organization."²

To recapitulate some of the cardinal relationships in the Seneca-Iroquois form of the classificatory system. In the generation above his own a man applies the same term *Hâ-nih*, "my father," to his own father and to his father's brothers ; and he applies the same term *No-ye'h'*, "my mother," to his own mother and to his mother's sisters. In his own generation he applies the same term *Hâ-je*, "my elder brother," to his own elder brothers and to his elder male cousins, the sons either of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters ; and he applies the same term *Ha'gă*, "my younger brother," to his own younger brothers and to his younger male cousins, the sons either of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters. Similarly, in his own generation he applies the same term *Ah'-je*, "my elder sister," to his own elder sisters and to his elder female cousins, the daughters either of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters ; and he applies the same term *Ka'-gă*, "my younger sister," to his own younger sisters and to his younger female cousins, the daughters either of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters. In the generation below his own he applies the same term *Ha-ah'-wuk*, "my son," to his own sons, to his brothers' sons, and also to certain of his cousins' sons, namely, to the sons either of his father's brothers' sons or of his mother's sisters' sons. Similarly,

Recapitulation of the cardinal relationships in the Seneca-Iroquois form of the classificatory system.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 161 ; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 440. In the former of these works Morgan stated as the ninth indicative feature that "the first collateral line in its two branches, and the second in its four branches, are finally brought into and merged in the lineal line ; and the

same will hereafter be found to be the case with each of the remaining collateral lines as far as the fact of consanguinity can be traced" (*Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 159 sq.). But this he omitted in his later work *Ancient Society*.

² L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 87.

in the generation below his own he applies the same term *Ka-ah'-wuk*, "my daughter," to his own daughters, to his brothers' daughters, and also to certain of his cousins' daughters, namely, to the daughters either of his father's brothers' sons or of his mother's sisters' sons. On the other hand, he calls his father's sister, not "my mother," but "my aunt" (*Ah-gä'-huc*); and he calls his mother's brother, not "my father," but "my uncle" (*Hoc-no'-seh*). He calls his male cousin, the son either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother, not "my brother," but "my cousin" (*Ah-gäre'-seh*); and, similarly, he calls his female cousin, the daughter either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother, not "my sister," but "my cousin" (*Ah-gäre'-seh*).¹ Thus, as usually happens under the classificatory system, a sharp distinction is drawn between cousins, according as they are the children, on the one hand, of two brothers or of two sisters, or, on the other hand, of a brother and a sister respectively; for whereas the children of two brothers or of two sisters are brothers and sisters to each other, the children of a brother and a sister respectively are only cousins.

Sharp distinction drawn between cousins under the classificatory system.

The Seneca-Iroquois form of the classificatory system has no classificatory terms for husband and wife. Herein it marks an advance on the more primitive Australian form of the system, which possesses classificatory terms for husband and wife.

If we compare the classificatory system of the Seneca-Iroquois with the classificatory system of the Australian aborigines, we are struck by the absence from the former of classificatory terms for husband and wife. Amongst the Australians, as we have seen, a man calls his wife's sisters, whether own or tribal, also his wives; and a woman calls her husband's brothers, whether own or tribal, also her husbands.² But among the Seneca-Iroquois a man has a different name for his wife and for his wife's sister; he calls his wife *da-yake'-ne*, "my wife," but his wife's sister he calls *ka-yä'-o*, "my sister-in-law." Similarly, among the Seneca-Iroquois a woman has a different name for her husband and for her husband's brothers; she calls her husband *da-yake'-ne*, "my husband," but her husband's brother she calls *ka-yä'-o*, "my brother-in-law."³ Thus the classificatory system of the Seneca-Iroquois does not assign to every husband a number

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 167 sq., and Table II., pp. 293 sqq.; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, pp. 447 sqq.

² See above, vol. i. pp. 299, 300,

301, 302, 303, 362, 375 sq., 380, 384, 405, 420, 441, 461, 500.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 169; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, pp. 451, 452.

of wives, and to every wife a number of husbands ; in other words, so far as the terms for husband and wife are concerned, it does not, like the Australian system, point to the marriage of a group of men to a group of women. But if we are right in supposing that the classificatory system in general is based on group-marriage,¹ it appears to follow that the Seneca-Iroquois form of the system is less primitive than the Australian form, since, on this hypothesis, it has lost the cardinal feature of the whole system, namely, the recognition of the marital rights of a group of men over a group of women. That the Iroquois form of the system is less primitive than the Australian form seems perfectly natural, when we consider the great advance in culture which the Iroquois had made by comparison with the aborigines of Australia.

§ 3. *Totemism among the Hurons or Wyandots*

The Hurons were an Indian nation inhabiting that portion of Canada which lies to the north of Lake Ontario and the Saint Lawrence River. Their principal villages were along the Georgian Bay and around Lake Simcoe. Toronto is said to take its name from a Huron word meaning "plenty"; for this neighbourhood was once a favourite settlement of these Indians. But their traditions seem to shew that they had migrated southward to this happier land from the bleak region which stretches from Hudson's Bay to the coast of Labrador. By blood and language the Hurons belonged to the same stock as the Iroquois; indeed their language, or at all events the language of their descendants the modern Wyandots, is said to be almost identical with that of the Seneca-Iroquois. The various tribes composing the nation were united in a confederacy down to 1650, when they were broken up, conquered, or dispersed by their kinsmen but deadly enemies the Iroquois, who had waged with them a savage and relentless warfare. A remnant afterwards established themselves near Quebec; but by far the largest portion, after several changes, settled near Sandusky in Ohio, from

The Hurons or Wyandots, an Indian nation of Canada closely related by blood and language to the Iroquois.

Conquest of the Hurons by the Iroquois.

¹ See vol. i. pp. 303 seqq.

which towards the middle of the nineteenth century they were finally removed to Kansas. The name by which the Hurons called themselves was Wendat, and this, corrupted into the form Wyandot, is the name still borne by their descendants.¹ The Hurons subsisted by hunting, fishing, and agriculture. They raised crops of maize, which they baked into bread. Like the Iroquois, they lived in great communal houses from a hundred and fifty to two hundred feet long, each with a passage running down the middle. Such a house might accommodate from sixteen to twenty-four families, every family occupying its own compartment on one side of the central passage, while every pair of families shared a fire between them. The chief town of the Hurons is said to have contained two hundred such large communal houses. In some places they changed the sites of their villages or towns at intervals of ten, fifteen or thirty years, more or less, when the wood in the neighbourhood was exhausted.²

Great
communal
houses
of the
Hurons.

The
Wyandots
divided into
totemic and
exogamous
clans with
descent in
the female
line.

The Wyandots are divided into totemic and exogamous clans with descent in the female line. A list of eight of these clans was published by L. H. Morgan;³ but subsequent research has extended the list of clans to twelve, though five of them are now extinct. Mr. William E. Connelly, who has studied the Wyandot language and traditions for many years and is an adopted member of the tribe, gives the following list of Wyandot clans on the authority of a trustworthy witness, George Wright, whose evidence agrees in all main points with that of another witness, Matthias Splitlog:—⁴

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 151 sq.; H. Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, pp. 10 sq., 15 sq.; W. E. Connelly, "The Wyandots," *Archæological Report*, 1899 (Toronto, 1900), pp. 92 sqq.; *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, Part i. (Washington, 1907), pp. 584 sqq. According to L. H. Morgan (*op. cit.* p. 283) the original form of the name Wyandot is *wane-dote*, "calf of the leg," a name given to these Indians by the Iroquois and adopted by themselves. It refers,

says Morgan, to their manner of stringing buffalo-meat.

² F. Gabriel Sagard, *Le Grand Voyage du pays des Hurons*, Nouvelle Edition (Paris, 1865), pp. 80-83, 92 sqq.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 153. The eight which he mentions are the clans of the Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Turtle, Deer, Snake, Porcupine, and Hawk.

⁴ William E. Connelly, "The Wyandots," *Archæological Report*, 1899 (Toronto, 1900), pp. 100 sq. Major J. W. Powell had previously given a

1. Big Turtle (Mossy Back). *Tēhn-gyowh'-wīshh-hīh-yōōh-wah'-nēh-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Big (or Great) Turtle.
2. Little Turtle (Little Water Turtle, sometimes called Speckled Turtle). *Tēhn-yēh-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Little Turtle.
3. Mud Turtle. *Yāh'-nēhs-tēh'-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Mud Turtle.
4. Wolf. *Tēhn-ah'-rēh-squāh'-rōh-nōh*.¹ The people of the Wolf, or the clan that smells a bone.
5. Bear. *Tēhn'-yoh-yēh^{mk}-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Bear, or the clan of the Claws.
6. Beaver. *Tsooh-tīh-hah-tēh-zhāh'-tōōh-tēh-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Beaver, or the clan of the House-Builders.
7. Deer. *Tēhn-dāh'-āh-rāh-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Deer, or the clan of the Horns.
8. Porcupine. *Yēh-rēh'-hēhseh'-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Porcupine, or the clan of the Quills.
9. Striped Turtle. *Māh-nōh-hōōh'-kah-shēh-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Striped Turtle, or the clan that carries the Stripes (or colors).
10. Highland Turtle, or Prairie Turtle. *Yēh-tōh-zhōōh'-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Prairie Turtle, or the clan that carries the House.
11. Snake. *Tēhn-goh^{ms}-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Snake, or the clan that carries the Trail. Sometimes called the Little Clan of the Horns.
12. Hawk. *Tēhn-dēh-sōh'-rōh-nōh*. The people of the Hawk, or the clan of the Wings.

The order in which the clans are here mentioned is that of their precedence. Their camp was formed "on the shell of the Big Turtle." It began at the right fore-leg and continued round the shell to the right to the left fore-leg in the order of precedence, except that the Wolf clan could be either in the centre of the encampment or at "the head of the Turtle." The march was under the direction of the Wolf clan and was commanded by the chief of the Wolf clan.¹

It will be observed that of these twelve clans no less than five have for their totems various sorts of turtles (tortoises). "The Turtle clans," says Mr. Connelly, "were always considered the most ancient and most honorable of the tribal subdivisions, and the order of precedence and encampment was according to the 'shell of the Big Turtle.' The turtle

Order of precedence of the clans and their positions in camp.

Of the twelve Wyandot clans five have for their totems various kinds of turtles or tortoises.

list of eleven Wyandot clans as follows:—Deer, Bear, Highland Turtle (striped), Highland Turtle (black), Mud Turtle, Smooth Large Turtle, Hawk, Beaver, Wolf, Sea Snake, and Porcupine. See J. W. Powell, "Wyandot

Government," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1881), p. 59.

¹ W. E. Connelly, "The Wyandots," *Archæological Report*, 1899 (Toronto, 1900), pp. 101 sq.

The twelve Wyandot clans are supposed to have been produced by the subdivision of three original clans, the Big Turtle, the Little Turtle, and the Mud Turtle.

idea was interwoven with the whole social and political fabric of ancient Tionnontate institutions.”¹ The multiplicity of the clans, in Mr. Connelly’s opinion, was the effect of a long development, some of them being added later or produced by a subdivision of the original clans. These original clans he conjectures to have been only three in number, namely, (1) Big Turtle, (2) Little Turtle, (3) Mud Turtle. He believes that the Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Deer, Porcupine, and Hawk clans were subsequently added in this order as the tribe increased in numbers. Next, if he is right, the Mud Turtle clan split into two, the seceding party taking the name of Prairie Turtle, or Highland Turtle, or Box Turtle. And after that the Big Turtle clan also split up, the seceding party taking the name of Striped Turtle. Lastly, the Deer clan subdivided, the seceding party taking the name of Snake.² This snake, which the seceders took for their totem, was a purely mythical animal, at least he is unknown to zoologists of the present day; for he is said to have had four legs and the horns of a stag. These limbs and antlers the serpent was doubtless enriched with for the sake of indicating the relationship in which the Snake clan stood to the Deer clan; and for the same reason the Snake clan was sometimes called the Little Clan of the Horns. In the absence of the fabulous snake the members of the Wyandot clan revered the rattlesnake as a wise kinsman of their first ancestor.³ According to tradition, the origin of the clan was as follows. A fair young woman went into the woods to receive the addresses of all the animals and to choose one

Legends of the descent of the Wyandot clans from their totemic animals.

¹ W. E. Connelly, “The Wyandots,” *Archæological Report*, 1899 (Toronto, 1900), p. 98. The Tionnontates, according to Mr. Connelly, were the progenitors of the Wyandots (*op. cit.* pp. 92 *sqq.*).

² W. E. Connelly, *op. cit.* p. 98. The French Jesuit Charlevoix, writing in 1721, gives a different account of the clans or, as he calls them, the tribes of the Hurons. He says that the Hurons were the nation of the Porcupine, and that they were subdivided into three tribes named respectively after the Bear (or, according to others, the Roebuck, *chevreuil*), the

Wolf, and the Turtle. He adds that the Tionnontates, who formed part of the Hurons, ordinarily called themselves the Tobacco Nation. And of the Indians in general he writes: “Each tribe bears the name of an animal, and the whole nation has also its animal, whose name it assumes and whose figure is its badge or, if you will, its coat of arms. The only way in which they sign treaties is by drawing these figures, unless special reasons induce them to substitute others.” See Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), v. 393.

³ W. E. Connelly, *op. cit.* pp. 103 *sq.*

of them for a husband ; their offspring was to form a new clan, which was to take its name from the animal-spouse. The snake, by assuming the guise of a handsome young man, won her heart and her hand. But after their marriage he could not keep his human form long ; and when his bride saw him in his true serpent-shape, she fled in terror, and he pursued her, calling on her to return. She escaped, but gave birth to a brood of snakes, who were the progenitors of the Snake clan.¹ Like the Snake, the original totemic Hawk was to a great extent mythical ; for he is spoken of sometimes as a hawk, sometimes as an eagle, and often simply as the big bird or the chief of birds. However, unlike the mythical Snake, he has left real descendants, who appear to be the species of bird known as Cooper's hawk or possibly the sparrow hawk.² The origin of the Hawk clan is said to have resembled that of the Snake clan. The bird assumed the form of a young man and married a young woman, who lived with him in his nest. She bore him a number of hawks, who became the ancestors of the Hawk clan.³ The other Wyandot clans appear similarly to have believed that they were descended from their respective totems.⁴

According to Major J. W. Powell the totemic clans of the Wyandots were grouped in four phratries or exogamous classes as follows :—⁵

First Phratry : 1. Bear ; 2. Deer ; 3. Striped Turtle.

Second Phratry : 1. Highland Turtle ; 2. Black Turtle ; 3. Smooth Large Turtle.

Third Phratry : 1. Hawk ; 2. Beaver ; 3. Wolf.

Fourth Phratry : 1. Sea Snake ; 2. Porcupine.

The distribution of the Wyandot clans in phratries.

But according to Mr. W. E. Connelly there were never more than two phratries or exogamous classes in the Wyandot tribe, while the Wolf clan always stood between them, belonging to neither, but bearing the relation of cousin to both of them, and acting as mediator or umpire

¹ W. E. Connelly, "The Wyandots," *Archæological Report*, 1899 (Toronto, 1900), pp. 117 sq.

² W. E. Connelly, *op. cit.* p. 104.

³ W. E. Connelly, *op. cit.* pp. 118 sq.

⁴ This is apparently implied by Mr.

W. E. Connelly (*op. cit.* pp. 107 sq., 114).

⁵ J. W. Powell, "Wyandot Government," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1881), p. 60.

both between the phratries and between the clans. The two phratries according to Mr. Connelly were these :—¹

First Phratry : 1. Bear ; 2. Deer ; 3. Snake ; 4. Hawk.

Second Phratry : 1. Big Turtle ; 2. Little Turtle ; 3. Mud Turtle ; 4. Beaver ; 5. Porcupine ; 6. Striped Turtle ; 7. Highland Turtle or Prairie Turtle.

Mediator, executive power, umpire : the Wolf clan.

The Wyandot phratries were formerly exogamous as well as the clans.

In former times marriage was prohibited within the phratry as well as within the totem clan ; for the clans grouped together in a phratry were regarded as brothers to each other, whereas they were only cousins to the clans of the other phratry. Hence, for example, a Bear man was forbidden to marry not only a Bear woman but also a Deer woman, a Snake woman, and a Hawk woman. But at a later time, before the Methodist missionaries came among the Wyandots, the rule prohibiting marriage within the phratry was abolished, and the prohibition was restricted to the totemic clan ; in other words, the clan continued to be exogamous after the phratry had ceased to be so.²

Every member of a Wyandot clan bears a personal name, which has some reference to his totem.

Every individual in a Wyandot clan bears a personal name which has some reference to his totem. Each clan possesses a list of such names, which are its peculiar property and may not be used by any other clan. The names are formed by rules in accordance with immemorial custom and may not be changed. They must be derived from some part, habit, action, or peculiarity of the totemic animal, from some myth connected with it, or from some property, law, or peculiarity of the element in which the animal lived. Thus a personal name was always a clan badge ; a man disclosed his clan by mentioning his name.³ The following are examples of these names :—⁴

¹ W. E. Connelly, "The Wyandots," *Archæological Report*, 1899 (Toronto, 1900), p. 106.

² W. E. Connelly, *l.c.*

³ W. E. Connelly, *op. cit.* pp. 107 sq., 109 ; J. W. Powell, "Wyandot

Government," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1881), pp. 59 sq.

⁴ J. W. Powell, *op. cit.* p. 60 ; W. E. Connelly, "The Wyandots," *Archæological Report*, 1899 (Toronto, 1900), p. 109 sqq.

Clan.	Personal Names.
Deer . . .	Lean Deer (man), Spotted Fawn (woman), Old Deer, Old-Doe.
Bear . . .	Long Claws (man), Grunting for her Young (woman).
Striped Turtle . .	Going round the Lake (man), Gone from the Water (woman).
Mud Turtle . . .	Hard Skull (man), Finding Sand Beach (woman).
Smooth Large Turtle	Throwing Sand (man), Slow Walker (woman).
Wolf . . .	One who goes in the Dark (man), Footprint of Wolf, Always Hungry (woman).
Snake . . .	Sitting in a curled Position (man).
Porcupine . . .	The one who puts up Quills (man), Tree-climber.

Parents were not allowed to name their child. The name was bestowed by the clan, and until about fifty years ago the ceremony of name-giving took place only once a year and always at the ancient anniversary of the Green Corn Feast. The name was formally bestowed by the chief of the clan, a civil officer chosen by the Council-women of the clan. These Council-women, we are told, "stood at the head of the clan and regulated its internal affairs." At the ceremony of name-giving the clan chief took up an assigned position, and the parents of the clan, who had children to be named, filed before him, while the Council-women stood beside him and announced to him the name of each child. The chief then bestowed it on the infant, either by merely declaring it to the parents or by taking the child in his arms and addressing it by its name.¹

The naming of children among the Wyandots.

These clan names, strangely enough, were responsible for much of the fierce warfare which one tribe waged upon another. For it was a religious duty to keep every one of the clan names in use; in ancient times none of the names was allowed to become obsolete. The animal from which the clan claimed descent was always angry when the names

These clan names were a source of tribal warfare.

¹ W. E. Connelly, "The Wyandots," *Archæological Report*, 1899 (Toronto, 1900), p. 108; J. W. Powell, "Wyandot Government," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1881), p. 64.

referring to him were not in use. To suffer a clan to become extinct was a reproach to the nation or tribe. Hence war was often undertaken to replenish the depleted ranks of a decaying clan by incorporating in it the captured women and children.¹

Each clan has its distinctive ornaments. Each clan has a distinctive mode of painting the face and distinctive ornaments to be used by the members at festivals and religious ceremonies. The chief of the clan and the Council-women wear distinctive chaplets at their inauguration.²

Descent of the clan is in the female line; in other words, all children, whether male or female, belong to the clan of their mother, not of their father.³ Property also descends in the female line. The head of the family and of the household is the woman; the hut and all household articles belong to her, and at her death they are inherited by her eldest daughter or nearest kinswoman. When the husband dies, his property goes, not to his children, but to his brother or to his sister's son.⁴

Each clan has its own lands, which it cultivates; and within these lands each household has its own patch. It is the Women-Councillors who partition the clan lands among the households; and the partition takes place every two years. But while each household has its own patch of ground, cultivation is communal; that is, all the able-bodied women of the clan take a share in cultivating every patch; every clan has a right to the services of all its women in the cultivation of the soil.⁵

According to one account the Wyandots were governed by a council composed The civil government of the Wyandot clans, as it is described for us by the American ethnologist, Major J. W. Powell, is very remarkable. According to him, each clan is governed by a council composed of four women and one man, the chief of the clan. The women councillors are elected by

¹ W. E. Connelly, "The Wyandots," *Archæological Report*, 1899 (Toronto, 1900), p. 114.

² J. W. Powell, "Wyandot Government," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1881), p. 64.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 153; J. W. Powell, "Wyandot Government," *First Annual Report of*

the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1881), p. 63.

⁴ J. W. Powell, *op. cit.* pp. 59, 65. Compare L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 153.

⁵ J. W. Powell, "Wyandot Government," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1881), p. 65.

the heads of households, who are themselves women ; and they in turn elect the chief of the clan.¹ We have seen that it is the women councillors who biennially partition the clan lands among the householders and decide on the names which are to be given to all the children of the clan.² Further, if Major Powell is right, the whole tribe is governed by a council which consists of all the councils of the clans united ; so that in the tribal council there are four times as many women as men.³ This statement, however, is doubted by a good authority, Mr. W. E. Connelly, according to whom the Wyandots deny that it ever was true. "All that I have been able to learn on this subject," says Mr. Connelly, "leads me to believe that the tribal council was composed of the hereditary chief of the tribe, the chief of each clan, and such additional warriors of ability and courage as the hereditary chief and council chose to 'call to the council-fire.' Women were not excluded from the deliberations of the council in certain contingencies, and were often called upon to give an opinion. The oldest Wyandots say that women were never recognised as members of the tribal council. This is the more probable, as the tribal council possessed only delegated and limited authority. The government of the Wyandots, in its functions, was a pure democracy. Questions affecting the interests of the whole tribe were determined by it in general convention, and men and women alike were heard, and voted, the majority ruling."⁴ According to Mr. Connelly, the office of tribal chief was hereditary in the Deer clan from the remotest times to which tradition extends down to a great battle in which all the chiefs of that clan except one perished. After that the tribal council transferred the office to the Porcupine clan ; but many Wyandots still regard the hereditary chief of the Deer clan as the true head of the tribe.⁵ According to L. H. Morgan, the office of sachem or

chiefly of women ; but this is stoutly denied by members of the tribe.

The office of tribal chief is hereditary in the female line, passing from a chief to his brother or to his sister's son.

¹ J. W. Powell, "Wyandot Government," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1881), p. 61.

1881), p. 61.

⁴ W. E. Connelly, "The Wyandots," *Archæological Report, 1899* (Toronto, 1900), p. 120.

² Above, pp. 35, 36.

³ J. W. Powell, "Wyandot Government," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington,

⁵ W. E. Connelly, *op. cit.* pp. 120 sq. The battle referred to in the text seems to have been fought about the end of the eighteenth century.

civil chief is hereditary in the clan, but elective among its members. Yet he adds that "the office of sachem passes from brother to brother, or from uncle to nephew; but that of war-chief was bestowed in reward of merit, and was not hereditary." In Morgan's time there were seven Wyandot sachems, one for each existing clan.¹ That hereditary chieftainships among the Hurons passed in the female line from the chief to his sister's son was long ago observed by the Jesuit missionaries.²

Blood
revenge.

When a man of one clan has been murdered by a man of another, the aggrieved relatives appeal for justice to the council of the murderer's clan; if they fail to obtain compensation, it becomes the duty of the victim's nearest kinsman to avenge his death.³

Little is
known
of the
religious
side of
totemism
among the
Wyandots.

With regard to the religious or superstitious aspect of totemism among the Wyandots, as among most other tribes of American Indians, our information is exceedingly scanty. Major Powell says that each phratry "has the right to certain religious ceremonies and the preparation of certain medicines"; and that each clan "has the exclusive right to worship its tutelar god, and each individual has the exclusive right to the possession and use of a particular amulet."⁴ By "tutelar god" he means the totem of the clan, but he adduces no evidence which justifies such a description of the totem, nor does he tell us in what the alleged worship and amulets consist.

Classifica-
tory system
of relation-
ship
among the
Wyandots.

Lastly, it may be observed that the Wyandots possess the classificatory system of relationship in the same form as the Iroquois, though the terms of relationship differ verbally with the difference of the language. The terms are fully recorded by L. H. Morgan.⁵

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 153.

² *Relations des Jésuites*, 1634, pp. 32 sq. (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858); *id.* 1658, p. 33; Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), v. 395.

³ J. W. Powell, "Wyandot Govern-

ment," *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1881), pp. 66 sq.

⁴ J. W. Powell, *op. cit.* p. 65.

⁵ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

§ 4. Totemism among the Algonkin Tribes on the Atlantic

The Delaware Indians or Lenape, as they call themselves, were a branch of the widely-spread Algonkin stock. When they were discovered, their home country was the region around and north of Delaware Bay.¹ They tilled the ground, made pottery, and were skilful in manufacturing bead work and feather mantles, and in dressing deer skins. Though their weapons and tools were mostly of stone, they had a considerable supply of native copper, which they made into arrow-heads, pipes, and ornaments. Their houses were not communal; each family had its separate hut. Maize was their staple food; but they had also large fields of squashes, beans, and sweet potatoes.²

The Delawares or Lenapes an Algonkin tribe on the Atlantic.

The Delawares or Lenapes were divided into three exogamous clans, or perhaps rather phratries, which had for their totems respectively the Turtle (Tortoise), the Turkey, and the Wolf. Early writers such as Loskiel and Heckewelder speak of these divisions as tribes. In referring to their totems the Delawares did not use the ordinary names for the animals; they spoke of the wolf as Round Foot, of the turtle as Crawler, and of the turkey as Not-chewing. The Turtle clan claimed and was allowed a superiority and ascendancy over the other two because their relation the turtle was not the common animal of that name, but the great original tortoise which, according to Indian mythology, bears the earth on its back.³ The wolf was honoured

The Delawares divided into three exogamous clans or phratries, the Turtle (Tortoise), the Turkey, and the Wolf.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 171; D. G. Brinton, *The Lenape and their Legends* (Philadelphia, 1885), pp. 9 sq., 33 sq.; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 385. For earlier accounts of the Delawares, see especially G. H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America* (London, 1794), Part i. pp. 1 sqq.; Rev. John Heckewelder, "An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations, who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighbouring States," *Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society*,

i. (Philadelphia, 1819) pp. 7 sqq.

² D. G. Brinton, *The Lenape and their Legends*, pp. 48-52.

³ G. H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America* (London, 1794), Part i. p. 129; J. Heckewelder, "An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations, who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighbouring States," *Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society*, i. (Philadelphia, 1819) pp. 245-247; L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 171 sq.; D. G. Brinton, *The Lenape and their Legends*,

because according to their traditions he was their benefactor, having helped their ancestors to issue from the bowels of the earth. As to the turkey, the totem of the third tribe, his merits were "that he is stationary, and always remains with or about them." Such is the account of the origin of the totems which was given by an old Indian to the missionary J. Heckewelder, who resided among or near the Delawares for more than thirty years. Heckewelder adds: "They are as proud of their origin from the tortoise, the turkey, and the wolf, as the nobles of Europe are of their descent from the feudal barons of ancient times, and when children spring from intermarriages between different tribes, their genealogy is carefully preserved by tradition in the family, that they may know to which tribe they belong."¹

The Delawares used the figures of their totems as badges or crests.

The Delawares used the figures of their totems as badges or crests to distinguish the tribal subdivision to which they belonged. On this subject Heckewelder says: "The Turtle warrior draws either with a coal or paint here and there on the trees along the war path the whole animals carrying a gun with the muzzle projecting forward, and if he leaves a mark at the place where he has made a stroke on his enemy, it will be the picture of a tortoise. Those of the Turkey tribe paint only one foot of a turkey, and the Wolf tribe, sometimes a wolf at large with one leg and foot raised up to serve as a hand, in which the animal also carries a gun with the muzzle forward. . . . The Indians, in their hours of leisure, paint their different marks or badges on the doors of their respective houses, that those who pass by may know to which tribe the inhabitants belong. Those marks also serve them for signatures to treaties and other documents."²

The three divisions of the Delawares, whether they are to be called clans, phratries, or subtribes, were originally

p. 39; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 386. The fable that the earth rests on the back of a turtle or tortoise was told by the Hurons and Iroquois as well as by the Delawares. See *Relations des Jésuites*, 1636, p. 101 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858); Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), v. 147; Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains* (Paris, 1724),

i. 94.

¹ J. Heckewelder, "An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations, who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighbouring States," *Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society*, i. (Philadelphia, 1819) pp. 246, 247.

² J. Heckewelder, *op. cit.* pp. 246 sq.

exogamous ; no man might marry a woman of the same subdivision as himself. The Delawares and Iroquois, says Loskiel, "never marry near relations. According to their own account, the Indian nations were divided into tribes, for no other purpose, than that no one might ever, either through temptation or mistake, marry a near relation, which at present is scarcely possible, for whoever intends to marry, must take a person of a different tribe."¹ In this passage the writer means by tribes what we now commonly call totemic clans or phratries.

The three clans or phratries of the Delawares were exogamous.

While the three Delaware divisions of the Turtle, the Turkey, and the Wolf may have been originally totemic clans of the ordinary type, they seem in course of time to have passed into something like phratries through subdividing themselves into twelve subclans, each of which had some of the attributes of a clan. When this segmentation had taken place, the prohibition to marry within the clan ceased to apply to the three original clans and was restricted to the new subclans. Some of the names of these subclans point clearly to their origin in the segmentation of the old clans ; for example, three subclans of the Turtle clan are called Smallest Turtle, Little Turtle, and Snapping Turtle respectively. Three of the subclans of the Turkey clan are called Big Bird, Red Face, and Ground Scratcher respectively. And two of the Wolf clan are called Big Feet and Long Body respectively. The names of all these subclans are personal and feminine.²

The Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf clans seem to have become phratries through subdivision into exogamous subclans.

According to another American ethnologist, the late D. G. Brinton, the three Delaware divisions of the Turtle, the Turkey, and the Wolf were neither clans nor phratries, but local subtribes, each inhabiting a territory of its own. He identifies them with the Unamis, the Unalachtigos (Wunalachtikos), and the Minsis (Monsys, Munsees), which are mentioned by Loskiel as the three tribes of the Delawares ; the Unamis, according to Brinton, are the Turtle people and inhabited the right bank of the Delaware

According to Brinton, the three divisions of the Delawares were neither clans nor phratries, but local subtribes.

¹ G. H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, Part i. p. 56.

² L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*,

pp. 171 sq., who gives a complete list of the subclans. He obtained it at the Delaware reservation in Kansas in 1860 with the aid of William Adams, an educated Delaware.

River ; the Unalachtigos or Wunalachtikos were the Turkey people and had their principal seat on the affluents of the Delaware near where Wilmington now stands ; and the Minsis, Monsys, or Munsees were the Wolf people and dwelt in the mountains at the head-waters of the Delaware.¹ It is quite possible that three original totemic clans of the ordinary type may in time have segregated themselves from each other, and occupying each a territory of its own have assumed the character of local subtribes. Such changes have already been noted in Australia.² But it is to be observed that whereas the passage from kinship groups to local groups appears generally to take place under the influence of male descent,³ the Delawares to the last retained their female descent both of the clan and of property,⁴ which so far tells against Brinton's theory. Yet on the other hand, the Delawares had a practice of sometimes naming a child into its father's clan ; and a son who thus received one of the names peculiar to his father's clan became thereby a member of the clan with the right to succeed to his father. This remarkable custom, which we shall meet with again among the Shawnees,⁵ may very well, as L. H. Morgan points out, have served to initiate a change of descent from the female to the male line ; once it had been invented the device could hardly fail to grow in favour and be adopted more and more, since it possessed the great advantage of readily enabling children to succeed to the rank and property of their fathers.⁶ With this easy instrument for converting maternal into paternal descent, the old maternal

The Delawares had the practice of sometimes naming a child into its father's clan. This practice may have served as a stepping-stone from maternal to paternal descent.

¹ D. G. Brinton, *The Lénapé and their Legends*, pp. 36-40. For the mention of the three Delaware tribes of the Unamis, Wunalachtikos, and Monsys, see G. H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren*, Part i. p. 2. According to L. H. Morgan (*Ancient Society*, p. 173) the Munsees were an offshoot of the Delawares with the same three totemic and exogamous clans of the Turtle, the Turkey, and the Wolf, with descent in the female line. All statements of Morgan as to the internal organisation of the Indian tribes deserve to be treated with great respect, as he was

a man of an accurate scientific mind, who had made very extensive personal investigations on this subject among the Indians. As to the Munsees, see *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 957.

² See above, vol. i. pp. 437, 458, 463, 466, 473 sq., 477 sq., 490 sq., 494, 505.

³ See above, vol. i. See the passages cited in the preceding note.

⁴ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 172.

⁵ See below, p. 72.

⁶ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 169, 172 sq.

clans of the Delawares may possibly have settled down, as Brinton held, into local subtribes.

The Delawares have the classificatory system of relationship, though their form of the system differs in some points from that of the Iroquois. Thus in the generation above his own a man calls his father's brother "my little father" (*Noh'-tut*), not "my father" (*Noh'-h*); and similarly he calls his mother's sister "my little mother" (*N'-gâ-hâ'-tut*), not "my mother" (*N'-gâ'-hase*). In his own generation he has, as usually happens under the classificatory system, no single words for "brother" and "sister" in general, but has separate words for "my elder brother" (*Nah'-hâns'*) and "my younger brother" (*Nah'-eese'-u-miss*), for "my elder sister" (*Na-mese'*) and "my younger sister" (*Nah'-eese-u-miss*). But he does not, as under the Iroquois form of the system, apply the terms "my elder brother," "my younger brother," "my elder sister," "my younger sister" to certain of his cousins, namely, the children either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister; on the contrary he distinguishes these cousins from his brothers and sisters by applying to them different terms which may be translated "my step-brother" (*Nee-mâ'-tus*) and "my step-sister" (*N'-do-kwâ-yome'*). Moreover, he applies the very same terms to his other cousins, the children either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother; so that with the Delawares the sharp discrimination which under the classificatory system is usually made between cousins, according as they are the children, on the one hand, of two brothers or of two sisters, or, on the other hand, of a brother and a sister, has been wholly obliterated. In the generation below his own a man applies the same term "my son" (*N'-kweese'*) to his own son and to his brother's son, and the same term "my daughter" (*N'-dâ-nuss'*) to his own daughter and to his brother's daughter.¹ Thus the Delaware form of the classificatory system marks a distinct advance upon the Iroquois form; since it distinguishes the father's brother from the father and the mother's sister from the mother, and has ceased to treat certain cousins as brothers and sisters.

The classificatory system of relationship among the Delawares.

The Delaware form of the system marks an advance upon the Iroquois form.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 220 sq., and Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

Totemism among the Mohicans or Mohegans, another Algonkin tribe on the Atlantic slope.

Another Algonkin tribe on the Atlantic slope which possessed totemism were the Mohicans, Mahicans, or Mohegans, who have been immortalised by Fenimore Cooper. They occupied the upper valley of the Hudson River in New York, but their territory extended eastward into Massachusetts. They lived, like the Iroquois, in long communal houses. Their villages and towns were stockaded, with a stretch of woodland on one side and of cornland on the other.¹ Like the Delawares, they were divided into three sections which had for their totems the Turtle, the Turkey, and the Wolf respectively. And among the Mohicans, as among the Delawares, these original clans had developed through subdivision into phratries. It is rare, as Morgan justly says, to find among the American Indians the evidence of the segmentation of original clans preserved so clearly as it is among the Mohicans. For the three phratries bore the names of the three totemic animals, the Turtle, the Turkey, and the Wolf, and each of them included one or more clans whose totem was identical with that of its phratry; so that the evolution of these clans by segmentation of the three original clans, now changed into phratries, seems to be highly probable.² The Mohican phratries and clans are as follows:—³

Among the Mohicans the three original clans (the Turtle, the Turkey, and the Wolf) have become phratries by subdivision.

Phratries.	Clans.
I. Wolf .	1. Wolf. 2. Bear. 3. Dog. 4. Opossum.
II. Turtle .	1. Little Turtle. 2. Mud Turtle. 3. Great Turtle. 4. Yellow Eel.
III. Turkey .	1. Turkey. 2. Crane. 3. Chicken.

Exogamy and female descent of the clans.

Marriage within the clan is forbidden; descent is in the female line. The office of sachem is hereditary in the clan, passing either from brother to brother or from uncle to nephew.⁴

The Mohicans had the classificatory system of relationship,

¹ *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 786-788, 926.

² L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*,

p. 173.

³ L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 174.

⁴ L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 174.

but in some points their form of it differed curiously both from that of the Delawares and from that of the Iroquois. Thus in the generation above his own a man applied the same term "my mother" (*N'-guk'*) to his own mother and to his mother's sisters. But on the other hand he did not call his father's brother "my father" (*Noh*). He called him by a different term, which may be translated "my step-father" (*Nâ-jâ'-ku'*). In his own generation he had, as usually happens under the classificatory system, separate terms for "elder brother" and "younger brother," for "elder sister" and "younger sister." In the generation below her own a woman applied the same terms "my son" (*N'-di-ome'*) and "my daughter" (*Ne-chune'*) to her own son and daughter and to the sons and daughters of her sisters. But on the other hand a man did not call his brother's son and daughter "my son" and "my daughter"; he called them both by a different term, which may be translated "my step-child" (*Nâ-kun'*).¹ Thus under the Mohican system, whereas a man distinguished between his real father and his father's brothers, he did not distinguish between his real mother and his mother's sisters; and whereas a man discriminated his own sons from his brother's sons, a mother did not discriminate her own children from her sister's children. In other words, so far as the terms of relationship go, paternity among the Mohicans was more certain than maternity. This is just the reverse of what on general grounds we might have anticipated. It tends to confirm the view which I have already advocated that the relationships which the classificatory system has primarily in view are not physical but social.²

The classificatory system of relationship among the Mohicans.

It is a peculiarity of the Mohican system that it defines paternity more exactly than maternity.

Another Algonkin tribe or confederacy of New England which had totemism and exogamy were the Abenakis or Abnakis. The confederacy so named had its centre in the present state of Maine. They lived in communal houses of a conical shape and tilled the soil, using fish as manure.

Totemism and exogamy among the Abenakis or Abnakis.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 222, and Table II. pp. 293 *sqq.* On p. 222 Morgan says that under the Mohican system "my mother's sister is my

step-mother." But this seems to be a mistake, for it contradicts the table on p. 339. In the text I follow the table.

² See above, vol. i. pp. 303 *sqq.*

Maize was an important article of their diet, but they depended for their subsistence partly on hunting and still more on fishing. Each tribe had a civil chief and a war chief. A general council of the whole tribe, including women as well as men, decided on questions of peace and war.¹ The Abenakis were divided into fourteen clans named after the following animals :—

- | | | |
|------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Wolf. | 2. Wild Cat (Black). | 3. Bear. |
| 4. Snake. | 5. Spotted Animal. | 6. Beaver. |
| 7. Cariboo. | 8. Sturgeon. | 9. Muskrat. |
| 10. Pigeon Hawk. | 11. Squirrel. | 12. Spotted Frog. |
| 13. Crane. | 14. Porcupine. | |

Exogamy
and
paternal
descent of
the clans.

Descent of the clan is now in the male line. Inter-marriage in the clan was anciently prohibited, but the prohibition has now lost much of its force. The office of sachem was hereditary in the clan.²

§ 5. Totemism among the Ojibways

The
Ojibways
or Chippeways are a great Algonkin tribe who ranged over a vast territory about the great lakes and westward.

The Ojibways or, as their name is popularly corrupted, the Chippeways, are one of the largest Indian tribes to the north of Mexico. They ranged over a region a thousand miles long from east to west, comprising both shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior and extending westward across Minnesota to the Turtle Mountains in Northern Dakota. At present they number about thirty thousand and are nearly equally distributed between Canada and the United States.³ The Ojibways belong to the great Algonkin stock, who at the date of the discovery of America occupied an immense area from the Rocky Mountains on the west to Hudson's Bay, Labrador, and the St. Lawrence River on the east; while southward their territory extended along the Atlantic coast to Carolina, and down the east bank of the Mississippi in Wisconsin and Illinois to Kentucky. But the Algonkins were essentially a northern people; their home country was along the chain of the great lakes and the valley of the St. Lawrence. All Canada belonged to them, except a narrow

¹ *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 2-4; L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 174.

² L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* pp. 174 sq.

³ *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 277, 280.

fringe on the north held by the Eskimo and the peninsula between Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, which was occupied by the Hurons and the Neutral Nation.¹ The Ojibways were in the main a race of hunters and fishers, roving their native forests on foot or paddling their light birch-bark canoes in search of game and fish. Theirs is a land of fine lakes, murmuring streams, and deep interminable woods, where the tall pines are intermingled with oak, ash, elm, beech, birch, and the sugar-maple, as well as with many kinds of wild-fruit trees, such as the wild plum, the crab apple, the elder, and the cherry; while the underwood abounds with blackberries, huckleberries, strawberries, raspberries, wild grapes, and marsh cranberries. In summer the woodlands and glades are gay with a profusion of beautiful flowers, brilliant in colour but scentless. The climate is in general pure and dry and the sky clear; but the extremes of summer heat and winter cold are great. Spring sets in suddenly and under the burning summer sun vegetation shoots up rapidly. The autumns are lovely; the foliage then assumes hues of almost unimaginable variety and splendour.² But while the Ojibways in their native state were essentially a race of hunters and fishermen, they subsisted to a great extent on the wild rice which grows in rank luxuriance in the rivers and lakes of their country. They collected the grain in canoes, paddling or punting through the rice swamps, beating down the long stalks into the canoe, and threshing out the grain with poles. In this way they would collect from twenty to thirty bushels a day. The rice so obtained was dried over a fire, husked, and made into soup. Rivalry for the possession of the rice-swamps was one of the chief causes of the wars which the Ojibways waged with the Dacotas, Foxes, and other Indian tribes. Some of them also cultivated maize; they thought that the knowledge of Indian corn and of its cultivation had been imparted to their forefathers by the Great Spirit.³

The land
of the
Ojibways.

The
Ojibways
subsisted
to some
extent on
wild rice,
which
grows
plentifully
in their
country.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 200 sq.; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 165.

² Rev. Peter Jones, *History of the Ojibway Indians* (London, n.d.), pp. 51, 54 sq., 56, 71 sq.; William W.

Warren, "History of the Ojibways, based upon Traditions and Oral Statements," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (Saint Paul, Minn., 1885) pp. 39 sq.

³ W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an*

Though copper abounds in some parts of their country, the Ojibways made no use of it except to decorate their medicine-bags; for they deemed it sacred. The principal town of the tribe was situated on an island in Lake Superior, where a perpetual fire is said to have been maintained as a symbol of tribal unity.¹

Totemism
among the
Ojibways.
Dr. Edwin
James on
the totems
of the
Algonkins
in general.

The Ojibways were divided into a large number of totemic clans. Indeed, totemism appears to have been common to the whole Algonkin stock of which the Ojibways formed part. On this subject a well-informed writer, Dr. Edwin James, observes: "Among the Indians of the Algonkin stock, every man receives from his father a, *totem*, or family name. They affirm that no man is, by their customs, allowed to change his totem; and as this distinctive mark descends to all the children a man may have, as well as to all the prisoners he may take and adopt, it is manifest that, like the genealogies of the Hebrews, these totems should afford a complete enumeration of the stocks from which all the families have been derived. It differs not from our institution of surnames, except that the obligations of friendship and hospitality, and the restraint upon intermarriage, which it imposes, are more scrupulously regarded. They profess to consider it highly criminal for a man to marry a woman whose totem is the same as his own; and they relate instances where young men, for a violation of this rule, have been put to death by their nearest relatives. They say, also, that those having the

Marriage
with a
woman of
the same
totem
punished
with death.

Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River (London, 1825), i. 156; Rev. Peter Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians*, pp. 55 sq.; William W. Warren, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, ii. (Philadelphia, 1853) p. 137; *id.* "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. 40. As to the gathering of the wild rice, see Geo. Catlin, *North American Indians*, Fourth Edition (London, 1844), ii. 208, who says that the rice "grows in immense fields around the shores of the rivers and lakes of these northern regions."

¹ W. W. Warren, in H. R. School-

craft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, ii. 138. As to the superstitious veneration of the Indians for copper, which they found in Lake Superior and treasured as heirlooms or family deities, see *Relations des Jésuites*, 1667, p. 8 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858). As to the abundance of copper ore in the neighbourhood of Lake Superior, see J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, Third Edition (London, 1781), pp. 138 sq.; W. H. Holmes, "Aboriginal Copper Mines of Isle Royale, Lake Superior," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, iii. (1901) pp. 684 sqq.

same totem are bound, under whatever circumstances, as they meet, even though they should be of different and hostile bands, to treat each other not only as friends, but as brethren, sisters, and relatives of the same family. Of the origin of this institution, and of the obligation to its strict observance, the Indians profess to know nothing. They say they suppose the totem was given them in the beginning, by their creator. Like surnames among us, these marks are now numerous; and, as in the case of our surnames, it is difficult to account for their multiplicity, without supposing a time when they might have been changed, or new ones adopted, more easily than at present. . . . It may be observed, that the Algonkins believe all other Indians to have totems, though, from the necessity they are in general under, of remaining ignorant of those of hostile bands, the omission of the totem in their picture writing, serves to designate an enemy. Thus, those bands of Ojibbeways who border on the country of the Dahcotah, or Sioux, always understand the figure of a man without totem, to mean one of that people."¹ "The word *totem* is of the Ojibbeway language, and, like almost all others, is readily moulded into the form of a verb."²

Social obligations imposed on persons of the same totem.

Totem is an Ojibway word.

Similarly, the historian of the Ojibway tribe, W. W. Warren, tells us that the Algonkins or, as he chooses to call them, the Algics, "as a body are divided into several grand families or clans, each of which is known and perpetuated by a symbol of some bird, animal, fish, or reptile, which they denominate the Totem or Do-daim (as the Ojibways pronounce it), and which is equivalent, in some respects, to the coat of arms of the European nobility. The Totem descends invariably in the male line, and inter-marriages never take place between persons of the same symbol or family, even should they belong to different and distinct tribes, as they consider one another related by the closest ties of blood and call one another by the nearest terms of consanguinity."³

W. W. Warren on the totems of the Algonkins.

¹ *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, prepared for the press by Edwin James, M.D. (London, 1830), pp. 313, 314.

² *Ibid.* p. 316.

³ William W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways, based upon Traditions and Oral Statements," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (Saint Paul, Minn., 1885) pp. 34 sq.

The word totem, which has now passed into the languages of most civilised nations, is borrowed, as we have seen,¹ from the language of the Ojibways, who used it in the same sense in which we employ the term. Thus L. H. Morgan, one of the best authorities on the American Indians, says that "in the Ojibwa dialect the word *totem*, quite as often pronounced *dodaim*, signifies the symbol or device of a gens; thus the figure of a Wolf was the totem of the Wolf gens,"² where by "gens" Morgan as usual means what we call a clan. Again, H. R. Schoolcraft, another of the best authorities on the American Indians, speaking of the Iroquois, says that "nothing is more fully under the cognizance of observers of the manners and customs of this people, than the fact of the entire mass of a canton or tribe being separated into distinct clans, each of them distinguished by the name and device of some quadruped, bird, or other object in the animal kingdom. This device is called, among the Algonquins (where the same separation into families or clans exists), *totem*."³ Again, Schoolcraft tells us with respect to the Chippewas (Ojibways) that "the most striking trait in their moral history is the institution of the Totem—a sign manual, by which the affiliation of families is traced, agreeing, more exactly, perhaps, than has been supposed, with the armorial bearings of the feudal ages. And this institution is kept up, with a feeling of importance, which it is difficult to account for. An Indian, as is well known, will tell his specific name with great reluctance, but his generic or family name—in other words, his *Totem*, he will declare without hesitation, and with an evident feeling of pride."⁴ Again, the Rev. Peter Jones, one of our principal authorities on the Ojibways, writes that "their belief concerning their divisions into tribes is, that many years ago the Great Spirit gave his red children their toodaims, or tribes, in order that they might never forget that they were all related to each other, and that in time of distress or war they were bound to help each other. When an Indian, in travelling, meets with a

L. H.
Morgan on
the word
totem.

H. R.
Schoolcraft
on the
totems
of the
Iroquois
and
Ojibways.

Peter Jones
on the
totems
of the
Ojibways.

¹ Vol. i. p. 1.

² L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 165.

³ H. R. Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois* (Albany, 1847), pp. 126 sq.

⁴ H. R. Schoolcraft, *Narrative of an Expedition through the Upper Mississippi to Itasca Lake* (New York, 1834), p. 146.

strange band of Indians, all he has to do is to seek for those bearing the same emblem as his tribe; and having made it known that he belongs to their toodaim, he is sure to be treated as a relative. Formerly it was considered unlawful for parties of the same tribe to intermarry, but of late years this custom is not observed. I have remarked that when the English speak of the different *nations* of Indians they generally call them *tribes*; which term is quite erroneous, as each *nation* is subdivided into a number of tribes or clans, called 'toodaims,' bearing some resemblance to the divisions of the twelve tribes of Israel mentioned in Scripture; and each tribe is distinguished by certain animals or things, as, for instance, the Ojebway nations have the following toodaims:—the Eagle, Reindeer, Otter, Bear, Buffalo, Beaver, Catfish, Pike, Birch-bark, White Oak Tree, Bear's Liver, etc., etc. The Mohawk nation have only three divisions, or tribes—the Turtle, the Bear, and the Wolf."¹

It is perfectly clear that the writers whom I have just quoted—James, Warren, Morgan, Schoolcraft, and Jones—all employ the word *totem* to designate what we call the clan totem and not what is sometimes called the individual totem or *manitoo*; and, further, we have the express testimony of several of them that *totem* (*dodaim*, or *toodaim*) is an Algonkin and in particular an Ojibway word. When we remember, further, that of these writers Jones was a full-blooded Ojibway, that Warren was nearly a half-blood Ojibway, that Schoolcraft was married to an Ojibway wife and was intimately acquainted with the tribe,² and that Morgan spent years among the Indians, and was adopted by them, we may feel fairly confident that they could not be mistaken as to the meaning of a word in such common use as totem, and that therefore we are right in following them in their application of the term to the totem or sacred emblem of the clan. It is desirable to make this plain, because the first writer who introduced the term totem or, as he spelled it, *totam* to the notice of Europeans appears to have applied it incorrectly, not to the clan totem, but to the *manitoo* or guardian spirit of the individual. The

All these writers applied the term totem to the clan totem, not to the individual totem or *manitoo*.

¹ Rev. Peter Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians*, p. 138.

² *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 278.

But the Indian interpreter, J. Long, seems to have confused the guardian spirit (*manitoo*) with the clan totem.

writer in question was the Indian interpreter, J. Long, who published an account of the Indians in 1791. He tells us that "one part of the religious superstition of the savages consists in each having his *totam*, or favourite spirit, which he believes watches over him. This *totam* they conceive assumes the shape of some beast or other, and therefore they never kill, hunt, or eat the animal whose form they think this *totam* bears." To illustrate this superstition Long relates how a Chippeway (Ojibway), whose *totam* was a bear, accidentally shot a bear and was thereafter filled with remorse and sorrow, believing that he had highly offended the Master of Life, that his *totam* was angry, and that he would never be able to hunt any more.¹ From this account it is clear that Long has confused the *manitoo* or guardian spirit of the individual with the totem of the clan, and has applied to the former (the guardian spirit) the term totem, which strictly speaking is applicable only to the latter (the clan totem). His mistake was first pointed out by Professor E. B. Tylor.² I am the more concerned to call attention to the blunder because, misled by it, I formerly stated that the Ojibways abstained from killing, hunting, and eating their totems.³ Whether they did so or not, we cannot say; as usual we have no information as to the relation of the American Indians to their totems. All that we can infer from Long's account is that each man abstained from killing, hunting, and eating the animals in which he believed his own particular guardian spirit (*manitoo*) to be lodged. To these guardian spirits we shall return later on.

Totemic clans of the Ojibways. Warren's list.

The Ojibways were divided into at least forty totemic and exogamous clans, of which the following list of twenty-one clans is given by William W. Warren, the historian of the tribe:—⁴

¹ J. Long, *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader* (London, 1791), pp. 86 sq. Long also coined the word totemism ("The idea of destiny, or, if I may be allowed the phrase, '*totamism*,' however strange, is not confined to the savages, many instances might be adduced from history," etc.).

² E. B. Tylor, "Remarks on Totem-

ism," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1898) pp. 139 sq.

³ J. G. Frazer, *Totemism* (Edinburgh, 1887), pp. 8 sq. (reprinted above, vol. i. pp. 9 sq.).

⁴ William W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (1885) pp. 44 sq.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Crane (<i>Uj-e-jauk</i>). ¹ | 2. Catfish (<i>Man-um-aig</i>). ² |
| 3. Loon (<i>Mong</i>). ³ | 4. Bear (<i>Muk-wah</i>). ⁴ |
| 5. Marten (<i>Waub-ish-ash-e</i>). | 6. Reindeer (<i>Addick</i>). |
| 7. Wolf (<i>Mah-een-gun</i>). | 8. Merman (<i>Ne-baun-aub-ay</i>). |
| 9. Pike (<i>Ke-noushay</i>). | 10. Lynx (<i>Be-sheu</i>). |
| 11. Eagle (<i>Me-gizzee</i>). | 12. Rattlesnake (<i>Che-she-gwa</i>). |
| 13. Moose (<i>Mous</i>). | 14. Black Duck or Cormorant
(<i>Muk-ud-a-shib</i>). |
| 15. Goose (<i>Ne-kah</i>). | 16. Sucker (<i>Numa-bin</i>). |
| 17. Sturgeon (<i>Numa</i>). | 18. White Fish (<i>Ude-kumaig</i>). |
| 19. Beaver (<i>Amik</i>). | 20. Gull (<i>Gy-aushk</i>). |
| 21. Hawk (<i>Ka-kaik</i>). | |

The foregoing list of Ojibway clans agrees for the most part with the lists given by our other authorities, but it may be supplemented from them. Thus L. H. Morgan also gives a list of twenty-one clans, "without being certain that they include the whole number"; and while he omits several of those mentioned by Warren, to whom he does not refer, he adds the following:—⁵

- | | |
|---|--|
| 22. Mud Turtle (<i>Me-she'-kã</i>). | 23. Snapping Turtle (<i>Mik-o-noh'</i>). |
| 24. Little Turtle (<i>Me-skwa'-da'-re</i>). | 25. Snipe (<i>Chu-e-skwe'-ske-wã</i>). |
| 26. Duck (<i>Ah-ah'-weh</i>). | 27. Duck (<i>She-Shebe'</i>). |
| 28. Snake (<i>Ke-na'-big</i>). | 29. Muskrat (<i>Wa-zhush'</i>). |
| 30. Heron (<i>Moosh-kã-oo-ze'</i>). | 31. Bull-head (<i>Ah-wah-sis'-sa</i>). |

Again, Dr. Edwin James gives a list of eighteen totemic clans which he tells us were common to the Ojibways and

¹ Elsewhere (p. 46, compare p. 44) Warren gives *Bus-in-as-see* as the native name of the Crane clan. But *Uj-e-jauk* agrees closely with the *Ad-je-jauk*, "crane," of Edwin James (*Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, p. 315) and the *O-jee-jok*, "crane," of L. H. Morgan (*Ancient Society*, p. 166).

² Elsewhere (p. 46, compare p. 44) Warren appears to give *A-wause* as the native name of the Catfish clan, and this agrees with the "*Ah-wa-sis-se*, Small cat fish" of Edwin James (*l.c.*). L. H. Morgan also mentions an Ojibway totem named *Ah-wah-sis'-sa*, but he gives as its English equivalent "bull-head"; he mentions the Catfish totem, but without giving its native name (*Ancient Society*, p. 166). Apparent discrepancies in the names of totems are perhaps sometimes to be

explained by the Indian custom of designating their totems and totemic clans by a variety of different names, some of which are descriptive phrases.

³ Elsewhere (p. 48, compare p. 44) Warren gives *Ah-ah-wauk* as the native name of the Loon clan; and this resembles the *Ah-ah-weh* which Morgan (*Ancient Society*, p. 166) gives as the native name of a Duck totem. On the other hand *Mong*, "loon," is supported by Morgan (*l.c.*) and agrees closely with the *Mahng*, "loon," of Edwin James (*op. cit.* p. 314).

⁴ Elsewhere (p. 49, compare p. 44) Warren gives *Noka* as the native name of the Bear clan. The form *Muk-wah* is supported by the *Muk-kwaw*, "bear," of Edwin James (*l.c.*) and the *Mã-kwã'* of Morgan (*l.c.*).

⁵ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 165 sq.

Ottawas (Ottawwaws); but he is careful to add that many more might be enumerated. For the most part his list agrees with the lists of Warren and Morgan, but it supplements them by adding the following clans :—¹

- | | |
|---|--|
| 32. Sparrow hawk (<i>Pe-pe-ge-wiz-zains</i>). | 33. Water-snake (<i>Mus-sun-dum-mo</i>). |
| 34. Forked tree. | 35. Wild cat (<i>Pe-zhew</i>). |

Jones's
list.

Finally, the Ojibway Indian, Peter Jones, gives as specimens, not as complete, a list of eleven Ojibway totemic clans including five which are not mentioned by Warren, Morgan, and James. These are as follows :—²

- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 36. Otter. | 37. Buffalo. | 38. Birch-bark. |
| 39. White Oak Tree. | 40. Bear's Liver. | |

Most of the Ojibway clans are said to have arisen through subdivision of five original clans, the Crane, Catfish, Loon, Bear, and Marten.

According to Warren, the Crane, Catfish, Loon, Bear, Marten, and Wolf were the principal clans, "not only in a civil point of view, but in numbers, as they comprise eight-tenths of the whole tribe." Indeed, many of the totems were not known to the tribe in general, and Warren ascertained them only through close enquiry. Among them he includes the Goose, Beaver, Sucker, Sturgeon, Gull, Hawk, Cormorant, and White Fish totems, which were known only in the remotest northern part of the Ojibway country. Old Ojibway men, whom Warren particularly questioned on this subject, affirmed that all the totemic clans were only subdivisions of five great original totemic clans, namely, the Crane, Catfish, Loon, Bear, and Marten clans; according to these old men the new clans, formed by subdivision of the five original clans, "have assumed separate minor badges, without losing sight or remembrance of the main stock or family to which they belong. These divisions have been gradually taking place, caused in the same manner as the division into distinct tribes. They are easily classed under the five great heads, the names of which we have given."³

¹ *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, prepared for the press by Edwin James, M.D. (London, 1830), pp. 314 sq. This, so far as I know, was the first published list of Ojibway clans.

² Rev. Peter Jones, *History of the*

Ojibway Indians, p. 138.

³ W. W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (1885) p. 45; compare *id.* pp. 43 sq., for the five great original "clans or totems."

This is valuable testimony to the tendency of totemic clans to split into new clans, leaving the original clans in the position of phratries. The same tendency has met us repeatedly in our survey of the evidence. The ancestors of the five original Ojibway clans are said to have appeared suddenly in human form from the bosom of a great salt sea.¹

The following, according to Warren, are the subdivisions of the five great original totemic clans of the Ojibways:—²

Primary Clans (now ranking as phratries).	Secondary Clans (formed by subdivision of the primary clans).	Sub- divisions of the original Ojibway clans.
1. Catfish (<i>A-waus-e</i>) ³ . . . 2. Crane (<i>Bus-in-as-see</i>) ⁴ . . . 3. Loon (<i>Ah-ah-wauk</i>) ⁵ . . . 4. Bear (<i>Noka</i>) ⁶ . . . 5. Marten (<i>Waub-ish-a-she</i>) . . .	Catfish, Merman, Sturgeon, Pike, White- fish, Sucker, and all other fish totems. Crane, Eagle. Loon, Goose, Cormorant. Common Bear, Grizzly Bear, Bear's head, Bear's foot, Bear's ribs, etc. Marten, Moose, Reindeer.	

Like the Torres Straits Islanders,⁷ some of the Ojibways are supposed to resemble in various respects their totem animals. Thus "it is a general saying, and an observable fact, amongst their fellows, that the Bear clan resemble the animal that forms their totem in disposition." For they are surly and pugnacious and have constantly embroiled their tribe in war with other tribes, though, to do them justice, they have always been ready, when it came to the rub, to give and take hard knocks. They are the acknowledged war chiefs and fighting men of the community; the war-pipe and the war-club are committed to their custody; and they have often been called the bulwarks of the tribe.⁸ Again, the numerous and important Crane clan takes its

¹ W. W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (1885) pp. 43 sq.

² W. W. Warren, *op. cit.* pp. 45-50.

³ As to this name, see above, p. 53, note².

⁴ As to this name, see above, p. 53, note¹.

⁵ As to this name, see above, p. 53,

note³.

⁶ As to this name, see above, p. 53, note⁴.

⁷ See above, vol. ii. pp. 8 sq.

⁸ W. W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (1885) p. 49.

Claim of
the Crane
clan to rank
highest.

name of *Bus-in-as-see* or "Echo-maker" from the loud, clear, far-ringing cry of the crane; and accordingly members of this clan are thought to possess naturally a loud, ringing voice, and they are the acknowledged orators of the tribe; in former times, when different tribes met in council, the Crane men acted as interpreters of the wishes of their tribe. They claim, says Warren, with some apparent justice the chieftainship over the other clans of the Ojibways.¹ A half-blood who spoke French and had the honour and happiness of being the husband of a Crane wife, assured a German traveller that "the badge of the Crane is the noblest and greatest badge among the Ojibways. The Cranes," said he, "go as far back as the Deluge. Their names are to be found in the books of the Romans." When the traveller seemed apt to smile, "No, no, sir," pursued the half-blood eagerly, "seriously, all the names at present among us were to be found already at the destruction of the tower of Babel. I am quite serious, sir. The Cranes took possession of these countries after the Deluge. It is well known. For ages the Cranes had the highest name. They are recorded in the greatest and oldest books. My mother was a Crane. My wife is a Crane. In these latter times they have come down a little. But there are still Cranes at La Pointe, at Saut de Ste. Marie, at La Folle Avoine, near Detroit, and at Hudson's Bay. In short, sir, the Cranes have been and are still everywhere the most remarkable men in the world."² However, when the same traveller conversed with a man of the Loon clan, he received the impression that the Loons were the oldest and noblest family in the whole country.³ And certainly they held their heads very high; for they claimed to be the chief or royal family, supporting their claim by a reference to the collar which nature has placed round the neck of a Loon and which clearly resembles the wampum necklace of a chief. But this appeal to natural history was disallowed by the Cranes and the members of the other totem clans, who stuck to it that the Loon chiefs derived any authority they

Counter
claim of the
Loon clan.

¹ W. W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (1885) pp. 46 sq.

² J. G. Kohl, *Kitschi-Gami oder*

Erzählungen vom Obern See (Bremen, 1859), i. 206 sq.

³ J. G. Kohl, *op. cit.* i. 205.

possessed, not from the Creator, but only from the French at Quebec.¹

The subdivision of the Bear clan, the most numerous of all the clans of the Ojibways, furnishes a good example of the splitting of a totem clan into segments, each of which takes for its totem either a species or a part of the original animal. Such totems I have called split totems.² However, we are told that after the old Bear clan had broken up into a number of new clans with the Bear's head, the Bear's foot, the Bear's ribs, etc., for their totems, these new totemic clans coalesced again partially into two, namely, the Common Bear and the Grizzly Bear.³

According to Warren, members of the same totem clan among the Ojibways were strictly forbidden to marry each other. Marriage between two persons of the same totem, says he, "is one of the greatest sins that can be committed in the Ojibway code of moral laws, and tradition says that in former times it was punishable with death. In the present somewhat degenerate times, when persons of the same totem intermarry (which even now very seldom occurs), they become objects of reproach. It is an offence equivalent among the whites to the sin of a man marrying his own sister."⁴

Persons of the same totem are deemed to be closely related to each other, even though they may belong to different tribes. "An individual," says Warren, "of any one of the several totems belonging to a distinct tribe, as for instance the Ojibway, is a close blood relation to all other Indians of the same totem, both in his own and all other tribes, though he may be divided from them by a long vista of years, interminable miles, and knows not even of their existence."⁵

¹ W. W. Warren, "The History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (1885) p. 48.

² Above, vol. i. p. 10; vol. ii. pp. 536 sqq.

³ W. W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (1885) p. 49.

⁴ W. W. Warren, *op. cit.* p. 42. Though Warren's *History of the Ojibways* was not published until 1885, it

was completed in manuscript in the winter of 1852-53 (*op. cit.* p. 18). Since then the rule of exogamy has probably been still further relaxed. See on this subject the testimony of the Rev. Peter Jones, quoted above, p. 51. The rule which forbids marriage within the gens (clan) is mentioned without remark by L. H. Morgan (*Ancient Society*, p. 167).

⁵ W. W. Warren, *op. cit.* pp. 42 sq.

The Bear clan furnishes an example of the splitting of a totem.

Exogamy of the Ojibway clans; breach of it formerly punishable with death.

The totem bond extends beyond the limit of the tribe.

Among the Ojibways the descent of the totem is in the male line; but there are grounds for thinking that descent was formerly in the female line.

Among the Ojibways, unlike most of the other Indian tribes thus far dealt with, descent of the totem is in the male line; children always belong to their father's totemic clan.¹ But there are several reasons for thinking that descent was originally in the female line, and that the change to the male line has been comparatively recent. For several tribes of the Algonkin stock, to which the Ojibways belong, retain the rule of female descent, and among these are the Delawares, who are universally recognised by the Algonkins as one of the oldest of their tribes, and are styled Grandfathers by them all. As we cannot suppose that these tribes have exchanged male descent for female, a certain presumption is raised that the other Algonkin tribes, which now have male, formerly had female descent. Further, there is some positive evidence that three or four generations ago the office of chief descended in the female line. For an Ojibway sachem who died in 1840 at the age of ninety, being asked why he did not retire from office in favour of his son, replied that his son could not succeed him, for the right of succession belonged, not to his son, but to his sister's son. This proves that down to a comparatively recent time the sachemship passed in the female line. We should remember, too, that missionaries to the Indians, trained in different habits of thought, have generally opposed the custom of female descent, because they consider it unjust and unreasonable to disinherit a man's own sons in favour of his nephews. It is therefore not improbable that among some tribes, the Ojibways perhaps included, the change from female to male descent has been brought about, or at least accelerated, by missionary influence.²

Office and property are also hereditary in the male line.

However that may have been, office and property are now hereditary in the clan and therefore pass in the male line. Children at present get most of their father's property, to the exclusion of the rest of the clan kindred. A woman's property goes to her children and in default of them to her sisters, own or collateral. A son may succeed his father as

¹ W. W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (1885)

p. 42; L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 166.

² L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* pp. 166 sq.

sachem ; but when there are several sons, the clan chooses among them.¹

While a man's personal name might be, and often was, changed, for example when he went to war or any remarkable event had happened, the totem was never changed. "It is not true," says Edwin James, "that they have, in all instances, the figure of whatever may be their totem always tattooed on some part of their body, nor that they carry about them a skin, or any other mark, by which it may be immediately recognised. Though they may sometimes do this, they are, in other instances, when they meet as strangers, compelled to inquire of each other their respective totems."²

Members of totemic clans were not always distinguished by outward marks.

The Ojibways observed the law of the levirate : a man was held bound to marry the wife of his deceased brother, but not till a year of her widowhood had elapsed. He was also under an obligation to provide for his brother's children.³

The levirate.

The Ojibways, like the rest of the Indian tribes now under consideration, possess the classificatory system of relationship, but in some points their form of the system differs from that of the Iroquois. Thus among the Ojibways of Lake Superior, in the generation above his own a man calls his father's brother, not "my father" (*Nōss*), but "my step-father" (*Nī-nī-sho'-mē*) ; and, similarly, he calls his mother's sister, not "my mother" (*Nin'-gah*), but "my step-mother" (*Nī-no'-shē*). In his own generation, as usually happens under the classificatory system, he has no single words for "brother" and "sister" in general, but has separate words for "elder brother" and "younger brother," for "elder sister" and "younger sister" ; but, as often happens under the classificatory system, the word for "younger brother" and "younger sister" is the same (*Nī-shī-mē*). A man calls his male cousins, the sons either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister, "my elder brother" (*Nis-sā'-yē*), or "my younger brother" (*Nī-shī-mē*), according

The classificatory system of relationship among the Ojibways.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 167.

for the press by Edwin James, M.D., p. 315.

² *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, prepared

³ W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River* (London, 1825), ii. 166 sq.

as they are older or younger than himself; and similarly he calls his female cousins, the daughters either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister, "my elder sister" (*Nĩ-mis'-sě*) or "my younger sister" (*Nĩ-shĩ-mě*), according as they are older or younger than himself.¹ But his male cousins, the sons either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother, he calls "my cousins," not "my brothers"; and similarly his female cousins, the daughters either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother, he calls "my cousins," not "my sisters." In the generation below his own a man calls his brother's sons and daughters "my stepsons" and my "step-daughters," not "my sons" and "my daughters." Similarly a woman calls her sister's children "my step-children," not "my sons" and "my daughters."² Thus by discriminating the father's brother from the father, the mother's sister from the mother, a man's own children from his brother's children, and a woman's own children from her sister's children, the Ojibway form of the classificatory system marks a distinct advance on the Iroquois form, which confounds the father's brother with the father, the mother's sister with the mother, a man's own children with his brother's children, and a woman's own children with her sister's children. It is possible that this advance may be associated with the change of descent from the female to the male line.

The Ojibway form of the classificatory system shews an advance upon the Iroquois form.

We have seen that among the clans of the Ojibway there is one that has for its totem the otter and another that has for its totem the beaver. The following story, taken down from the lips of an old Ojibway woman, refers to these two clans. There was a man of the Otter clan and his name was Otter-heart. Once upon a time he went to

The story of Otter-heart and his beaver wife.

¹ But among the Ojibways of Lake Michigan, Lake Huron, and Kansas he calls these relations, not "my elder or younger brother," "my elder or younger sister," but "my step-brother" (*Ne-kd'-na* or *Ne-kd'-nis*), "my step-sister" (*Nin-dā-wa'-mā* or *N'-do-wa-mā*), except that among the Ojibways of Lake Huron and Kansas a mother's sister's daughter, younger than the speaker, is called his younger sister (*Ne-shē'-mā*). See L. H. Morgan,

Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity, Table II. pp. 314, 316, 340, 342. In his general remarks on the Ojibway system (pp. 204 sq.) Morgan seems to leave the Lake Superior form of it out of account.

² L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* pp. 204 sq., and Table II. pp. 295, 296, 298, 299, 300, 302, 303, 310, 311, 313, 314, 316, 322, 323, 324, 325, 331, 332, 333, 334, 339, 340, 342.

catch beavers at a beaver-dam. But first he laid down his robe under a tree on a spot where he proposed to camp. Then he went to the dam, pierced it, and let all the water run out, so that the beavers were left high and dry, and he killed three of them. After that he returned to the place where he had left his robe ; but what was his surprise to find in its place a cozy hut, and to see the smoke curling up and the form of a woman busy at the fire. He went in, and there sure enough was his robe, beside the deer-skin which the woman had spread for him. "Good," said he to himself, "she is my wife." She was small, but very pretty and dainty, and she moved about so briskly in the hut, yet so neatly and tidily that it was a joy to see her. She dressed him an excellent supper of the beavers and set the tit-bits before him. It tasted very good, and he asked her to share it with him. "No," said she, shyly ; "I have plenty of time. I will eat afterwards what I am wont to eat." He urged her, but still she refused, saying that she would eat afterwards what she was wont to eat. So he let her be. But in the night he was wakened by a rasping sound, as if mice or beavers were nibbling at wood. By the flickering light of the fire he fancied he saw his wife gnawing the birchen twigs with which he had tied up the beavers in a bundle. But he thought it must be a dream, and so fell asleep again till morning. When he awoke, his breakfast was ready, and his little wife stood before him and handed it to him. He told her his dream, but she did not laugh so much at it as he had expected. "Hold," thought he to himself, "perhaps it was no dream after all, but a waking reality. Come and tell me," said he to her, "yesterday when I brought you the beavers, you looked at them so earnestly, and when you cut them up you considered them so curiously and examined every limb. Say, why did you do that ?" "Oh," said she and sighed, "have I not cause to look at them so earnestly ? I know them all. They are my kinsfolk. One was my cousin, another my aunt, and the third my grand-uncle." "What," said he, "are you of the beaver clan ?" "Yes," said she, "that is my family." Then Otter-heart was glad, for the Otters and the Beavers have been allied clans from of old. His beaver-wife pleased

How Otter-heart found the beaver-woman and made her his wife.

him very much, she was so simple and modest and so attentive to him; and the best proof that she loved him was that she had sacrificed her own kinsfolk for his sake. But to spare her natural feelings he promised that henceforth he would kill only birds and deer and other beasts and would let the beavers alone, that he and she might eat their meals together. And for her part she did not meddle any more with the birchen twigs, and did not wake him of nights with her nibbling and gnawing, but she accustomed herself to eat meat like human folk.

How in the
spring amid
the maple
trees she
bore him
a son.

So they lived the whole winter through very pleasantly. He was a bold hunter, and she a quiet, careful housewife, diligent and peaceable like the beavers. They were a happy pair. When the spring came and with it the joyous time of the sugar-making, they went out to their sugar-camp among the maple-trees,¹ and there in the sugar-camp she bore him a son. The very next day the father began to make bows and arrows for the little one. But his wife laughed at him and said it would be long before the child could use them. "Perhaps you are right," said he, and broke what he had made. But it was not long before he had made another set of bows and arrows. So impatient was he to see his son grow up to be a good hunter. He pictured to himself how one day he would go out to the chase with him, how he would teach the little one all his woodland craft, and how the lad would be a great and famous huntsman. He built castles on castles in the air. Alas, alas, how seldom happy dreams come true! How little is enough to shatter the most perfect bliss! A breath of envious fate, the tiniest mistake, and all is gone for ever.

Otter-heart and his beaver-wife had lived their happiest

¹ In the old days, before the introduction of cane sugar, the Indians used to make great quantities of sugar from the maple. The season of sugar-making began in March, when the crows migrated from the south. Then each family went out with the necessary equipage and utensils, to camp in its own sugar-grove among the maple-woods. See W. J. Hoffman, "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (1892-

93), Part i. (Washington, 1896) pp. 287-290. As to the Indian manufacture of maple-sugar, see Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains* (Paris, 1724), ii. 153 sqq.; H. W. Henshaw, "Indian Origin of Maple Sugar," *American Anthropologist*, iii. (1890) pp. 341 sqq.; A. F. Chamberlain, in *American Anthropologist*, iv. (1891) pp. 39 sqq., 381 sqq.; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 803 sq.

day. Destiny overtook them on the way home from the sugar-camp. Spring was now fully come, all the ice was melted, and every river and every brook ran high. So the wife asked her husband to build a bridge for her over every river and every little brook, that she might cross them dryshod. And he had to promise her solemnly to do so. "For," said she, "if my feet should be wetted, it will prove a great sorrow for you." Otter-heart did what he had promised. At every rivulet, at every trickling spring he built a bridge for his wife. At last he came to a little runlet only six inches wide. Now whether he was weary of always building bridges or whether he was lost in thought and day-dreams, I cannot say, but certain it is he strode over the tiny brook and forgot all about a bridge. But when he had gone on a bit and his wife and his little son did not come after him, he turned back to the brook, which now to his horror had swollen to a mighty rushing torrent. A foreboding of what had happened struck him like a flash of lightning, and too late he rued his forgetfulness. His little wife with her little son on her back had tripped after him with little steps. When she came to the runlet six inches wide, and found no bridge, she stopped and called her husband to help her. But her cry was unheard, and in the anguish of her heart she made the leap. But she fell short with a splash into the water and when her foot was wet, it was all over with her. Immediately she turned into a beaver and her little son into a little beaver, and both swam with the stream, which suddenly swelled high, away down to the beavers' pool. In despair Otter-heart followed down the bank of the wild raging torrent and after three days' long and weary journey he came to the beavers' pool at last. There he saw a beaver-house, and sitting on the roof his own little wife. She was plaiting a bag out of the bark of the white-wood, and she had her little beaver fastened by a string of white-wood bark at her side. Otter-heart was beside himself at the sight. He begged her from the bank to come back to him, but she answered that she could not now. "I sacrificed my kinsfolk and all for you, and I only asked that you would build me bridges and help me dryshod over the waters. You cruelly disregarded my

How Otter-heart lost his beaver wife.

request. Now I must remain for ever with my folk." Her husband prayed her at least to undo the white-wood string and let his little son come to him, that he might kiss him. But even that she felt bound to refuse. She remained where she was. And—here the old woman suddenly broke off the tale, and nothing would induce her to say what became of Otter-heart, whether he turned into an otter and lived in the water near his beaver-wife, or whether, as the years slipped by, he forgot her and married again, or whether he went home to grow old in solitude, brooding till death over his vanished dream of bliss.¹

The story belongs to the class of the Swan Maiden.

This story belongs to the class of tales of which the Swan Maiden, Beauty and the Beast, and Cupid and Psyche are well-known examples. Stories of the same type have already met us among the totemic people of the Gold Coast in Africa ; and I have already pointed out that they may all have originated in totemism.²

§ 6. Totemism among other Algonkin Tribes of the Great Lakes

Another totemic tribe of the Algonkin stock, whose country was in the region of the Great Lakes, were the Potawattamies. They bordered on the Dacotas to the west and occupied part of Northern Wisconsin, ranging eastwards towards Lake Michigan and the territory of the Ojibways on Lake Superior.³ The tribe was visited in 1823 by the expedition which Major S. H. Long led on behalf of the United States Government to the source of the St. Peter's River, the Red River, and Lake Winnipeg : and the account which the members of the expedition have left us of the manners and customs of the Potawattamies contains a notice of their totemic system, which deserves to be quoted as an early document in the history of totemism. " Although not divided into regular tribes, they have a sort of family distinction, kept up by means of signs resembling those of heraldry. These signs are, by them, called Totem ; they are taken from an animal or some part of it, but by

The Potawattamies, an Algonkin tribe.

Keating's account of their totemism.

¹ J. G. Kohl, *Kitschi-Gami oder Erzählungen vom Oberr See* (Bremen, 1859), i. 140-146.

² Above, vol. ii. pp. 566 sqq.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 202 sq.

no means imply a supposed relationship with that animal, as has been incorrectly stated. It is merely a distinguishing mark or badge, which appears to belong to every member of a family, whether male or female. The latter retain it even after matrimony, and do not assume that of their husbands. It does not appear that this implies the least obligation of the Indian to the animal from which it is taken. He may kill or eat it. The *totem* appears to answer no other purpose than that of distinguishing families ; it does not imply any degree of nobility or inequality of rank among them." ¹ About the same time the Rev. Jedidiah Morse reported that the Potawattamies, Ottawas, and Chippewas (Ojibways) were divided into tribes which "take their badges from parts of some insect, animal, fish, or fowl ; as bear, fin, tendon, etc. Those of the fish are of one tribe ; of the beast another ; of the fowl another, etc." ²

The Potawattamies are divided into fifteen totemic clans as follows :—

Totemic
clans of
the Pota-
wattamies.

- | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 1. Wolf. | 2. Bear. | 3. Beaver. |
| 4. Elk. | 5. Loon. | 6. Eagle. |
| 7. Sturgeon. | 8. Carp. | 9. Bald Eagle. |
| 10. Thunder. | 11. Rabbit. | 12. Crow. |
| 13. Fox. | 14. Turkey. | 15. Black Hawk. |

The rules of marriage, descent, and inheritance were the same among the Potawattamies as among the Ojibways ; that is, no man might marry a woman of his own clan ; children took their clan from their father, not from their mother ; and both property and office were hereditary in the clan. ³ "It was usual for them, when an Indian married one of several sisters, to consider him as wedded to all ; and it became incumbent upon him to take them all as wives. The marrying of a brother's widow was not interdicted, but was always looked upon as a very improper connexion. The union of persons related by blood was likewise dis-

Rules of
marriage
and
descent.

Duty to
marry all
a wife's
sisters.

¹ W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, Lake Winnepeg, Lake of the Woods, etc.* (London, 1825), i. 117.

² Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D.D., *Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs* (New-

haven, 1822), Appendix, p. 143. This account points to the existence of split-totems (fin, tendon, etc.) among these tribes.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 167.

liked and discouraged. An incestuous connexion was at all times considered as highly criminal, but no punishment was attached to it.”¹

The Ottawas, another Algonkin tribe; their three totemic clans, the Great Hare, the Carp, and the Bear.

Legend of the Great Hare and the great flood.

Rule that dead people of the Hare clan must be burned, not buried.

The Ottawas, another Algonkin tribe, formerly dwelt on the Ottawa River in Canada; but being driven thence by the Iroquois they occupied the Manitoulin Islands in Lake Huron and some of them spread southward over Lower Michigan.² Morgan tells us that they were organised in clans, but he failed to obtain their names.³ However, a Jesuit missionary, writing in 1723, has recorded that the Ottawas or Outaouaks, as he calls them, were divided into three families or clans, namely, the family of the Great Hare (*Michabou*), the family of the Carp (*Namepich*), and the family of the Bear (*Machova*). The first of these families averred that their ancestor the Great Hare was a man of such gigantic stature that when he stretched his nets in water eighteen fathoms deep the water barely reached to his armpits. At the time of the great flood this giant sent out the beaver to discover dry land, and when the animal did not return he sent out the otter on the same mission. The otter brought back a little soil covered with foam, out of which the Great Hare succeeded in creating the earth. Having accomplished that labour he flew up to heaven, where he usually resides; but before quitting the earth he commanded that, when his descendants died, their bodies should be burned and their ashes thrown into the air to enable them to mount up to heaven; and he warned them that if they omitted to do so, the snow would not cease to fall, and their lakes and rivers would remain frozen, so that the Indians would not be able to catch fish, which is their staple food, and they would all die of hunger in spring. In point of fact an unusually long winter was attributed by the family of the Great Hare to their culpable negligence in having failed to burn the body of one of their number, who had died at a distance. So by the advice of an old woman

¹ W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River* (London, 1825), i. 111.

² L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Con-*

sanguinity and Affinity, p. 202.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 167.

four and twenty men were despatched to find the corpse and burn it. In the interval the thaw came and the snow melted. The Carp family of the Ottawas alleged that a carp laid its eggs on the bank of a river, that the warmth of the sun hatched the eggs, and that out of them came a woman, from whom the Carp family is descended. The Bear family of the Ottawas ascribed their origin to a bear's paw, but without explaining the precise nature of the relationship. Whenever they killed a bear, they used to offer the animal a feast of its own flesh and harangued him as follows: "Do not bear us a grudge because we have killed you. You are sensible, you see that our children are hungry. They love you, they wish to put you into their body. Is it not glorious to be eaten by the sons of a chief?" The Bear family and the Carp family used to bury their dead, unlike the Great Hare family, who burned theirs.¹ From a much later account we hear of the Bear clan and also of a Gull clan among the Ottawas. The people of the Gull clan called themselves Gulls, but the people of the Bear clan called themselves Big Feet. Each clan had its separate quarter in the village and set up its *ododam* or totemic mark on a post at the gate which led into its quarter.²

On the other hand, totemism has not been discovered among the Crees (Kristinons, Kilistinons, Knisteneaux, etc.), a large and widely-spread Algonkin tribe of the Great Lake region. By language and blood they are closely related to the Ojibways. At the time when they were discovered towards the middle of the seventeenth century, they occupied the north-west shore of Lake Superior and spread thence through a thickly wooded country to Hudson's Bay on the north and the Red River on the west. They were then a race of roving hunters, without fixed abode, without villages, without fields, living by the chase and on wild oats which they gathered in the marshes. Under the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company they have dwelt on

Descent of the Carp clan from a carp.

Descent of the Bear clan from a bear's paw. Apologies offered by the Bear clan to a bear when they kill it.

Totemism not found among the Crees, a large Algonkin tribe.

¹ *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses*, Nouvelle Édition, vi. (Paris, 1781) pp. 168-172. As to the Great Hare and the snow, see also *Relations des Jésuites*, 1667, p. 19 (Canadian

reprint, Quebec, 1858).

² Mr. J. Hoskyns Abrahall, in *The Academy*, 27th September 1884, p. 203, quoting *The Canadian Journal* (Toronto), No. 14, March 1858.

the whole at peace among themselves and with their neighbours and have made some progress in civilisation. It is possible, and perhaps probable, as L. H. Morgan thought, that the Crees once had the totemic system, but have lost it. Like the rest of the Algonkin tribes they employ the classificatory system of relationship, but in an advanced or degenerate form; for they distinguish the father's brother from the father, the mother's sister from the mother, and a man's brother's children from his own children.¹

§ 7. Totemism among the Algonkin Tribes of the Mississippi

The
Algonkin
tribes of the
Mississippi.

The great
prairies of
the centre
of North
America.

Thus far we have found totemism among both the eastern and northern tribes of the great Algonkin stock. The system also exists or existed among the western Algonkin tribes, who occupied the eastern bank of the Mississippi in the present States of Wisconsin and Illinois, extending southward to Kentucky and eastward into Indiana.² Their country forms part of the great prairies which occupy a vast region in the interior of North America. From the Rocky Mountains in the west they stretch for more than a thousand miles to the great forests east of the Mississippi, and from the plateau of the Peace River in the north they extend southward for fifteen hundred miles to New Mexico. The immense carpet of verdure which they unroll day after day and week after week to the eye of the traveller is one of the most extraordinary natural spectacles on which the eye of man can rest. No description can bring home to those who have not seen them an adequate conception of the vastness and magnificence of the American prairies. Yet before the Indians received the horse from

¹ *Relations des Jésuites*, 1640, p. 34 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858); *id.* 1656, p. 39; *id.* 1667, p. 24; Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of North America* (London, 1801), pp. xci. *sqq.*; L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 203, 206 *sqq.*, and Table II, pp. 293 *sqq.*; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 359 *sqq.* In one passage (*Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 208)

Morgan says that in the Cree system "my mother's sister is my mother"; but this statement seems to be a mistake, for it is contradicted by the table on p. 339, where in all three varieties of the Cree system the term for mother's sister is given, not as "mother" (*N'-gâ'-we* or *N'-gâ'-wa*) but as "step-mother" (*N'-dô'-sis* or *N'-dô'-zis*).

² L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 168.

Europeans and learned to breed and use it, these boundless plains must have been for the most part an unbroken solitude, uninhabited and uninhabitable by man, left to the undisturbed possession of the herds of wild animals which grazed their inexhaustible pastures. Only on the banks of the great rivers which traverse the prairies could the Indians without horses maintain themselves by fishing and hunting. Yet while the horse enabled the aborigines to spread and multiply over regions which had been a desert before, its acquisition hindered rather than helped their advance towards a higher form of social life. For it broke up the villages, in which the germ of progress was planted, and dispersed their inhabitants in little bands to scour the prairies far and wide in pursuit of the buffaloes, whose migrations they followed.¹

Amongst these prairie Indians were the Miamis, who, along with the other Western Algonkin tribes which we shall here notice, occupied the triangle between the Illinois, the Mississippi, and the Ohio Rivers.² The Miamis were divided into ten totemic and exogamous clans as follows :—

- | | | | |
|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1. Wolf. | 2. Loon. | 3. Eagle. | 4. Buzzard. |
| 5. Panther. | 6. Turkey. | 7. Raccoon. | 8. Snow. |
| 9. Sun. | 10. Water. | | |

Intermarriage within the clan was forbidden ; descent was in the male line ; and both property and the office of sachem were hereditary in the clan.³

The Miamis have the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man calls his father's brother, as well as his own father, "my father" (*No-sá'*) ; and he calls his mother's sister, as well as his own mother, "my mother" (*Nin-ge-ah'*). But his mother's brother he calls "my uncle" (*Ne-zhesé'-sá*), not "my father" ; and his father's sister he calls "my aunt" (*N'-sa-gwe'-sá*), not "my mother." In his own generation he calls his cousins, the children either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister, "my elder brother" (*Ne-sá-sá'*) or

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 172, 208 sq. *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 852 sqq.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*,

² L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 210 ; p. 168.

"my younger brother" (*Ne-she-mâ'*), "my elder sister" (*Ne-mis-sâ'*) or "my younger sister" (*Ne-she-mâ'*), according to their sex and age. In the generation below his own he calls his brother's son and daughter "my son" (*Neen-gwase'-sâ*) and "my daughter" (*Nin-dâ'-nâ*); but he calls his sister's son and daughter "my nephew" (*Lan-gwâ-les'-sâ*) and "my niece" (*Shames-sâ'*), not "my son" and "my daughter." Conversely, a woman calls her brother's son and daughter "my nephew" and "my niece"; but her sister's son and daughter she calls "my son" and "my daughter." In the generation next but one below his own a man calls the grandchildren of his brothers and sisters, own and collateral, "my grandchildren"; and, conversely, in the generation next but one above his own he calls his grandfather's brothers "my grandfathers."¹ It will be observed that while there are separate terms for "elder brother" and "elder sister," the term for "younger brother" and "younger sister" is one and the same (*Ne-she-mâ'*). This identity of terms for younger brother and younger sister occurs in many forms of the classificatory system.

Anomalous feature of the Miami system in regard to cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively.

So far the Miami form of the classificatory system is normal. But in regard to cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively, the Miami system presents a remarkable feature, which we have not hitherto met with, though we shall find it again later on among tribes of the Dacotan stock. Two male cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively, do not call each other cousins as they ordinarily would do under the classificatory system; they call each other "uncle" and "nephew," the son of the brother being the "uncle" and the son of the sister being the "nephew." With two female cousins, the daughters of a brother and sister respectively, the case is still more remarkable; for they call each other "mother" and "daughter," the daughter of the brother being the so-called "mother" of her cousin and the daughter of the sister being the so-called "daughter" of her cousin. When the two cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively, are male and female, then, if the male is the son of the sister

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 211, Table II. pp. 293-299.

and the female is the daughter of the brother, the female cousin calls her male cousin "my son," and he calls her "my mother." But if the male cousin is the son of the brother, and the female cousin is the daughter of the sister, then the male cousin calls his female cousin "my niece" and she calls him "my uncle."¹ It should be observed that in all these cases a position of superiority, or at least of seniority, is assigned to the cousin, whether male or female, who is the child of the brother; while the cousin, whether male or female, who is the child of the sister, is relegated to a position of inferiority or at least of juniority. Thus the male cousin, the child of the brother, is the "uncle" of his male or female cousin, the child of the sister; and the female cousin, the child of the brother, is the "mother" of her male or female cousin, the child of the sister. Thus in all such cases a preference is shewn for the male line, which may be connected with the fact that among the Miamis descent both of the clan and of property is in the male line. Whatever the origin of this curious nomenclature may be, we can hardly suppose that the persons who used it ever imagined a female cousin to have given birth to her male or female cousin; in other words, the relationship of maternity which it implies can only have been a social, not a physical one. As I have already pointed out more than once, the classificatory system in general is only intelligible on the supposition that the relationships which it recognises and classifies are not physical but social.² Nothing but confusion can result from an attempt to explain the system by means of our own conceptions of paternity and maternity. If an enquirer cannot divest himself of these conceptions in dealing with the subject, he had much better leave it alone.

Another Algonkin tribe of this region were the Shawnees. Their old home was in the triangle between the Ohio and the Mississippi, but they have been again and again uprooted and expatriated by the Government of the United States.

The Shawnees, another Algonkin tribe.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 211, 325, 331, 332, 333, 334.
² See vol. i. pp. 289 *sqq.*, 303 *sqq.*

Their
totemic
clans.

They speak the most beautiful dialect of the Algonkin speech, and notwithstanding the shifts and changes to which they have been subjected, they have preserved their nationality and have made remarkable progress in agriculture and in other arts of civilised life.¹ They are divided into thirteen exogamous clans, which they still maintain for social and genealogical purposes. The names of the clans are these :—²

- | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| 1. Wolf. | 2. Loon. | 3. Bear. | 4. Buzzard. |
| 5. Panther. | 6. Owl. | 7. Turkey. | 8. Deer. |
| 9. Raccoon. | 10. Turtle. | 11. Snake. | 12. Horse. |
| 13. Rabbit. | | | |

Rules of
marriage
and
descent.

Shawnee
practice of
naming
children
into any
clan.

This
practice
may have
helped
to shift
descent
from the
maternal
to the
paternal
line.

The rules of marriage and descent are the same as among the Miamis; that is, marriage within the clan is forbidden, children take their clan from their father, not from their mother, and both property and the office of sachem are hereditary in the clan, from which it follows that they descend in the male line.³ However, the Shawnees had a practice, which they shared with the Miamis and the Sauks and Foxes, of naming children, under certain restrictions, into any clan whatever. Each clan, as among the Iroquois and Wyandots,⁴ had certain personal names appropriated to it which carried clan rights with them, so that a person's name determined the clan to which he belonged. The father had no voice in the naming of his child. By an arrangement between the clans the choice of children's names was left to certain persons, mostly matrons, who thereby possessed the power of deciding to which clan any person was to belong.⁵ It has been already pointed out that this power of arbitrarily assigning any person to any clan may have been one of the means by which descent was shifted from the maternal to the paternal line.⁶ In point of fact among the Shawnees, though descent is now in the male line, there are traces of a former custom of transmitting the sachemship in the female line. Thus a sachem of the Wolf clan, at the point of death, desired to be succeeded not by

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 215 sq.

² L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 168.

³ L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 169.

⁴ See above, pp. 13 sq., 34 sqq.

⁵ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 169.

⁶ Above, p. 42.

his son but by a nephew, the son of a sister. The nephew was of the Fish clan, and the son was of the Rabbit clan, so that neither could succeed to the sachemship without being transferred, by a change of name, to the Wolf clan, in which the office was hereditary. But the chief's wish was respected. After his death the Fish name of the nephew was changed to one of the Wolf names and he succeeded his uncle in the office. Such laxity, as Morgan says, indicates a decadence of the clan organisation; but it tends to shew that at no remote period descent among the Shawnees was in the female line.¹

The Shawnees have the classificatory system of relationship in a form which agrees in all essentials with that of the Miamis. The agreement is all the more remarkable, because for upwards of two centuries the Shawnees had been in great measure detached from their next of kin, the Western Algonkins, and had lived in intimate relations with the Eastern Algonkins. The main features of the Shawnee system are these. In the generation above his own a man calls his father's brother, as well as his own father, "my father" (*No-thá'*); and he calls his mother's sister, as well as his own mother, "my mother" (*Ne-ke-âh'*). But his mother's brother he calls "my uncle" (*Nĩ-sĩ-thá'*), not "my father"; and his father's sister he calls "my aunt" (*Na-tha-gwe-thá'*), not "my mother." In his own generation he calls his cousins, the children either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister, "my elder brother" (*N'-tha-thá'*) or "my younger brother" (*N'-the-ma-thá'*), "my elder sister" (*Nĩ-mĩ-thá'*) or "my younger sister" (*N'-the-ma-thá'*), according to their sex and age. In the generation below his own he calls his brother's son and daughter "my son" (*Ne-kwe-thá'*) and "my daughter" (*Nĩ-tâ-na-thá'*), but he calls his sister's son and daughter "my nephew" (*Na-la-gwal-thá'*) and "my niece" (*Ne-sa-me-thá'*), not "my son" and "my daughter." Conversely, a woman calls her brother's son and daughter "my nephew" and "my niece," not "my son" and "my daughter"; but her sister's son and daughter she calls "my

The classificatory system of relationship among the Shawnees.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 169 sq. The Fish clan is not mentioned by Morgan in his list of

the Shawnee clans (above, p. 72). It may have been extinct at the time when his list was compiled.

son" and "my daughter." In the next generation but one below his own a man calls the grandchildren of his brothers and sisters, own and, collateral, "my grandchildren"; and, conversely, in the generation next but one above his own he calls his grandfather's brothers "my grandfathers." Here again it will be observed that while there are separate terms for "elder brother" and "elder sister," the term for "younger brother" and "younger sister" is one and the same (*N'-the-ma-thá'*). In all these respects the Shawnee form of the system is identical with the Miami form, though the terms of relationship differ verbally. Further, the two systems agree in the curious relationships which they assign to the children of a brother and of a sister respectively. For in the Shawnee system, as in the Miami, two male cousins, the sons of a brother and a sister respectively, are called uncle and nephew to each other; and two female cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively, are called mother and daughter to each other. But when two cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively, are the one male and the other female, then the man calls his female cousin, the daughter of his father's sister, "my niece"; but his female cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, he calls "my mother." On her side the woman calls her male cousin, the son of her father's sister, "my son," but her male cousin, the son of her mother's brother, she calls "my uncle." ¹

Anomalous feature of the Shawnee system in regard to cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively.

The Sauks and Foxes, two Algonkin tribes consolidated into one.

Another Algonkin people of the Mississippi who have totemism are the Sauks and Foxes, two tribes which have been consolidated into one. They were first found upon the Fox River in Wisconsin and they ranged westward to the Mississippi. Among the tribes of the Mississippi the Sauks and Foxes have been distinguished by their restless and warlike disposition. They waged almost ceaseless war with the Illinois and Ojibways, and they were the only Algonkin tribe against whom the French turned their arms. But they were not nomads. They lived in villages and tilled the soil, raising crops of maize, beans, squashes, and

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 217 and Table II, pp. 293 *sqq.*

tobacco.¹ In 1766 Captain Carver visited what he calls "the Great Town of the Saukies" on the Fox River, and he thus describes it: "This is the largest and best built Indian town I ever saw. It contains about ninety houses, each large enough for several families. These are built of hewn plank neatly jointed, and covered with bark so compactly as to keep out the most penetrating rains. Before the doors are placed comfortable sheds, in which the inhabitants sit, when the weather will permit, and smook their pipes. The streets are regular and spacious; so that it appears more like a civilized town than the abode of savages. The land near the town is very good. In their plantations, which lie adjacent to their houses, and which are neatly laid out, they raise great quantities of Indian corn, beans, melons, etc., so that this place is esteemed the best market for traders to furnish themselves with provisions, of any within eight hundred miles of it."² Like all prairie Indians the Sauks and Foxes are very dark-skinned, very much more so than the forest Indians. Some of them are but a few shades lighter than negroes.³

The Sauks or Sacs and Foxes are divided into at least fourteen totemic and exogamous clans, the names of which, according to L. H. Morgan, are as follows:—⁴

- | | | | |
|---------------|---------------|----------|-------------|
| 1. Wolf. | 2. Bear. | 3. Deer. | 4. Elk. |
| 5. Hawk. | 6. Eagle. | 7. Fish. | 8. Buffalo. |
| 9. Thunder. | 10. Bone. | 11. Fox. | 12. Sea. |
| 13. Sturgeon. | 14. Big Tree. | | |

Other accounts, which agree as to the number of the clans, vary as to their names. Thus Jedidiah Morse in 1822 reported that "each nation is subdivided into a great number of families or clans. Among the Sauks there are no less than fourteen tribes, each of them distinguished by a particular name, generally by the name of some animal, as the Bear tribe, Wolf tribe, Dog tribe, Elk tribe, Eagle tribe,

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 212; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 170; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 472 sqq.

² J. Carver, *Travels through the In-*

terior Parts of North America, Third Edition (London, 1781), pp. 46 sq.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 212.

⁴ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 170.

The great town of the Sauks.

Totemic clans of the Sauks and Foxes.

Other accounts* of the totemic clans of the Sauks and Foxes.

Tradition-
ary descent
of the totem
clans from
animals.

Totemic
names of
clans.
dances.

Personal
names of
members of
the clans.

Partridge tribe, Sucker tribe, Thunder tribe, etc.”¹ In this list the Dog, Partridge, and Sucker clans are not mentioned by Morgan. Again, a later account also enumerates fourteen clans, but substitutes the Big Lynx, Swan, Pheasant, Bass, and Bear Potato clans for the Deer, Hawk, Fish, Bone, and Big Tree clans of Morgan’s list.² Another account speaks of seven clans only, and records a tradition that these seven clans had seven animal ancestors, namely, the fox, the eagle, the bear, the beaver, the fish, the antelope, and the raccoon. According to this legend, two brothers found these seven ancestral animals in a cave, lived for a month with them, and were adopted as brothers by the beasts. The first seven human ancestors of the clans had the power of taking the shape each of his totem animal.³ The principal clan is the Eagle clan, the hereditary chief of which is head of the tribe.⁴ Each clan has its own totemic dance, in which none but members of the secret society of the clan take part. The Eagle dance is the most important of these totemic dances. An old woman told Miss Owen “that when she was a little girl those who took part in the Totem dances were dressed to look like the Ancestral Animal whose favour was thus secured, but their appearance was so dreadful in their suits of skins, scales, or feathers, and the masks to correspond, that many women were frightened and made ill, a state of affairs very bad for a small tribe that could not afford the loss of women and babies. What to do the men knew not, but the Totems took pity on them, and in dreams warned the old men to destroy the masks. Since then masks have been painted to indicate the Totem.”⁵

Among the Sauks and Foxes each clan, as usual, had a number of personal names which were borne by

¹ Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D.D., *Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs* (Newhaven, 1822), Appendix, p. 132.

² *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 473.

³ Miss Mary Alicia Owen, *Folk-lore of the Musquakie Indians of North America* (London, 1904), pp. 8-10. As to the name Miss Owen says (*op. cit.* p. 18) that “Musquakie means ‘fox,’ whether reference is made

to the animal or the tribesman, in Saukie, Kickapoo, and Musquakie, though the Saukies . . . say jokingly that Geechee Manito-ah made the Saukie out of yellow clay and the Squawkie out of red.”

⁴ Miss Mary Alicia Owen, *op. cit.* p. 25.

⁵ Miss Mary Alicia Owen, *Folk-lore of the Musquakie Indians of North America*, pp. 51 sq.

members of the clan. Thus in the Deer clan there was a personal name "Long Horn"; in the Wolf clan there was "Black Wolf"; in the Eagle clan there were "Eagle drawing his nest," "Eagle sitting with his head up," and "Eagle flying over a limb."¹

The rules of marriage, descent, and inheritance are the same among the Sauks and Foxes as among the Miamis; that is, no man is allowed to marry a woman of his own clan, children take their clan from their father, not from their mother, and property and office are hereditary in the clan.²

Rules of marriage and descent.

Another of the Central Algonkin tribes, which is closely related to the Sauks and Foxes both by blood and language are the Kickapoos. The earliest notice of the tribe places them in the northern part of the present State of Illinois, between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi. About half of the tribe is now settled on a reservation in Mexico. The Kickapoos are divided into clans, of which at the present day the names are Water, Tree, Berry, Thunder, Man, Bear, Elk, Turkey, -Bald Eagle, Wolf, and Fox. The rule was that no man might marry a woman of his own clan; children took the clan of their father.³ The Kickapoos have the classificatory system of relationship in a form which agrees with that of the Miamis.⁴

Totemic clans of the Kickapoos, another Algonkin tribe.

The classificatory system of relationship.

Another Algonkin tribe of this region who have totemism are the Menominees. They now occupy a reservation at Keshena in North-eastern Wisconsin, which is almost the same territory that they held when they were discovered by Jean Nicollet in 1634. Their language shews that they are more nearly related to the Ojibways than to any other Algonkin tribe. In recent years certain of their customs and myths have been investigated and recorded in great detail by Dr. W. J. Hoffman.⁵ He tells us that at the time

The Menominees, another Algonkin tribe.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 169, note ¹.

Table II. pp. 293 *sqq.*

⁵ W. J. Hoffman, M.D., "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1896) pp. 11-328. Compare *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 842 *sqq.*

² L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 170.

³ *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 684 *sq.*

⁴ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 213, and

Totemic
clans and
phratries of
the Meno-
minees.

when he wrote (1892-93) the Menominees were divided into totemic clans, which were named and grouped under phratries as follows in the order of their importance :—¹

MENOMINEE TOTEMIC SYSTEM

Phratries.	Clans.
I. Bear . . . {	1. Bear. 2. Porcupine. 3. Turtle. 4. Crane. 5. Wolf. 6. Otter. 7. Sturgeon. 8. Sunfish.
II. Big Thunder. {	1. Golden Eagle. 2. Fork-tail Hawk. 3. Bald Eagle. 4. Turkey-buzzard. 5. Swift-flying Hawk. 6. Winter Hawk (remains all winter in Wisconsin). 7. Sparrow Hawk. 8. Red-tail Hawk. 9. Crow. 10. Raven. 11. Beaver. 12. Elk. 13. Pine Squirrel.
III. Wolf . . .	1. Wolf. 2. Dog. 3. Deer.

On the position of the Wolf clan in the first phratry Dr. Hoffman observes that "although the Wolf is recognized as a member of the Bear phratry, his true position is at the head of the third phratry."

Another
list of the
totemic
clans and
phratries of
the Meno-
minees.

Having given the above as the list of "the Menomini totems or gentes as they exist at this day," Dr. Hoffman adds: "According to Shu'nien and Wios'kasit the arrangement of totems into phratries and subphratries was as follows :

"I. The *Owa'sse wi'dishi'anun*, or Bear phratry, consisting of the following totems and subphratries :

Owa'sse
Migkã'no
Kitã'mi
Namã'nu
O'sass

Bear
Mud-turtle } Totems
Porcupine }
Beaver { Subphratries (these
Muskrat { two being
brothers).

¹ W. J. Hoffman, "The Menomini of the Bureau of Ethnology, Part i. Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report* (Washington, 1896) p. 41.

" II. The *Kinā'u wi'dishi'anun*, or Eagle phratry, consisting of the following totems :

<i>Pināsh'iu</i>	Bald Eagle
<i>Kaka'kē</i>	Crow
<i>Inä qtēk</i>	Raven
<i>Mā'qkuand'ni</i>	Red-tail Hawk
<i>'Hinanā'shiu'</i>	Golden Eagle
<i>Pē'nikī'konau</i>	Fish Hawk

" III. The *Otā'tshia wi'dishi'anun*, or Crane phratry, consisting of the following totems :

<i>Otā-tshia</i>	Crane
<i>Shakshak'eu</i>	Great Heron
<i>Os'se</i>	'Old Squaw' Duck
<i>O'kawā'siku</i>	Coot

" IV. The *Moqwai'o wi'dishi'anun*, or Wolf phratry, consisting of the following totems :

<i>Moqwai'o</i>	Wolf
<i>'Hana' [ānā'm]</i>	Dog
<i>Apaq'ssos</i>	Deer

" V. The *Mō's wi'dishi'anun*, or Moose phratry, with the following totems :

<i>Mō's</i>	Moose
<i>Oma'skos</i>	Elk
<i>Wabā'shiu</i>	Marten
<i>Wū'tshik</i>	Fisher" ¹

Dr. Hoffman gives no explanation of the discrepancies between the two foregoing lists of clans and phratries. Perhaps he means us to understand that the second list, given on the authority of two Indians, represents the ancient arrangement of the clans as it has been handed down in the traditions of the tribe. As to the marriage rules Dr. Hoffman is also silent. We may conjecture that the clans are, theoretically at least, exogamous, but it would hardly be safe to infer that the phratries are so also.

It should be observed that with one exception every phratry bears the name of a bird or animal which is also the name of one of the totem clans included under it. This naturally suggests that the present clans have been produced by the subdivision of older clans, which thereby passed into the rank of phratries. Similar evidence of the subdivision

Evidence that the Menominee phratries have originated by subdivision of the original totemic clans.

¹ W. J. Hoffman, "The Menominee Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1896) p. 42.

of totemic clans into new clans has already met us among the Mohicans and Ojibways.¹ The Big Thunder phratry appears at first sight to be an exception to this rule, but the exception is more apparent than real. For though the Big Thunder phratry does not include a Big Thunder clan, it includes the clan of the golden Eagle, the bird which is said to have been the representative of the Invisible Thunder.² It is a common belief of the American Indians that the clap of thunder is made by a big bird flapping its great wings.³

The rule of descent among the Menominees seems to have changed from the maternal to the paternal line.

With regard to the rule of descent Dr. Hoffman says: "Mother-right, the older form of descent in the female line, is not now recognized by the Menomini, who have advanced to the next stage, that of father-right, or descent in the male line. . . . Some of the ancient customs respecting the disposition of property and children, in the event of the death of either parent, are still spoken of, though now seldom, if ever, practised. As descent was in the mother's line, at her death both children and personal effects were transmitted to the nearest of the mother's totemic kin, while at the death of the father his personal property was divided among his relatives or the people of his totem."⁴ The view that the Menominees have passed from mother-kin to father-kin is supported by L. H. Morgan, who in 1859, questioning a Menominee man as to the rule of inheritance in his tribe, received the following answer: "If I should die, my brothers and maternal uncles would rob my wife and children of my property. We now expect that our children will inherit our effects, but there is no certainty of it. The old law gives my property to my nearest kindred who are not my children, but my brothers and sisters, and maternal uncles."⁵

¹ See above, pp. 44, 55, 57.

² W. J. Hoffman, "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1896) p. 39.

³ *Relations des Jésuites*, 1634, p. 27 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858); Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains* (Paris, 1724), i. 126; J. G. Müller, *Geschichte der amerikanischen Urreligionen* (Basel, 1867), pp. 120 sq.; D. G. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, Second Edition (New York, 1876), pp.

108, 163 sq.; G. B. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (London, 1893), p. 259; Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 508.

⁴ W. J. Hoffman, "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1896), p. 43.

⁵ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 170 sq.

Members of any totem clan regard as their relations all persons who have the same totem, even though they may belong to a different tribe, or even to tribes of a different linguistic family. Thus several Menominees of the Bear totem said to Dr. Hoffman that men of the Bear totem among the Sioux "must be of the same kinship with themselves, as they had the same common ancestor."¹

Kinship between members of the same totemic clan in different tribes.

With regard to the relation in which a man stands to his totemic animal, Dr. Hoffman tells us that "although a Bear man may kill a bear, he must first address himself to it and apologize for depriving it of life; and there are certain portions only of which he may eat, the head and paws being tabu, and no member of his totem may partake of these portions, although the individuals of all other totems may do so."² Elsewhere the same writer says: "Should an Indian of the Bear totem, or one whose adopted guardian is represented by the bear, desire to go hunting and meet with that animal, due apology would be paid to it before destroying it. The carcass would then be dressed and served, but no member of the Bear totem would partake of the meat, though the members of all other totems could freely do so. The hunter could, however, eat of the paws and head, the bones of the latter being subsequently placed upon a shelf, probably over the door, or in some other conspicuous place. Due reverence is paid to such a relic of the totem, and so strictly observed is this custom that no greater insult could be offered to the host than for any one to take down such bones and to cast them carelessly aside."³ We have seen that among the Ottawas men of the Bear clan used to apologise to a bear when they had killed it.⁴

Apologies for killing the totemic animal. A Bear man who has killed a bear may eat its head and paws.

The Menominees say that formerly there were more totemic clans, but that in course of time some of them have become extinct. The tradition as to the origin of some of

Menominee traditions as to the origin of their totemic clans and phratries.

¹ W. J. Hoffman, "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1896) p. 43. However, we are told that the Sioux (Dacotas) have not got totems. See below, p. 86.

² W. J. Hoffman, *op. cit.* p. 44.

³ W. J. Hoffman, *op. cit.* p. 65.

At first sight Dr. Hoffman's statements as to eating the head and paws of the bear seem to contradict each other. But perhaps he means that the Bear hunter who kills a bear may eat of these portions, though no other member of the Bear clan may do so.

⁴ Above, p. 67.

them runs thus. When the Great Mystery¹ made the earth, he created also numerous beings termed *manidos* or spirits, giving them the form of animals and birds. Most of the animal-*manidos* were malevolent (*Ānd'maqkī'u'* "underground beings"); and the bird-*manidos* were eagles and hawks, known as the Thunderers, chief of whom was the Invisible Thunder, represented by the Golden Eagle. When the Good Mystery (*Mashä' Ma'nidō*) saw that the bear was still an animal, he determined to allow him to change his form. This accordingly was done, and the bear was turned into a man at the Menominee River, near the spot where the animal first came out of the ground. The man found himself alone and called to the Golden Eagle to come and be his brother. So the eagle swooped down and took the form of a man. They laid their heads together and were just considering whom next to invite to join them, when they perceived a beaver approaching. The beaver begged to be taken into the totem of the Thunderers, but being a woman was called Beaver woman and was adopted as a younger brother—perhaps we should say sister—of the Thunderer. Soon afterwards the Bear and Eagle, standing on the river-bank, saw a sturgeon, and the Bear adopted the Sturgeon as his younger brother and servant. In like manner the Thunderer, who was the Golden Eagle, took the Elk to be his younger brother and water-carrier.

Another time the Bear was going up the Wisconsin River, but being weary he sat down to rest. Hard by, the river tumbled over rocks with a refreshing murmur, and from underneath the waterfall appeared the Wolf, who asked the Bear what he did there. The Bear said he was on a journey and being too tired to go further had sat down to rest. At that moment a crane flew by. The Bear

The Bear
and the
Golden
Eagle or
Thunderer.

The Bear,
the Wolf,
the Crane,
and other
animals.

¹ "*Mashä' Ma'nidō*, or Great Unknown. This term is not to be understood as implying a belief in one supreme being; there are several *manidos*, each supreme in his own realm, as well as many lesser mysteries, or deities, or spirits. Neither is it to be regarded as implying a definite recognition of spirituality corresponding to that of civilized peoples, for the

American Indians have not fully risen to the plane of psychotheism" (W. J. Hoffman, "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1896) p. 39, note¹). Dr. Hoffman represents *Mashä' Ma'nidō* variously as "the Great Mystery," "the Good Mystery," and "the Great Unknown."

called to the bird and prayed it to carry him to the Bear people at the head of the river, promising if he would do so to make him his younger brother. Just as the Bear was in the act of mounting on the back of the Crane, the Wolf called out, "Bear, I am alone. Take me also as a younger brother." That is why the Crane and the Wolf are now the younger brothers of the Bear; but afterwards the Wolf allowed the Deer and the Dog to join him, and therefore these three, as we have seen, now compose a phratry. But the Wolf ranks not only with their phratry, but also with the phratry of the Bear, where he is entitled to a seat in council on the north side.¹

The Good Mystery made the Thunderers to be labourers, that by their labours they might benefit the whole world. In spring days, when they return from the south-west, they bring with them the showers which make the black earth green and cause the plants to grow and the trees to put forth leaves. Were it not for the Thunderers, the earth would be parched, and the grass would wither and die. The Good Mystery also gave to the Thunderers his good gift of corn, the kind that is commonly called squaw corn, with small stalks and ears of various colours. The Thunderers were also the makers of fire, having first received it from Mä'näbüsh, the hero of many a Menominee tale, who himself stole it from an old man that dwelt on an island in a great lake. Among the Menominees to this day the Thunderers are charged with lighting the council fire, and when the tribe is on the march the Thunderers go on ahead to a camping-place and kindle the fire which is to be used by all the people. They are also the war-chiefs. They and the Bear people live together, the Bears taking their seats on the eastern side of the council and the Thunderers on the western.²

The Thunderers and their fertilising function.

The Thunderers the makers of fire.

The classificatory system of relationship among the Menominees.

The Menominees have the classificatory system of relationship in a form which is substantially identical with that of the Miamis, agreeing with it in treating male cousins, the sons of a brother and sister respectively, as uncle and

¹ W. J. Hoffman, "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1896) pp. 39 sq.

² W. J. Hoffman, *op. cit.* pp. 40 sq.

nephew, and female cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively, as mother and daughter.¹

§ 8. *Exogamy among the Algonkin Tribes of the Rocky Mountains*

The Blackfeet, the westernmost of the Algonkins.

The three tribes of Blackfeet.

Exogamous clans with male descent.

The westernmost of the Algonkins are the Blackfeet, a numerous nation, who range over the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains and the prairies at their foot. A well-built, hardy, and courageous people, they are or rather were a nation of horsemen and depended for their subsistence exclusively on hunting. Their country used to abound in game more perhaps than any other part of North America. Among the American Indians the Blackfeet had no superiors in horsemanship and none in the art of stalking such wary animals as the antelope. So long as the buffalo existed, the tribe lived chiefly on its flesh and clothed themselves in its skin.² They are divided into three tribes: the Blackfeet proper, the Blood Blackfeet, and the Piegan Blackfeet, all speaking the same language, observing the same customs, and acknowledging a tie of blood between them. Each tribe is subdivided into a number of clans, bodies of blood kindred tracing their descent in the male line. Formerly the members of a clan were all considered to be relatives, however remote, to each other, and there was a law prohibiting a man from marrying within his clan. In the old days this law was strictly enforced, but like many other old customs it is no longer observed. But though the clans are or used to be exogamous, they are apparently not totemic; at least Mr. G. B. Grinnell, one of our chief authorities on the Blackfeet, knows of no clan that has a totem. The names of the clans which he gives confirm this view of the absence of totemism in the nation.³

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 213, and Table II. pp. 293 sqq. As to the Miami form of the system, see above, pp. 69-71.

² L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* pp. 224 sq.; G. B. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (London, 1893), pp. 177 sqq., 226 sq., 241.

³ G. B. Grinnell, *op. cit.* pp. 208-211. In the Blackfeet proper Mr. Grinnell enumerates eight clans or, as he calls them, gentes; in the Blood Blackfeet, thirteen; and in the Piegan Blackfeet, twenty-four. Among the names of the clans are, for example, Flat Bows, Many Medicines, Black Elks, Liars, Biters, Skunks,

However, the Blackfeet have the classificatory system of relationship, though in an advanced form ; for under it a man calls his father's brother " my step-father," not " my father " ; he calls his mother's sister " my step-mother," not " my mother " ; he calls his brother's son and daughter " my step-son " and " my step-daughter," not " my son " and " my daughter." On the other hand, he continues, as usual, to call his cousins, the son and daughter of his father's brother, " my brother " and " my sister " ; he calls his grandfather's brother " my grandfather " ; and he calls the grandchildren of his brother and sister, and also of his collateral brothers and sisters, " my grandchildren."¹

The Blackfeet marry as many wives as they please. All the younger sisters of a man's wife were regarded as his wives, if he chose to take them. If he did not wish to marry them, they might not be given in marriage to any other man without his consent. When a man dies, his eldest brother has the right to marry the widow or widows.²

Right to marry all a wife's younger sisters. The levirate.

§ 9. Totemism among the Omahas

Thus far we have surveyed the totemic systems, first, of the Iroquois-Huron, and, next, of the Algonkin family. We now pass to the consideration of a third great family or stock of North American Indians, which may be called the Siouan or Dacotan from the Sioux or Dacotas, the largest and most famous members of the family. At the time of their discovery the Siouan family had fallen into a number of groups, and their language into a number of dialects, which differed from each other much more widely than the various dialects of the Algonkin language. But in the main the Siouan tribes inhabited continuous areas. They occupied the head-waters of the Mississippi and both banks of the Missouri for more than a thousand miles in

The Siouan or Dacotan family.

Many Lodge Poles, Hair Shirts, Short Bows, Dried Meat, Black Patched Mocassins, They Don't Laugh, Seldom Lonesome, Obstinate, Lone Fighters, Small Robes, Big Topknots, Worm people, All Chiefs, Red Round Robes. Compare L. H. Morgan, *Systems of*

Consanguinity and Affinity, pp. 224 sq. ; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 171.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 225 sq., and Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

² G. B. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, pp. 215, 217, 218.

They occupied the head-waters of the Mississippi and both banks of the Missouri; but they seem to have moved thither from the east.

extent. Roughly speaking, their territory reached from the Arkansas River on the south to the Saskatchewan River on the north, and from the Mississippi on the east to the Rocky Mountains on the west. But there are reasons to think that this was not their original home; for tribes speaking archaic dialects of the Siouan speech have been found in Virginia and Louisiana. It is now believed, therefore, that the Siouan or Dacotan stock had its original home, not on the prairies of the west, but at the eastern foot of the Southern Alleghanies, till the pressure of the hostile Algonkin and Iroquoian tribes forced them back into the prairies west of the Mississippi, where they subsisted by hunting the buffalo.¹

The Sioux proper or Dacotas have not now got totemism; but there is some reason to think that they had it formerly.

Of the tribes composing this stock it appears that the Sioux proper, or Dacotas, as they called themselves, had not the totemic system; at all events competent authorities failed to find it among them in the nineteenth century.² However, there are some grounds for thinking that they possessed the system as late as the middle of the eighteenth century. Thus Captain Carver, who explored the region of the Great Lakes and the head-waters of the Mississippi in 1766, writes as follows: "Every separate body of Indians is divided into bands or tribes; which band or tribe forms a little community with the nation to which it belongs. As the nation has some particular symbol by which it is distinguished from others, so each tribe has a badge from

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 170 sq.; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 154; J. Mooney, *The Siouan Tribes of the East* (Washington, 1894), pp. 5 sqq.; J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 528 sq. As to the various Siouan or Dacotan tribes, see S. R. Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography* (Washington, 1893), pp. 155 sqq.; W. J. McGee, "The Siouan Indians," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 157 sqq.; J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *ibid.* pp. 213 sqq.

² *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, prepared for the press by Edwin James, M.D.

(London, 1830) pp. 313; W. W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (1885) p. 43 ("From personal knowledge and enquiry, I can confidently assert that among the Dakotas the system is not known"); L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 154; S. R. Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography* (Washington, 1893), p. 195 (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. ix.). The last-mentioned writer (Riggs) observes that "the real foundation for the totemic system exists among the Dakota as well as the Iroquois, in the names of men often being taken from mythical animals, but the system was never carried to perfection."

which it is denominated : as that of the Eagle, the Panther, the Tiger, the Buffalo, etc., etc. One band of the Naudowessie is represented by a Snake, another a Tortoise, a third a Squirrel, a fourth a Wolf, and a fifth a Buffalo. Throughout every nation they particularize themselves in the same manner, and the meanest person among them will remember his lineal descent, and distinguish himself by his respective family."¹ As Naudowessie is an old name for the Sioux or Dacotas,² Carver's testimony certainly seems to shew that those of the Dacotas with whom he came into contact were divided into totemic clans, as Morgan has already pointed out.³ However, in modern times the numerous bands of which the tribe is composed appear to lack the characteristics of totemic clans, being neither named after animals nor exogamous.⁴ Accordingly they need not be here considered. But if the Dacotas themselves no longer possess totemism, many of the tribes of the same stock are still, or were till lately, divided into totemic clans. We begin our survey of them with the Omahas, a tribe of the Missouri valley in the State of Nebraska. The remainder of the tribe is now settled on a reservation in Burt County.⁵

However, some tribes of the Dacotan stock have totemism.

The Omahas supported themselves partly by agriculture and partly by the chase. Their village, consisting of "dirt-lodges," was situated within a few miles of the Missouri, but they only occupied it for about five months in the year, returning to it in order to attend to their crops ;

The Omahas, a Siouan tribe of the Missouri.

¹ J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, Third Edition (London, 1781), pp. 255 sq.

² *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 380.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 154.

⁴ *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 378. For lists of these bands, see Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 215 sqq. The writer calls these bands "gentes." Among the names of the bands mentioned by Dorsey are "Not encumbered with much baggage," "Eats-no-

geese," "Bad Nation," "Village on the Prairie," "Shooters among the Leaves," "Village at the Dam," "Dwellers on the Sand," "Dwellers on the Island," "Dwellers at the South," "Five Lodges," "Those who lay meat on their shoulders," etc. Another is called "Breakers (of the law or custom)," being so called "because members of this gens disregarded the marriage law by taking wives within the gens."

⁵ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 155 ; Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), p. 214 ; J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 530.

for they planted maize, beans, pumpkins, and water-melons, but no other vegetables. At other times of the year they roamed the country in the pursuit of the buffalo, their favourite game, which they followed on horseback. The flesh of the buffalo, dried in the sun or jerked over a slow fire and condensed into cakes, was one of their principal foods, but they also hunted the deer and the elk, and trapped beavers and otters. The skins of all these animals they dressed and bartered with traders for the blankets, guns, powder, calico, knives and so forth, of which they stood in need.¹ On the whole the Omahas depended mainly on the hunt for food, clothing, and shelter.²

We have a comparatively full account of Omaha totemism, including information about the totemic taboos. Such information is rarely given as to the American Indians.

The Omahas have had the good fortune to be studied by several competent observers, and accordingly we possess a more detailed account of their totemic system than of any other Indian tribe in North America. For the most part, as the reader may have already perceived, our knowledge of the totemism of an American Indian tribe comprises little more than a bare list of the names of the clans with a brief statement of the rules of marriage and descent. In fact the attention of American observers, even of an observer so sagacious as L. H. Morgan, seems to have been turned almost exclusively to the social side of totemism, while the religious or superstitious side of the system, in other words, the relation in which human beings are supposed to stand to their totemic objects, has been almost wholly overlooked. As a consequence, while we are generally informed as to the social taboo which forbids marriage within the totemic clan, we have commonly no information at all as to the religious or superstitious taboos which regulate the behaviour of the

¹ Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains performed in the years 1819, 1820, under the command of Major S. H. Long* (London, 1823), i. 181-204.

² J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Socio-logy," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), p. 221. As to the houses, furniture, and implements of the Omahas, see *id.* "Omaha Dwellings, Furniture, and Implements," *Thirteenth*

Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1896), pp. 269-288. The "dirt-lodges" or "earth-lodges" of the Omahas were circular huts, consisting of a wooden framework thatched with grass, the whole structure being covered over with earth one or two feet deep. A hole in the middle allowed the smoke to escape. The Omahas formerly made pottery. They used stone knives and hoed the ground with the shoulder-blades of buffaloes (J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 278).

clanspeople towards their totem. Even such a simple matter as the rule whether a man may or may not kill and eat his totem animal has been very rarely recorded of any American tribe. It would be rash to assume from the silence of our authorities that no such superstitious taboos exist in tribes where they have not been recorded, and that to the American Indians in general their totemic names mean no more than the proper names Bull, Lamb, and Rose mean to us. The example of totemic tribes in many other parts of the world would suffice to raise a strong presumption that the Indians of America regard, or at some former time regarded, their totems with superstitious respect and awe; and this presumption is greatly strengthened by the case of the Omahas, who are known to have so regarded their totems, and to have observed accordingly a system of taboos in respect of them. It is in the highest degree improbable that in doing so the Omahas were exceptional; far more probably similar taboos have been observed by all the totemic tribes of North America, though unfortunately very few of them have been put on record. We are bound to be all the more grateful to the men of truly scientific spirit who have had the intelligence to note and the patience to record the totemic taboos of the Omahas.

Of these records we possess two, the first obtained by Major S. H. Long's expedition in 1819 and 1820, and the second by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, who was a missionary to the kindred tribe of Ponkas from 1871 to 1873 and afterwards studied the Omahas and other tribes of the Siouan family for the American Bureau of Ethnology. Dorsey's record is much the fuller and in many respects the more valuable of the two; but Long's is also of great interest and importance, because it was procured at a time when the Omahas were still independent and when they retained their ancient customs and beliefs very little affected by contact with civilisation. Accordingly, I shall reproduce the earlier record entire in the words of the writer, Dr. Edwin James, the botanist and geologist of the expedition, who edited the journals of Major Long and his colleagues. The information with regard to the Omahas, or Omawhaws, as James calls them, was in great measure obtained from Mr. John

The
researches
of Major
Long's
expedition
and of the
Rev. J.
Owen
Dorsey.

Dougherty, Deputy Indian Agent for the Missouri, "who had an excellent opportunity of making himself acquainted with the natives, by residing for a time in the Omawhaw village, and by visiting all the different nations of this river [the Missouri]." ¹ The account runs thus :—²

Totemic
clans and
taboos
of the
Omahas,
as reported
by Major
Long's
expedition.

The Omawhaw nation is divided into two principal sections or tribes, which are distinguished by the names Honga-sha-no and Ish-ta-sun-da ; the latter means Grey Eyes.

The first-mentioned tribe is subdivided into eight bands, viz.

1. *Wase-ish-ta*.—This band is interdicted from eating the flesh of male deer or male elk, in consequence of having their great medicine, which is a large shell, enveloped in the prepared skin of those animals.³ The chief of this band is the Big Elk, Ongpatungah ; and it is more powerful and numerous in individuals than either of the others. . . .

2. *Enk-ka-sa-ba*.—This band will not eat red maize. They ascribe to their family the greatest antiquity, and declare that their first man emerged from the water with an ear of red maize in his hand. The principal chief is Ishkatappe.

3. *Wa-sa-ba-eta-je* ; or, those who do not touch bears.—This band refrains from eating the flesh of bears.

4. *Ka-e-ta-je*, or those who do not touch turtles or tortoises.

5. *Wa-jinga-e-ta-je*, or those who do not touch any kind of bird, excepting the war-eagle.

6. *Hun-guh*.—This band does not eat white cranes, as the down of that bird is their medicine.

7. *Kon-sa*.—This band must not touch the green clay, or even verdigrise, both of which are used as pigments by the other bands, for ornamenting their persons.

8. *Ta-pa-taj-je*.—This band must not touch deers' heads, neither must they wear deer-skin mockasins. Many of the individuals of this band are partially gray-haired. This change of the hair, which they

¹ Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains performed in the years 1819, 1820, under the command of Major S. H. Long* (London, 1823), i. 181.

² E. James, *op. cit.* ii. 47-50.

³ This sacred shell, Dr. James tells us (pp. 47 *sq.*), wrapped in its skin covering, was kept in "a skin lodge or temple," under charge of a person who constantly resided in the lodge and guarded the shell. It was placed on a stand and never allowed to touch the earth. No one dared to open the skin and look at the shell, for they thought

that the sight of it would instantly blind them. The sacred bundle was taken with the band to all national hunts, being transported on a man's back. And before a national expedition was undertaken against an enemy, the holy shell was consulted as an oracle. The medicine-men smoked and listened for a sound from the sacred bundle. If a sound resembling a strong expulsion of breath or a distant gunshot was heard, they took it for a favourable omen ; and the expedition advanced with confidence. If no such sound was heard, they deemed the issue doubtful. As to the sacred shell, see also below, p. 107.

consider as a deformity, is attributed to a violation of the above-mentioned laws prescribed by their medicine.

The second division, or tribe *Ishtasunda*, is subdivided into five bands.

1. *Ta-pa-eta-je*.—This band does not touch bison heads.

2. *Mon-eku-goh-ha*, or the earth-makers. — Of this band was the celebrated Black Bird. They are not forbidden the use of any aliment; and are said to have originated the present mode of mourning, by rubbing the body with whitish clay.

3. *Ta-sin-da*, or the bison tail.—This band does not eat bison calves, in the first year of the age of that animal.

4. *Ing-gera-je-da*, or the red dung. — This name is said to have originated from the circumstance of this band having formerly quarrelled, and separated themselves from the nation, until, being nearly starved, they were compelled to eat the fruit of the wild cherry-tree, until their excrement became red.

5. *Wash-a-tung*.—This band must not touch any of the reptilia class of animals.

Each of these animals, or parts of animals, which the bands respectively are forbidden to touch or eat, is regarded as the particular mysterious medicine of the band collectively, to which it relates.

This singular, and, to us, absurd law of interdiction, is generally rigidly observed; and a violation of it, they firmly believe, will be followed by some signal judgment, such as blindness, gray hairs, or general misfortune. Even should the forbidden food be eaten inadvertently, or but tasted through ignorance, sickness they believe would be the inevitable consequence, not only to the unfortunate individual himself, but involving his wife and children also.

In this account of the Omaha bands or clans, no mention is made of the rule of exogamy, which forbids a man to marry a woman of his own clan; but this omission is supplied, as we shall see, by later writers. Thus it would appear from the account which I have just quoted that in the years 1819-1820 the Omaha were divided into thirteen totemic clans, which were arranged in two groups, perhaps phratries, as follows:—

Tribal Divisions (Phratries?).	Clans.	Totems.	Taboos.
<i>Honga-sha-no</i>	1. <i>Wase-ish-ta</i>	Male deer and male elk	Forbidden to eat flesh of male deer or male elk.
	2. <i>Enk-ka-sa-ba</i>	Red Maize	Forbidden to eat red maize.
	3. <i>Wa-sa-ba-eta-je</i>	Bear	Forbidden to eat the flesh of bears.
	4. <i>Ka-e-ta-je</i>	Turtle (Tortoise)	Forbidden to touch turtles or tortoises.
	5. <i>Wa-jinga-e-ta-je</i>	Bird	Forbidden to touch any bird except the war-eagle.
	6. <i>Hun-guh</i>	White Crane	Forbidden to eat white cranes.
	7. <i>Kon-za</i>	Green Clay and verdigris	Forbidden to touch green clay and verdigris.
	8. <i>Ta-pa-taj-je</i>	Deers' heads and deer-skin moc-casins	Forbidden to touch deers' heads and to wear deer-skin moc-casins.
<i>Ish-ta-sun-da</i> (Grey Eyes)	1. <i>Ta-pa-eta-je</i>	Heads of Buffaloes	Forbidden to touch heads of buffaloes.
	2. <i>Mon-eka-goh-ha</i>	White clay?	?
	3. <i>Ta-sin-da</i>	Tails of buffaloes	Forbidden to eat buffalo calves one year old.
	4. <i>Ing-gera-je-da</i>	Red dung?	?
	5. <i>Wash-a-tung</i>	Reptiles	Forbidden to touch reptiles.

Morgan's
list of
Omaha
clans.

Some forty years later, in 1860, L. H. Morgan obtained a list of twelve Omaha clans as follows:—¹

1. <i>Wâ-zhese-ta</i>	Deer.
2. <i>Ink-ka-sa-ba</i>	Black.
3. <i>Lâ-tâ-dâ</i>	Bird.
4. <i>Kâ-ih</i>	Turtle.
5. <i>Da-thun-da</i>	Buffalo.
6. <i>Wâ-sâ-ba</i>	Bear.
7. <i>Hun-gâ</i>	Medicine.
8. <i>Kunzâ</i>	Kaw.
9. <i>Tâ-pâ</i>	Head.
10. <i>In-grâ-zhe-da</i>	Red.
11. <i>Ish-dâ-sun-da</i>	Thunder.
12. <i>O-non-e-kâ gâ-ha</i>	Many seasons.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 155. As Morgan ascertained the Omaha classificatory terms of relationship at Omaha, in Nebraska, in June 1860 (*Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p.

284), I have assumed that he obtained his list of the clans at the same time. He was at work among the Eastern Dakotas in 1861 and among the Western in 1862 (*Ancient Society*, p. 154).

A comparison of this list with the preceding one will shew that while the two agree in some things, they differ in others. The discrepancies may be due to the changes which presumably took place among the Omahas in the interval. The name of Morgan's Thunder clan (*Ish-dâ-sun-da*) is clearly identical with *Ish-ta-sun-da*, which according to Dr. James's information was not a clan or band, but one of the two great divisions into which the whole nation or tribe was distributed.

When the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey studied the Omahas some sixty years after Major Long's expedition,¹ he found them organised in ten totemic clans, which were equally distributed between the same two great tribal divisions which had been recorded by his predecessors. The names of the two tribal divisions, according to Dorsey, are *Hanggashenoo* and *Eeshtasanda*, which are clearly identical with the *Hongasha-no* and *Ish-ta-sun-da* of Major Long; and each of the two divisions comprises five clans under it. In former days, when the tribe was encamped, the ten clans pitched their tents in a circle, the five clans of the Hanggashenoo division forming a semicircle on the right side of the line of march, and the five clans of the Eeshtasanda division forming the other semicircle on the left side of the line of march. Each clan had its regular place in the camp.² Further, each

The Rev. J. Owen Dorsey's account of the Omaha clans, sub-clans, and totemic taboos.

¹ The principal results of Mr. Dorsey's study of the Omahas and the kindred Siouan tribes are embodied in the three following papers: (1) "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 205-370; (2) "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), pp. 361-544; (3) "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 205-244.

² J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 219 sq. In giving the Omaha names of the clans, subclans, and tribal subdivisions I have discarded Dorsey's peculiar spelling with the explanations given by Dorsey him-

self (p. 206). Thus I write *sh* instead of *c*; *th* instead of *q*; *ee* instead of *i*; *ng* instead of *n*; *oo* instead of *u*, etc.; and I have regularly restored to their usual position the consonants which Dorsey has placed upside down. Dorsey's spelling agrees in the main with the alphabet which the American Bureau of Ethnology has adopted for representing the sounds of the native Indian languages. It doubtless represents those sounds much more exactly than the spelling which I have adopted; but on the other hand it is complicated and uncouth and would be hardly intelligible to English readers. I have been content to sacrifice a certain degree of exactness for the sake of simplicity and intelligibility. Further, my spelling has the advantage of bringing out more clearly the agreement of the clan names given by Dorsey with those given by his predecessors.

Omaha clan is subdivided into subclans. The number of the subclans varies, at present, according to the particular clan; but Dorsey found traces of the existence of four subclans in each clan in former days. The subclans themselves seem to be composed of a number of groups of a still lower order which may be called sections.¹

The list of Omaha clans (*gentes*) and subclans (*sub-gentes*) with their respective taboos, as ascertained by J. Owen Dorsey, is in the main as follows:—²

I. In the *Hanggashenoo* division of the tribe there were these five clans:

The Elk
clan.

1. The *Wejeeshte* or Elk clan. It has the first place in the tribal circle. The members of this clan are afraid to touch any part of the male elk or to eat its flesh, and they may not eat the flesh of the male deer. Should they accidentally violate this custom, they say that they are sure to break out in boils and white spots on different parts of the body. But when a member of this clan dies, he is buried in moccasins made of deer skin.

The Black
Shoulder
(Buffalo)
clan.

2. The *Eengke-sabě* or Black Shoulder clan. This is a Buffalo clan. Its place in the tribal circle is next to that of the Elk clan. The clan has a tradition that its ancestors were once buffaloes who lived under water, but that having reached the land they snuffed at the four winds and prayed to them. When the Omahas went on the buffalo hunt and could get skins for tents, it was customary to decorate the principal tent of this clan on the outside with three circles, within each of which was painted a buffalo head. The clan used to be divided into four subclans, of which one is now extinct. The names of some of the subclans are variously given. (*a*) The members of one of them (the *Wathigreje*) are forbidden to eat buffalo tongues and to touch buffalo heads. (*b*) The members of a second (the *Watazejeede thataji*) are forbidden to eat red maize. (*c*) The members of a third (the *Eekeethě*) are or were the criers of the tribe. (*d*) And the members of a fourth subdivision of the clan

¹ J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), p. 215.

² J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Socio-

logy," *op. cit.* pp. 225-251. As to spelling of the native names of the tribal divisions, clans, and subclans, see above, p. 93, note ².

(the *Tc-he-sabě eetaji*) are not allowed to touch black horns (of buffaloes). But it is doubtful whether this last subdivision was strictly a subclan.

3. The *Hangga* clan. This, like the *Eengke-sabě*, is a Buffalo clan and camps next to it in the tribal circle. They, too, have a tradition that their ancestors were once buffaloes and lived under water. The clan is divided into two subclans, each of which has several names. (a) One of the subclans is sometimes spoken of by a name which means "Pertaining to the sacred cotton-wood bark"; but when its members are described by their taboos, they are called "Those who do not eat buffalo sides" and "Those who do not eat geese, swans, and cranes." They are allowed to eat buffalo tongues. (b) The second subclan is often referred to as "Pertaining to the sacred skin of the white buffalo cow"; but when reference is made to their taboo they are called by a name which seems to mean "They cannot eat buffalo tongues." However, they are at liberty to eat buffalo sides, which the other members of the *Hangga* clan are not allowed to do.

4. The *Thatada* clan. It occupies the fourth place in the tribal circle, next to the *Hangga* clan. But unlike other clans, its subclans have separate camping areas. Were it not for the marriage law, says Dorsey, we should say that the *Thatada* was a phratry and that its subclans were clans. These subclans are four in number, as follows: (a) The *Wasabe-heetaji* subclan. Its name is derived from *wasabe*, "a black bear," *ha*, "a skin," and *eetaji*, "not to touch"; so that the name of the clan means "Those who do not touch the skin of a black bear." The members of this subclan are forbidden to touch the hide of a black bear and to eat its flesh. They say that their ancestors were made underground, and that they afterwards came to the surface. This Black Bear subclan is itself reported to be subdivided into four sections, to wit, the Black Bears, the Raccoons, the Grizzly Bears, and the Porcupines. Of these four sections the Black Bears and the Raccoons are said to be brothers, and when a man kills a black bear, he says, "I have killed a raccoon." (b) The *Wajeenga thataji* subclan. This name means "They who do not eat (small) birds." The

members of this subclan may eat wild turkeys, geese, ducks, and cranes. When they are sick, they may eat prairie chickens. When they are on the warpath, the only birds tabooed to them are the hawk and the martin. One of his Indian informants told Dorsey that this Small Bird subclan was itself subdivided into sections and subsections as follows : I. Hawk people : II. Blackbird people, subdivided again into White heads, Red heads, Yellow heads, and Red wings. III. Gray Blackbird (the common starling) or Thunder people, subdivided again into Gray Blackbirds, Meadow larks, Prairie-chickens, and perhaps Martins. IV. Owl and Magpie people, subdivided again into Great Owls, Small Owls, and Magpies. However, two other of Dorsey's Indian informants denied that the Small Bird subclan was subdivided into these sections and subsections. (c) The *Te-pa-eetaji* subclan. These are the Eagle people, but they are not allowed to touch a buffalo head. According to one of Dorsey's informants, this subclan is again subdivided into four sections called respectively "Keepers of the Pipe," "The only Hangga," "Real Eagle," and "Bald Eagle." (d) The *Ke-ee* or Turtle subclan. The members of this subclan may not eat a turtle, but they are allowed to touch or carry one. Figures of turtles were painted on the outside of their tents. One of Dorsey's informants affirmed, and two others denied, that the Turtle subclan was itself subdivided into four sections called respectively "Big Turtle," "Turtle that does not flee," "Red-breasted Turtle," and "Spotted Turtle with Red Eyes."

The
Verdigris
clan.

5. The *Kaze* or *Kansas* clan. The members of the clan are forbidden to touch verdigris, which they call "green clay" (*wase-too*) or "gray green clay" (*wase-too-goode*). The clan is subdivided into two or four subclans, for with regard to the number of the subclans there was a difference of opinion among Dorsey's informants. One of the subclans was called "Keepers of a Pipe" and another "Wind people."

II. We now come to the five clans of the *Eeshtasanda* division. They are as follows :

The Wolf
clan.

I. The *Mathingka-gaghe* clan. The name means "The Earth-lodge Makers," but the clan is a Wolf clan, for the

members of it call themselves the Wolf People, or the Prairie Wolf People. In the tribal circle the Wolf clan camps next to the *Kansas* clan, but on the opposite side of the road. They form the first of the *Eeshtasanda* clans. Their principal mythical ancestors (*nikie*)¹ are the coyote, the wolf, and certain sacred stones, as to the number and colours of which opinions differ. One story is that the stones were made by the coyote or prairie wolf in ancient days for the purpose of bewitching enemies. The clan is subdivided into several subclans, as to the number and names of which Dorsey's informants were not agreed. One subclan is said to have been called "Keepers of the Pipe," another "Sacred Persons," another "the Coyote and Wolf People," another "Keepers of the Sacred Stones," and a third, "Those who do not touch Swans."

2. The *Te-sinde* or Buffalo-tail clan. In the tribal circle it camps between the *Mathingka-gaghe* clan and the *Ta-da* clan. Members of this clan may not eat a calf while it is red, but they may eat it when it turns black. This rule applies to the calf of the domestic cow as well as to that of the buffalo. Further, members of the clan may not touch a buffalo head nor eat the meat on the lowest rib of the buffalo, because the head of the calf before birth touches the mother near that rib. For purposes of marriage this clan is undivided.

The
Buffalo-
tail clan.

3. The *Ta-pa* or Deer-head clan. Their place in the tribal circle is next after that of the *Te-sinde* clan. Members of this clan may eat the flesh of deer, but they may not touch the skin of any animal of the deer family, nor wear mocassins of deer-skin, nor use the fat of deer for hair-oil, as the other Omahas do. According to some, the members of this clan are further forbidden to touch charcoal. For purposes of marriage this clan is subdivided into three or four subclans. One subclan is that of "The Keepers of the Sacred Pipe." They are said to be Eagle People and to have a special taboo, being forbidden to touch verdigris

The Deer-
head clan.

¹ "Nikie is a term that refers to a mythical ancestor, to some part of his body, to some of his acts, or to some ancient rite ascribed to him. A 'nikie' name is a personal name of

such a character" (J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 367).

charcoal, and the skin of the wild cat. Another subclan is said to be that of "The Thunder People," and a third that of "The Real Deer People."

The Red
Dung (?)
clan,

4. The *Eengthe-jeede* clan. The name has been explained in various ways. It seems to mean "red dung." The place of the clan in the tribal circle is next to the Ta-da clan. Members of the clan may not eat a buffalo calf. It appears, says Dorsey, that the two Buffalo clans of the *Eeshtasanda* division are Buffalo-calf clans, and that the two Buffalo clans of the *Hanggathenoo* division are connected with the grown buffalo. The skin-tents of the *Eengge-jeede* clan are decorated on each side of the entrance with a circle, within which is sketched the body of a buffalo calf, visible from the flanks upward. The clan is not subdivided for purposes of marriage.

The
Reptile
clan:

5. The *Eeshtasanda* clan. The meaning of the name is uncertain. According to one account the name (spelled *Ish-ta-sun-da*) means "Grey Eyes."¹ Members of the clan may not touch worms, snakes, toads, frogs, or any other kinds of reptiles. Hence they are sometimes called "the Reptile People." For purposes of marriage the clan is subdivided into three or perhaps four subclans. One of the subclans is called "Keepers of the Pipe" or "Real *Eeshtasanda*," another is called "Reptile People," and a third "Thunder People" (*Eengtha*). The "Reptile People" are sometimes called "Keepers of the Claws of the Wild-cat," because they bind these claws to the waist of a new-born infant; and the "Thunder People" are sometimes called "Keepers of the Clam Shell," because they bind a clam shell to the waist of a child of the subclan, when he is forward in learning to walk.

List of
Omaha
clans,
with the
authorities.

The three lists of Omaha totems furnished by Long (James), Morgan, and Dorsey will be found on comparison to agree in the main, though they differ in detail, as will appear from the following table, in which the subclans mentioned by Dorsey are omitted, except in so far as they appear to coincide with the clans enumerated by Long and Morgan:—

¹ See above, p. 90.

OMAHA TOTEMS AND CLANS

Totems.	Clans and Subclans.	Authorities.
Male Elk and Deer	<i>Wase-ish-ta</i>	Long
" "	<i>Wâ-zhese-ta</i>	Morgan
" "	<i>Wejeeshte</i>	Dorsey
Red Maize	<i>Enk-ka-sa-ba</i>	Long
" "	<i>Watasee-jeedethataji</i> (subclan)	Dorsey
Bear	<i>Wa-sa-ba-eta-je</i>	Long
" "	<i>Wâ-sâ-ba</i>	Morgan
" "	<i>Wasaba-heetaji</i> (subclan)	Dorsey
Turtle (Tortoise)	<i>Ka-e-ta-je</i>	Long
" "	<i>Kâ-ih</i>	Morgan
" "	<i>Ke-ee</i> (subclan)	Dorsey
Bird	<i>Wa-jinga-e-ta-je</i>	Long
" "	<i>Lâ-tâ-dâ</i>	Morgan
" "	<i>Wa-jeengathataji</i> (subclan)	Dorsey
White Crane	<i>Hun-guh</i>	Long
" "	<i>Hun-gâ</i> (medicine)	Morgan
" "	<i>Hangga</i>	Dorsey
Verdigris	<i>Kon-za</i>	Long
" "	<i>Kunzâ</i> (Kaw)	Morgan
" "	<i>Kaze</i> or <i>Kansas</i>	Dorsey
Deer-head	<i>Ta-pa-taj-je</i>	Long
" "	<i>Ta-pa</i>	Dorsey
Buffalo-head	<i>Ta-pa-eta-je</i>	Long
" "	<i>Tâ-pâ</i>	Morgan
" "	<i>Te-pa-eetaji</i> (subclan)	Dorsey
White Clay?	<i>Mon-eka-goh-ha</i>	Long
Buffalo-tail	<i>Ta-sin-da</i>	Long
" "	<i>Te-sinde</i>	Dorsey
Red Dung	<i>Ing-gera-je-da</i>	Long
" "	<i>Ing-grâ-zhe-da</i>	Morgan
" "	<i>Eengthe-jeede</i>	Dorsey
Reptiles	<i>Wash-a-tung</i>	Long
" "	<i>Eeshtasanda</i>	Dorsey
Thunder	<i>Ish-dâ-sun-da</i>	Morgan
" "	<i>Eengtha</i> (subclan)	Dorsey
Black Shoulder (Buffalo)	<i>Eengka-sabe</i>	Dorsey
" ?	<i>Thatada</i>	Dorsey
Wolf?	<i>Mathingka-gaghe</i>	Dorsey

Hence we see that the Red Maize, Bear, Turtle, Bird, Buffalo-head, and Thunder, which are reckoned as clans by Long or Morgan or both, are described as subclans by Dorsey. It may be that in the interval between Long's or Morgan's visit to the Omahas and Dorsey's examination of the tribe these totemic divisions may have fallen from the rank of clans to that of subclans; but it is more probable

Apparent
confusion
between
clans and
subclans
in some
reports.

that Long and Morgan mistook (as they might easily do) subclans for clans, and that the more exact investigations of Dorsey revealed the error. The existence of subclans for purposes of marriage within the totemic clans is interesting and instructive, because it furnishes a fresh illustration of the strong tendency of totemic clans to subdivide into new divisions, which in time assume the rank of clans, while the original clans, from which they sprang, rise or sink to the condition of phratries.

The splitting or subdivision of the totemic animal is often apparently an economic expedient to enable people to eat most of the animal, while they renounce a part of it.

It is instructive to observe how often the device of splitting the totem has been applied by the Omahas to the buffalo, which formerly provided them with their principal means of subsistence. Thus among their totems are Buffalo Head, Buffalo Tail, and Black Shoulder of Buffalo; and members of the clans or subclans are accordingly forbidden, some to eat buffaloes' heads, others to eat buffaloes' tongues, others to eat buffaloes' sides, and others to eat buffalo calves while they are still red. I have already pointed out¹ that the practice of splitting a totem seems to be most commonly applied to an edible animal, the flesh of which is one of the staple foods of the tribe; and that the custom of thus splitting or subdividing a totemic animal into more or less minute parts is probably in many cases an economic expedient designed to quiet the scruples of the superstitious without debarring them altogether from participation in a food which they could ill spare, and which is indeed almost necessary to their subsistence. People thus salved their conscience by renouncing a small part of the animal, while they appeased their hunger by eating all the rest of it.

Rules of marriage and descent among the Omahas.

With regard to the rules of marriage and descent in the Omaha clans Morgan briefly tells us that they are the same as among the Ponkas; that is, no man is allowed to marry a woman of his own clan, children belong to the clan of their father, not of their mother, and both property and the office of sachem are hereditary in the clan.² Fuller details as to the marriage laws are given by Dorsey. From him we learn that a man is forbidden to marry any woman either of his father's or of his mother's clan; and that the

¹ See above, vol. ii. pp. 536 sq.

² L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 155.

same prohibition extends to the subclan of his father's mother, to the subclan of his father's mother's mother, to the subclan of his mother's mother, and to the subclan of his mother's mother's mother. Further, he may not marry a woman of the subclan to which the wife of his son, his nephew, or his grandson belongs; and he may not marry a woman of the subclan to which the husband of his daughter, his niece, or his granddaughter belongs.¹ With regard to the importance of the subclans or subgentes, as he calls them, Dorsey observes that "were it not for the institution of subgentes a man would be compelled to marry outside of his tribe, as all the women would be his kindred, owing to previous intermarriages between the ten gentes. But in any gens those on the other side of the gentile *unethe*, or fireplace, are not reckoned as full kindred, though they cannot intermarry."² On the other hand a man is allowed to marry a woman of his own totem, provided that she is a member of another tribe.³

Members of the various totem clans are distinguished from each other by their names and by the mode of wearing their hair. In regard to names we have seen that in other Indian tribes each totemic clan has its own names appropriated to it, which may not be used by members of other clans.⁴ Similarly Omaha clans and subclans have each its own set of personal names which are bestowed on members of the clan but on no others. These names commonly refer in one way or other to the totem. For example, in the Elk clan there were certain sacred (*nikie*) names which were bestowed on boys according to the order of their birth in the family. Thus the first-born son was called the Soft Horn (of the young elk at its first appearance). The second was called Yellow Horn (of the young elk when a little older). The third was called the Branching Horns (of an elk three years old). The fourth was called the Four Horns (of an elk four years old). The fifth was called the Large Pronged Horns (of an elk six or seven years old). The sixth was called the Dark Horns (of a grown elk in summer).

Each clan and sub-clan has its personal names for its members, and these names commonly refer to the totem. Names of the Elk clan.

¹ J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 255-257.

² J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 258.

³ J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 257.

⁴ See above, pp. 13 sq., 34 sq., 76 sq.

The seventh was called the Standing White Horns, in the distance (namely those of a grown elk in winter). Among the sacred names of men in the Elk clan are Elk, Young Elk, Standing Elk, White Elk, Big Elk, Full-grown Elk, Dark Breast (of an elk), Stumpy Tail (of an elk). Among the sacred names of women in the Elk clan are Elk and Tail Female.¹ In the Black Shoulder clan, which is a Buffalo clan, the first son is called "He who stirs up the water by jumping in it," with reference to a buffalo wallowing in the water; the second is called "Buffaloes swimming in large numbers across a stream"; the third is called by a name that refers to the changing colour on the hairs of a buffalo calf; the fourth is called Knobby Horns (of a young buffalo bull); and so on. Among the names for men in this clan are (Buffalo that) Walks last in the herd, Four (buffaloes) Walking, Black Tongue (of a buffalo), Bent Tail, Cloven Hoofs (of a buffalo), Little Horn (of a buffalo), and Skittish Buffalo Calf.² In the Black Bear subclan the first son is called Young Black Bear, the second Black Bear, the third Four Eyes (with references to the bear's two eyes and the two eye-like spots over them in a black bear), and the fourth Gray Foot.³ In the Bird subclan the first son is called Blackbird, the second Red feathers on the base of the wings, the third White-eyed Blackbird, the fourth Dried Wing, the fifth Hawk, the sixth Gray Hawk, the seventh White Wings. Among the names of men in the Bird subclan are Red Wings, Standing Hawk, Gray Blackbird, White Blackbird, and Yellow Head (of a blackbird).⁴ Among the names of men in the Turtle subclan are Ancestral Turtle, Turtle that flees not, Spotted Turtle with Red Eyes, (Turtle that) Has gone into the Lodge (or Shell), and "Heat makes (a Turtle) Emerge from the Mud."⁵ In the Eagle subclan the firstborn son is called Dried Eagle, the second Pipe, the third Eaglet, the fourth Real Bald Eagle, the sixth Standing Bald Eagle, and the seventh "He (an Eagle) makes the Ground Shake by

Names of
the Black
Shoulder
(Buffalo)
clan.

Names of
the Black
Bear
subclan.

Names of
the Bird
subclan.

Names of
the Turtle
subclan.

Names of
the Eagle
subclan.

¹ J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 227 sq.

² J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* pp. 231 sq.

³ J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 237.

⁴ J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 239.

⁵ J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 241.

Alighting on it."¹ In the Buffalo-tail clan some of the men's names are Young Buffalo Bull, (Buffalo) Bristling with Arrows, and "(Buffalo) Bull raises a Dust by Pawing the Ground."² In the Deer-head clan some of the birth names are Hoof of a Deer, Dark Chin of a Deer, "Deer Paws the Ground," and "Deer in the Distance Shows its Tail White Suddenly."³ And similarly with the names of boys, men, and women in the other Omaha clans and subclans.⁴

Names of the Buffalo-tail clan.

Names of the Deer-head clan.

It is a law with the Omahas that there may not be more than one living person in a clan who bears any particular name. But when the bearer of a name dies or changes it, then that name may be given to any new-born child of the clan. This rule applies more strictly to the names of boys than of girls.⁵

No two living persons may bear the same name.

The style of wearing the hair which is characteristic of a clan or subclan is sometimes an imitation of the totem. Thus in the Black Shoulder clan, which is a Buffalo clan, the smaller boys have their hair cut in two locks like the horns of a buffalo.⁶ People of the Hangga clan, which is also a Buffalo clan, wear their hair in a crest from ear to ear, and this is called by a name which refers to the back of a buffalo.⁷ People of the Bird subclan leave a little hair in front, over the forehead, for a bill, and some at the back of the head, for the bird's tail, with much over each ear for the two wings.⁸ And people of the Turtle subclan cut off all the hair of a boy's head except six locks; two are left on each side, one over the forehead, and one hanging down the back, in imitation of the legs, head, and tail of a turtle.⁹

Each clan or subclan has its characteristic mode of wearing the hair, which is sometimes an imitation of the totem.

Members of the various Omaha clans also perform certain rites and ceremonies, which illustrate the relation in which the people are supposed to stand to their totems. Thus in the Deer-head clan, on the fifth day after a birth, red spots are made at short intervals down the infant's back to imitate

Rites and ceremonies of the clans.

Birth ceremony of the Deer-head clan.

¹ J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), p. 240.

² J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 244.

³ J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 245.

⁴ J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* pp. 236, 240, 241 sq., 243, 246 sq., 248, 248 sq., 250 sq.

⁵ J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* pp. 227 sq., note³.

⁶ J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* pp. 229 sq.

⁷ J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 235.

⁸ J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 238.

⁹ J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 240. For other modes of wearing the hair, see *id.* pp. 225, 237, 242, 244.

Death
ceremonies
of two
Buffalo
clans.

a fawn. According to one account the members of the Deer-head clan all assemble to witness this ceremony and rub red on their hair and make red spots on their breasts.¹ The intention of the ceremony seems plainly to be to identify a new-born member of the clan with his totem the deer. A similar intention is expressed in a ceremony formerly observed at the death of a member of the Black Shoulder or Buffalo clan. The dying person, whether man or woman, was wrapped in a buffalo robe with the hair out, and his or her face was painted with the privileged decoration, which consists of two parallel lines painted across the forehead, two on each cheek, and two under the nose, one being above the upper lip and the other between the lower lip and the chin. Thus arrayed and decorated the dying man or woman was addressed as follows: "You are going to the animals (the buffaloes). You are going to rejoin your ancestors. You are going or, Your four souls are going, to the four winds. Be strong!"² Members of the *Hangga* clan, which is also a Buffalo clan, performed a like ceremony over one of their number at the point of death. They wrapped him in a buffalo robe with the hair out, painted his face with the traditional lines, and said to him: "You came hither from the animals. And you are going back thither. Do not face this way again. When you go, continue walking."³ Taken in connection with the legends that these two Buffalo clans are descended from buffaloes,⁴ these death ceremonies plainly point to a belief that dead members of the clans were transformed back into the ancestral animals, the buffaloes.

Magical
ceremonies
for the
control of
the totems.
Ceremonies
of the Bird
subclan and
the Reptile
clan.

Further, members of the Omaha clans and subclans appear to have been credited with a power of magically controlling their totems for the good of the whole community. Thus at harvest time, when birds ate the corn, members of the Bird subclan used to chew corn and spit it over the field, believing that this prevented the birds from devouring the crop.⁵ Again, when worms infested the corn,

¹ J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology, *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 245 sq.

² J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 229.

³ J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 233.

⁴ See above, pp. 94, 95.

⁵ J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 238 sq.

members of the Reptile clan used to catch some of them, pound them up with a little corn into a soup, and eat it, thinking that after that the worms would leave the crop alone, at least for that season. Yet at ordinary times members of the Reptile clan were not allowed to touch worms.¹ Again, members of the *Kansas* clan, who are Wind People, flap blankets to start a breeze when the mosquitoes are troublesome.² Again, during a fog men of the Turtle subclan used to draw the figure of a turtle on the ground with its face to the south. On the head, tail, middle of the back, and on each leg were placed small pieces of a red breech-cloth with some tobacco. They imagined that this would make the fog disappear very soon.³ These ceremonies imply that members of a totemic clan possess a magical control over their totem and are expected to exercise it for the common good. They thus resemble the *intichiuma* ceremonies of the Central Australian tribes.⁴ It is probable that similar magical ceremonies for the control of the totems would have been found practised by many other totemic tribes of North America, if only these tribes had had the good fortune to be described by an observer of the calibre of the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey.

Ceremonies
of the
Wind clan
and of the
Turtle
subclan.

A ceremony which appears to have been essentially akin to the foregoing was performed by members of the Omaha Elk clan whenever the first thunder was heard in spring. Then the Elk people called to their servants the Bear people, who repaired to the sacred tent of the Elk clan. There one of the Bear people opened the sacred bag, took out the sacred pipe, and handed it to one of the Elk men with some tobacco from the elk bladder. Before the pipe was smoked the Thunder god was addressed; and at the conclusion of the ceremony the rain was supposed to stop and the Bear people departed to their homes. The address to the Thunder god has not been recorded, but in the kindred tribe of the Ponkas it ran thus: "Well, venerable man, by your striking (with your club) you are

Ceremony
performed
by the Elk
clan when
the first
thunder
was heard
in spring.

¹ J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), p. 248.

² J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 241.

³ J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 240.

⁴ See vol. i. pp. 104 *sqq.*, 183 *sqq.*, 214 *sqq.*

frightening us, your grandchildren, who are here. Depart on high."¹ This ceremony implies that the Elk clan was for some reason supposed to be able to stop thunder.

On the whole, Omaha totemism seems to comprise that identification of the man with his totem which is of the essence of totemism. The lack of evidence as to a similar identification in other American tribes is probably due to the inattention of observers.

On the whole, the Omaha traditions of descent from some of their totemic animals, the ceremonies performed at the birth and death of members of certain totemic clans, the adoption of personal names referring to the appearance or habits of the totemic animals, the wearing of the hair in imitation of the creatures, and the magical ceremonies performed for their control by the clansmen, all point clearly to that identification of the clanspeople with their totems which, as I have repeatedly indicated, appears to be of the essence of totemism. It is all the more remarkable to discover this fundamental principle of totemism carried into practice by a single tribe of American Indians, while among the tribes which surround it on all sides little or no trace of such an identification of the man with his totem has been reported. We may suspect that the lack of evidence on this head is due rather to the inattention of the observers than to the absence of the thing. Similarly it is highly probable that many of the features of Australian totemism which are reported only of the Central tribes were shared by many of the others, though they have not been recorded among them. He who studies reports of the habits and customs of savages has constantly to bear in mind that the mere absence of evidence as to the existence of an institution hardly raises any presumption of the absence of the institution itself, and that nothing is so unsafe as to argue from the one to the other. In all investigations of savage life the mental capacity, intelligence, tact, and sympathy of the observer are of the first importance; and as the union of these qualities is rare, so the number of first-rate observers of savages is few indeed. Where these personal qualities of head and heart are wanting, no liberal subvention of money, no costly apparatus, no elaborate machinery will supply their place.

Further, the Omahas possessed certain sacred objects

¹ J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), p. 227. As to sacred tent,

bag, pipe, and elk bladder, which are referred to in the text, see below, p. 107.

which were associated with their totemic clans. One of these was a sacred pole of cotton-wood about eight feet long, which according to tradition was cut more than two hundred years ago, before the separation of the Omahas, the Ponkas, and the Iowas. The Ponkas indeed still claim a share in it. A scalp is fastened to the top of the pole, and round about the middle of it is wound swan's down, which is itself covered with cotton-wood bark and a piece of buffalo hide. This sacred pole used to be greased every year when the Omahas were about to return from the summer hunt. They feared that if they neglected to grease the pole, the snow would lie deep on the ground when next they went out hunting. Though it has a scalp attached to it, the pole has nothing to do with war. Yet any warrior who had taken a scalp might dedicate it to the pole. This sacred pole was committed to the care of the *Hangga* clan, which was a Buffalo clan. They kept it in a sacred tent decorated on the outside with corn-stalks. Another sacred object which this clan had charge of was the skin of a white buffalo cow. This also they kept in a sacred tent adorned in like manner with corn-stalks.¹

Sacred objects associated with the totemic clans. The sacred pole.

The Elk clan has likewise a sacred tent, in which certain holy objects are preserved with religious care. In this tent there is a sacred bag containing the sacred clam-shell (*tihaba*), the bladder of a male elk filled with tobacco, and the sacred pipe of the clan, the tribal war-pipe, made of red pipe-stone. The holy clam-shell is kept in a bag of buffalo hide which is never placed on the ground. In ancient days it was carried on the back of a youth, but in modern times, when a man could not be induced to carry it, it was put with its buffalo-skin bag into the skin of a coyote, and a woman took it on her back. The bag is fastened with the sinew of a male elk and may only be opened by a member of the Bear subclan of the *Thatada* clan.²

The sacred clam-shell and the sacred pipe of the Elk clan.

Lastly, the *Hangga* clan, which is a Buffalo clan, owns two sacred pipes, though it has committed them to the

The sacred pipes of the *Hangga* clan.

¹ J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 233-235.

² J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* p. 226. As to the sacred clam-shell see also Dr. James's account summarised above, p. 90 note ³.

custody of the Black Shoulders, another Buffalo clan. The pipes are made of red pipe-stone and decorated with porcupine quills. On ceremonial occasions the two pipes are brought out and solemnly smoked. They may only be filled by an *Eeshtasanda* man, who knows the ritual and recites certain ancient words as he cleans the pipe-bowl, certain other words when he fills it, and so on. These words may not be heard by other people, so the pipe-cleaner turns everybody out of the lodge while he is engaged in the discharge of his solemn duty. When the pipes have been duly cleaned and filled, they are lit by a member of the *Hangga* clan, and are then passed round the chiefs assembled in council on the affairs of the tribe. Both pipes are smoked by the chiefs. In smoking they blow the smoke upwards, saying, "Here, Wakanda, is the smoke." They say that they do this because Wakanda gave them the pipes and he rules over them. Though at present there are only two sacred pipes, no less than seven clans are said to possess such objects.¹

Smoking to
Wakanda.

Marriage
with a
deceased
wife's
sister.
The
Levirate.

Sometimes a man marries his deceased wife's sister at the express wish of the dying woman, who may say to her brother, "Pity your brother-in-law. Let him marry my sister." The Omahas observe the law of the levirate: a man marries the widow of his "real or potential brother" in order to become the "little father" of his brother's children.²

The widespread custom which forbids all social inter-

¹ J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 221-224. As to Wakanda, a supernatural being whose name is derived from *wakan*, "mysterious," "wonderful," "incomprehensible," "holy," see J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), pp. 366 sq., 372 sqq. In S. R. Riggs's *Dakota-English Dictionary* (Washington, 1890), pp. 507 sq., *wakan* is defined as "spiritual, sacred, consecrated; wonderful, incomprehensible; said also of women at the menstrual period"; and the following explanatory note is added: "Mysterious; incomprehensible; in a peculiar state, which,

from not being understood, it is dangerous to meddle with; hence the application of this word to women at the menstrual period, and from hence, too, arises the feeling among the wilder Indians that if the Bible, the Church, the Missionary, etc., are *wakan*, they are to be avoided, or shunned, not as being bad or dangerous, but as *wakan*. The word seems to be the only suitable one for *holy*, *sacred*, etc., but the common acceptance of it, given above, makes it quite misleading to the heathen." *Wakan* may best be translated by "tabooed." See *The Golden Bough*,² i. 343.

² J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), p. 258. Compare E. James,

course between a man and his wife's parents, and also between a woman and her husband's parents, was strictly observed by the Omahas, as well as by other tribes of the Siouan or Dacotan stock. Thus we read that "it is a great singularity in the manners of the Omawhaws, that neither the father-in-law nor mother-in-law will hold any direct conversation with their son-in-law; nor will he, on any occasion, or under any consideration, converse immediately with them, although no ill-will exists between them; they will not, on any account, mention each other's name in company, nor look in each other's faces; any conversation that passes between them is conducted through the medium of some other person. . . . This extraordinary formality is carried to a great length, and is very rigidly observed. If a person enters a dwelling in which his son-in-law is seated, the latter turns his back, covers his head with his robe, and avails himself of the first opportunity to leave the presence. If a person visit his wife, during her residence at the lodge of her father, the latter averts himself, and conceals his head with his robe, and his hospitality is extended circuitously by means of his daughter, by whom the pipe is transferred to her husband to smoke. Communications or queries intended for the son-in-law are addressed aloud to the daughter, who receives the replies of her husband. The same formality is observed by the mother-in-law; if she wishes to present him with food, it is invariably handed to the daughter for him, or if she happens to be absent for the moment it is placed on the ground, and she retires from the lodge that he may take it up and eat it. A ten years' separation will not change this custom. The Pawnees have no such formality, and on that account are said to be great fools. . . . The more distinguished and respectable the parties are, the more rigidly is this rule observed; and if either of the parties should be treated otherwise, the departure from the observance would be regarded as a mark of disrespect for a trifling fellow."¹ The same rule of avoidance extends

Custom of avoidance between a man and his wife's parents and between a woman and her husband's parents.

Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains (London, 1823), i. 222 sq. By "potential brother" Dorsey probably means what is otherwise called a collateral or

tribal brother.

¹ E. James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, i. 232-234.

to a wife's grandmother ; a man does not speak to his wife's grandmother ; he and she are ashamed to do so.¹

Similarly
a woman
must
avoid her
husband's
father.

The foregoing accounts, it will be observed, speak only of the avoidance of a man by his wife's parents or grandmother. But among the Omahas a wife was similarly debarred from social intercourse with her husband's father ; for Dorsey tells us that "in like manner a woman cannot speak directly to her husband's father under ordinary circumstances. They must resort to the medium of a third party, the woman's husband or child. But if the husband and child be absent, the woman or her father-in-law is obliged to make the necessary inquiry."²

A similar
custom of
avoidance
between a
man and
his wife's
parents is
observed
by the
Assinne-
boins.

Similar rules of avoidance between a woman and her husband's father, but especially between a man and his wife's mother, are observed by other tribes of the Siouan or Dacotan stock. Thus among the Assinneboins or Asiniboin, another Siouan tribe, "the names of the wife's parents are never pronounced by the husband ; to do so would excite the ridicule of the whole camp. The husband and the father-in-law never look on each other if they can avoid it, nor do they enter the same lodge. In like manner the wife never addresses her father-in-law."³ Tanner tells us how he entered an Assinneboin village with an Assinneboin Indian. "When we entered it," says he, "I followed him immediately to his lodge. As I entered after him I saw the old man and woman cover their heads with their blankets, and my companion immediately entered a small lodge, merely large enough to admit one, and to conceal himself from the remainder of the family. Here he remained, his food being handed to him by his wife ; but though secluded from sight, he maintained, by conversation, some intercourse with those without. When he wished to pass out of the lodge his wife gave notice to her parents, and they concealed their heads, and again, in the same manner, when he came in. This formality is strictly observed by the married men among the Assinneboins, and I believe

¹ J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), p. 262.

² J. Owen Dorsey, *l.c.*

³ J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), p. 225.

among all the Bwoi-nug, or Dah-ko-tah, as they call themselves. It is known to exist among the Omowhows of the Missouri. It affects not only the intercourse between men and the parents of their wives, but that with their aunts and uncles ; and it is the business of all parties alike to avoid seeing each other. If a man enters a dwelling in which his son-in-law is seated, the latter conceals his face until he departs. While the young men remain with the parents of their wives, they have a little separate lodge within, or a part divided off by suspending mats or skins ; and into this little apartment the wife retires at night ; by day she is the organ of communication with those without. A man rarely, if ever, mentions the name of his father-in-law, and it is considered highly indecorous and disrespectful for him to do so. This custom does not exist in any shape among the Ojibbeways, and they look upon it as a very foolish and troublesome one."¹

A similar custom prevails among the Ponkas, another tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock. A Ponka chief has been seen to throw his blanket over his head, turn round very quickly, and go away into another part of the house, when he happened to enter a room in which his mother-in-law was seated.² And as to the Dacotas proper, we are told that "somehow shame has come into the *tipi* [tent], and the man is not allowed to address or to look towards his wife's mother, especially, and the woman is shut off from familiar intercourse with her husband's father and others, and etiquette prohibits them from speaking the names of their relatives by marriage. This custom is called *wišten kiyapi* from *istéca*, to be ashamed. How it grew is not apparent. But none of their customs is more tenacious of life than this. And no family law is more binding."³ Another writer, speaking of the Dacotas, says : "The father-in-law must not call the son-in-law by name ; neither must the mother-in-law : and the son-in-law must not call

Similar
customs of
avoidance
among the
Ponkas and
Dacotas.

¹ *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, prepared for the press by Edwin James, M.D. (London, 1830) p. 146.

² J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the*

Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1884), pp. 262 sq.

³ S. R. Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography* (Washington, 1893), p. 204 (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. ix.).

his father-in-law or mother-in-law by name. There are also many others in the line of relationship who cannot call each other by name. I have heard of instances where the forbidden name has been called, and the offender was punished by having all of his or her clothes cut off of their backs and thrown away.”¹

Similar
customs of
avoidance
among the
Tetons
and the
Arapahos.

Among the Tetons, a Siouan or Dacotan tribe, a man may not look his mother-in-law in the face, nor may his brother do so, and she may not look at them. If a man sees his mother-in-law, he must put his robe over his head and shoulders and pass by on the other side of the road; also he must sit on the other side of the lodge. In like manner a woman dare not look at or address her husband's father. A Teton man who lives with his wife's kindred is called “a buried man” (*wi-cha wo-kha*), and a woman who lives with her husband's kindred is called “a buried woman.”² “The restrictions as to intercourse between certain relations, which are so widespread in North America, exist also among the Arapaho. A man and his mother-in-law may not look at or speak to each other. If, however, he gives her a horse, he may speak to her and see her. The same restrictions exist between father and daughter-in-law as between mother and son-in-law, say the Arapaho (though perhaps they are less rigid).”³

The rule of
avoidance
seems to
apply more
strictly to
a man and
his mother-
in-law than
to a woman
and her
father-in-
law. This
may be
because
incest of a

It deserves to be noticed that in these accounts, while much is said of the mutual avoidance between a man and his wife's parents, comparatively little, in some cases nothing, is said of the mutual avoidance between a woman and her husband's parents. From this we may perhaps infer that the rule which debar a man from social intercourse with his wife's parents, especially with her mother, is more stringent than the rule which debar a woman from social intercourse with her husband's parents, especially with his father. The most probable explanation of all such rules of

¹ Philander Prescott, “Contributions to the History, Customs, and Opinions of the Dakota Tribe,” in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, ii. 196.

² Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, “Teton Folk-lore,” *American Anthropologist*,

ii. (1889) p. 157.

³ A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, pp. 10 sq. (*Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. xviii. Part i. New York, 1902). The Arapahos are an Algonkin, not a Siouan, tribe.

avoidance appears to be, as we saw,¹ that they were adopted in order to prevent incest between persons who were deemed too nearly related by marriage, the avoidance between persons of opposite sexes being extended by false analogy to include avoidance between persons of the same sex who stood in a similar relation to each other. If this view is correct, it perhaps enables us to perceive why the rule of avoidance should apply more strictly to a man and his mother-in-law than to a woman and her father-in-law. For we can hardly doubt that incest with a mother was condemned as a social offence before incest with daughter fell under a similar condemnation, if for no other reason than that the physical relationship of a mother to her son must have been known long before the relationship of a father to his daughter was recognised. Hence the incest of a son with his mother has probably always excited even deeper horror than the incest of a daughter with her father; and if that is so, it is natural that when the conception of incest was extended so as to include persons related by marriage as well as by blood, the incest of a man with his mother-in-law should rank as a crime of deeper dye than the incest of a woman with her father-in-law, and that accordingly even more stringent precautions should be adopted to guard against its commission. We have met with some tribes which allow a man to marry his own daughter,² and with others which allow a man to have sexual intercourse with his daughter-in-law, his son's wife;³ but we have as yet met with none which allows a mother to marry or have sexual intercourse with her own son. However, it is reported that among the Tinneh Indians of North-West America sons sometimes cohabit with and even marry their mothers;⁴ and among the Wahehe of German East Africa a man must sleep with his mother-in-law before he is allowed to cohabit with her daughter.⁵ The probable reason of this last singular custom will appear when we come to deal with the Navahoes.⁶

The Omahas, in common with other tribes of the Siouan

¹ Above, vol. i. pp. 285 note¹, 503.

² See vol. ii. pp. 40, 118.

³ See vol. ii. pp. 225, 226.

⁴ See below, pp. 362 sq.

⁵ Rev. H. Cole, "Notes on the Wagogo of German East Africa," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 312.

⁶ See below, p. 247.

The classificatory system of relationship among the Omahas.

Dougherty's account of the system.

or Dacotan stock, possess the classificatory system of relationship. In its main outlines the system was detected among the Omahas in 1819-1820 by the members of Major Long's expedition, who have bequeathed to us a valuable account of the tribe. That account is based chiefly on information supplied by the Agent for the Indians of the Missouri, Major John Dougherty, to whose integrity of character, humanity, and unequalled familiarity with the Indian character the painter Catlin bears high testimony.¹ The account of the Omahas embodied in the report of Major Long's expedition is an honourable monument of this intelligent and upright man. He seems to have been the first to recognise in its main outlines the classificatory system of relationship. His account of it, redacted by Dr. Edwin James, who compiled the narrative of the expedition, runs as follows: "The designations by which the Omawhaws distinguish their various degrees of consanguinity are somewhat different in meaning from ours. Children universally address their father's brother by the title of *father*, and their mother's brother by that of *uncle*; their mother's sister is called *mother*, and their father's sister *aunt*. . . . The children of brothers and sisters address each other by the titles of brother and sister. . . . A man applies the title of *We-hun-guh*, or sister-in-law, to his wife's sister, until he takes her as his wife; he also calls his wife's brother's daughter *Wehunguh*, and may in like manner take her to wife: thus the aunt and niece marry the same man. A man distinguishes his wife's brother by the title of *Tahong*, or brother-in-law, and his son also by the same designation. He calls the wife of his brother-in-law *Cong-ha*, or mother-in-law. A woman calls her husband's brother *Wish-e-a*, or brother-in-law, and speaks of his children as her own. Her husband's sister she distinguishes by the title of relationship, *Wish-e-cong*, or sister-in-law. Men who marry sisters address each other by the title of brother. All women who marry the same individual, even though not previously related, apply

¹ Geo. Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, Fourth Edition (London, 1844), ii.

25 sq. Catlin speaks of Dougherty as "this stern and uncompromising friend of the red man, and of justice, who has taken them close to his heart."

to each other the title of sister. Remote degrees of consanguineous alliance are distinguished by their various appellatives, and are universally acknowledged." ¹ The same writer tells us that among the Omahas "even a very remote degree of consanguinity is an insuperable barrier to the marriage union." ²

At a later time the Omaha system of relationship was more fully investigated by L. H. Morgan. From his great work the following cardinal terms of Omaha relationships are derived. ³ In the generation above his own a man calls his father's brother "my father" (*In-dâ-de*) and his mother's sister "my mother" (*E-nâ-hâ*). But he calls his mother's brother "my uncle" (*Wee-nâ-gee*) and his father's sister "my aunt" (*Wee-tee-me*). In his own generation he calls his cousins, the children of his father's brother or of his mother's sister, "my elder brother" (*Wee-she-thă*), "my younger brother" (*Wee-son-gă*), "my elder sister" (*Wee-ton-ga*), "my younger sister" (*Wee-ton-ga*), according to the sex and age of the person referred to. In the generation below his own a man calls his brother's son and daughter "my son" (*Wee-nî-se*) and "my daughter" (*We-zhun-ga*). But his sister's son and daughter he calls "my nephew" (*Wee-toans-kă*) and "my niece" (*We-te-zhă*). Conversely in the generation below her own a woman calls her brother's son and daughter "my nephew" (*Wee-toans-kă*) and "my niece" (*We-te-zhă*); but her sister's son and daughter she calls "my son" (*Wee-zhin-ga*) and "my daughter" (*We-zhun-ga*).

Thus far the classificatory system of the Omahas is perfectly regular and normal. But in one respect it presents a remarkable deviation from the ordinary pattern of the system; and this deviation it shares with other Siouan or Dacotan tribes of the Missouri region, though not with the Sioux or Dacotas proper. The deviation consists in the peculiar position assigned to cousins, who are the children of a brother and sister respectively. Under the usual

Morgan's account of the classificatory system of relationship among the Omahas.

Anomalous relationships assigned to cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively.

¹ E. James, *Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1823), i. 231 sq.

² E. James, *op. cit.* i. 213.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Con-*

sanguinity and Affinity, Table II. pp. 293 sqq. Compare the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 253-255.

form of the classificatory system the children of a brother and a sister respectively are cousins to each other ; but among the Omahas and other Dacotan tribes of the Missouri they are uncle and nephew to each other, if they are males, and mother and daughter to each other if they are females.¹ Precisely the same treatment of such cousins is met with, as we saw, among certain Algonkin tribes such as the Miami and Shawnees.² Thus an Omaha calls his male cousin, the son of his father's sister, not "my cousin," but "my nephew" (*We-toans-kâ*) ; and conversely he calls his male cousin, the son of his mother's brother, not "my cousin" but "my uncle" (*We-nâ-gee*).³ A woman calls her female cousin, the daughter of her father's sister, not "my cousin," but "my daughter" (*Wee-zhun-ga*) ; and conversely she calls her female cousin, the daughter of her mother's brother, not "my cousin" but "my mother" (*E-nâ-hâ*).⁴ So much for the cases where the cousins in question are either both males or both females. Now for the cases in which they are one male and one female. A man calls his female cousin, the daughter of his father's sister, not "my cousin" but "my niece" (*We-te-zhâ*) ; and conversely she calls him, not "my cousin" but "my uncle" (*Wee-nâ-gee*).⁵ A man calls his female cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, not "my cousin" but "my mother" (*E-nâ-hâ*), and conversely she calls him, not "my cousin" but "my son" (*We-zhun-ga* or *We-zhin-ga* according as he is older or younger than she).⁶ In all these cases, as I have already pointed out,⁷ the child of the brother ranks as senior to the child of the sister : if the two are males, then the son of the brother ranks as "uncle" and the son of the sister ranks as "nephew" of his cousin ; if the two are females, then the daughter of the brother ranks as "mother" and the daughter of the sister ranks as "daughter" of her cousin. If the two are one male and one female, then the male, who

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 178 sq.

² Above, pp. 70, 74.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 322, 323, 331, 332.

⁴ L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* pp. 325, 333, 334.

⁵ L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* pp. 324, 325, 331, 332.

⁶ L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* pp. 323, 333, 334.

⁷ Above, p. 71.

is the son of the brother, ranks as "uncle" of his female cousin, who is the daughter of the sister; and on the other hand the male, who is the son of the sister, ranks as "son" of his female cousin, who is the daughter of the brother. Thus in all cases a preference is shewn for the male line over the female.

It seems probable, as Morgan thought, that this remarkable treatment of cousins, the children of a brother and a sister, represents an older and ruder stage in the development of the classificatory system than the stage at which such relations are placed, as among ourselves, in the rank of cousins.¹ If that is so, we conclude that the Omahas and other Siouan or Dacotan tribes of the Missouri, as well as certain Algonkin tribes, have preserved the classificatory system in a more primitive form than the Iroquois and the Sioux or Dacotas proper, who, like ourselves, treat as cousins the children of a brother and sister.²

This treatment of cousins seems to represent an early stage in the history of the classificatory system.

§ 10. *Totemism among the other Dacotan Tribes of the Missouri*

The other Siouan or Dacotan tribes of the Missouri also had totemism, but their systems are far less fully known than that of the Omahas, and accordingly they may be dismissed more rapidly.

Other Siouan tribes.

Thus the Ponkas or Punkas, whose dialect is akin to that of the Omahas,³ were found by L. H. Morgan to be organised in eight totemic clans as follows:—

Totemic clans of the Ponkas according to L. H. Morgan.

- | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------|
| 1. Grizzly Bear. | 2. Many People. | 3. Elk. | 4. Skunk. |
| 5. Buffalo. | 6. Snake. | 7. Medicine. | 8. Ice. |

Marriage within the clan is prohibited. Descent is in the male line, children belonging to the clan of their father. The office of sachem is hereditary in the clan.⁴

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 177, 179 sq.

² As to the Iroquois, see above, p. 28; as to the terms for cousins (the children of the father's sister or of the mother's brother) among the Sioux

or Dacotas, see L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 322-325, 331-334.

³ L. H. Morgan, *op. cit.* p. 177.

⁴ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 155.

J. Owen Dorsey's account of the totemic system of the Ponkas.

According to the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, who, as a missionary to the tribe for several years, had special opportunities of studying its customs, the social organisation of the Ponkas is much more elaborate.¹ The tribe is divided into two moieties, one called Cheejoo and the other Wajaje; the Cheejoo moiety is again subdivided into two phratries, namely the Thunder or Fire phratry and the Wind-makers or War phratry; and the Wajaje moiety is in like manner subdivided into two moieties, namely the Earth phratry and the Water (?) phratry. Each phratry is again subdivided into two clans, and some of the clans are further subdivided into subclans. The whole may be exhibited in tabular form as on the opposite page.

Among the Ponkas, as among the Omahas, many of the totems and taboos refer to the buffalo, which furnished the tribe with their chief means of subsistence.

From this it appears that the clans and subclans of the Ponkas, with their taboos, agree to a considerable extent with those of the Omahas. It is interesting in both tribes to observe how many of the clans and the taboos have reference to buffaloes, which furnished these tribes with their principal means of subsistence. Similarly among the Herero and other pastoral tribes of Africa, who have the totemic system, a large proportion of the totemic taboos have reference to the cattle.² This observation should warn us against falling into the common error of treating totemism as a religion or worship of animals and plants. While it is true that the system invests animals, plants, and other natural objects with a degree of awe and mystery which seem strange to us, this superstitious respect never amounts to worship in the proper sense of the word so long as totemism is totemism. It is only when totemism proper has fallen into decay that a religion in the strict sense of the word may grow out of its ruins.

Tribal circle of the Ponkas.

Like the Omahas, the Ponkas camped in a circle, one half of the circle being assigned to the Cheejoo moiety and the other half to the Wajaje; and each phratry and each clan had its fixed place in the circle.³

¹ J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 228 sq. I have changed Dorsey's spelling. See above, p. 93 note ².

² See above, vol. ii. pp. 358, 362 sq.

³ J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), p. 228.

The Ponkas have, with merely dialectical variations in the terms, the classificatory system of relationship in the same form as the Omahas. The agreement extends to the

The classificatory system of relationship among the Ponkas.

TOTEMIC SYSTEM OF THE PONKAS

Moieties.	Phratries.	Clans.	Subclans.
Cheejoo	Thunder or Fire	1. Legs stretched out (in reference to a dead beast)	
		2. Touch not the skin of a black bear	
	Wind-makers or War	3. Wildcat	1. Wears-tails (<i>i.e.</i> locks of hair) : Does-not-touch-charcoal : Does-not-touch-verdigris.
		4. Bald Human Head (Elk people)	2. Does-not-touch-blood.
Wajaje	Earth	5. Medicine: Does-not-touch buffalo-tails (Buffalo people)	1. Does-not-touch-a-buffalo-tail.
			2. Does-not-eat-buffalo-tongues.
	Water (?)	6. Dark Buffalo	3. Does-not-eat-deer-and-elk.
			1. Real Ponka, Keepers-of-a-sacred-pipe.
		7. Wajaje, Osage	2. Grey Ponka.
			1. Buffalo-tail : Does-not-eat-buffalo-tongues : Does-not-eat-a-very-young-buffalo-calf.
		8. Reddish-yellow Buffalo ¹	2. Does-not-touch-a-buffalo-head or skull.
			1. Dark Osage: Keepers-of-a-sacred-pipe : Does-not-touch-verdigris : Does-not-touch-charcoal.
			2. Grey Osage : Does-not-touch-serpents.
			3. Owl (now extinct).
			1. Does-not-touch-a-buffalo-head (or skull).
			2. Does-not-touch-a-buffalo-calf.
			3. Does-not-touch-the-yellow-hide-of-a-buffalo-calf.
			4. Does-not-eat-buffalo-tongues.

¹ The Ponka name is *nuge*, which, says Dorsey, is miscalled *nuxe*, "ice." Hence it would seem that the name of the eighth clan in Morgan's list (above,

p. 117) is a misnomer. In this clan (Reddish-yellow Buffalo) the subclans are uncertain, but the four taboo names exist as in the table.

treatment of cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively.¹

The Iowas,
another
Siouan
tribe.

Their
totemic
clans and
phratries.

The Iowas, another Siouan or Dacotan tribe of the Missouri, lived in a large village, cultivated maize and beans, and trafficked with traders from St. Louis in the skins of beavers, otters, raccoons, deer, and bears.² They were divided into two phratries; each phratry was subdivided into four or five clans; and each clan was again subdivided into subclans. In the tribal circle each phratry camped by itself in one of the semicircles. The table on the opposite page exhibits the Iowa phratries, clans, and subclans, as these were ascertained by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey.³

Subdivision
of the clans
into sub-
clans with
secondary
totems
derived
from the
primary.

In this list the names of the subclans compared with those of the clans seem to shew very clearly that among the Iowas, as among so many other totemic tribes, the clans have a tendency to split into subclans with secondary totems derived from the primary. Thus we may suppose that the Black Bear clan has split up into the subclans Black Bear with a White Spot, Black Bear with a Red Nose, etc.; that the Wolf clan has split up into the subclans White Wolf, Black Wolf, etc.; that the Eagle clan has split up into the subclans Golden Eagle, Grey Eagle, etc.; that the Elk clan has split up into the subclans Big Elk, Young Elk, etc.; and similarly with all the rest.

Iowa
traditions
of the
descent
of the clans
from their
totemic
animals.

The Iowas have a tradition that the Bear clan and the Wolf clan used to live underground in the form of bears and wolves respectively, and that the Eagle and Pigeon clans came to earth in the shape of birds. They say, too, that the Owl clan came out of a hollow tree near the Red Bank; that the Snake clan came out of the bank near the water; and that the Beaver clan issued forth from a little

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

² *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 612 sq.

³ J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 238 sq. Morgan gives a list of eight existing Iowa clans and one

extinct clan (*Ancient Society*, p. 156). It agrees perfectly with Dorsey's, except that it does not indicate the distribution of the clans into phratries and their subdivision into subclans. I subjoin his list for comparison:—

1. Wolf. 2. Bear. 3. Cow Buffalo.
4. Elk. 5. Eagle. 6. Pigeon.
7. Snake. 8. Owl;
and an extinct Beaver clan.

TOTEMIC SYSTEM OF THE IOWAS

Phratries.	Clans.	Subclans.
First	1. Black bear	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Large black bear with a white spot on the chest. 2. A black bear with a red nose (literally, Nose White). 3. Young black bear, a short black bear. 4. A small reddish black bear, motherless; it has little hair and runs swiftly.
	2. Wolf . .	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. White-wolf. 2. Black-wolf. 3. Grey-wolf. 4. Coyote.
	3. Eagle and Thunder-being	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Real or Golden Eagle. 2. Ancestral or Grey eagle. 3. Spotted-eagle. 4. Bald eagle.
	4. Elk (now extinct)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Big-elk. 2. Young-elk (?). 3. Elk-somewhat-long. 4. Young-elk (?).
	5. Beaver ¹	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Big-beaver. 2. (Meaning of name unknown). 3. Young-beaver. 4. Water-person.
Second	6. Pigeon .	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Big-raccoon. 2. Young-raccoon. 3. Young-pigeon. 4. Prairie-chicken, grouse.
	7. Buffalo .	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Big-buffalo-bull. 2. Young-buffalo-bull. 3. Young-buffalo-bull-that-is-distended (?). 4. Buffalo-calf.
	8. Snake (now extinct)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yellow-snake (Rattlesnake). 2. Real-snake (species of snake shorter than the rattlesnake). 3. Copperhead-snake (?). 4. Grey-snake.
	9. Owl (now extinct)	The names of the subclans are forgotten.

¹ The survivors of the Beaver clan have joined the Beaver clan of the Oto tribe.

stream in an island of the river.¹ These legends all point to a belief that the human clanspeople are descended from their totemic animals.

Marriage,
descent,
and rela-
tionship.

The rules of marriage, descent, and inheritance are the same among the Iowas as among the Ponkas,² and they have the classificatory system of relationship in the same form.³

The
Otoes and
Missouris :
their
totemic
clans.

The Otoes and Missouris are two Siouan or Dacotan tribes of the Missouri valley who have long coalesced into one. According to Morgan, the united tribes were divided into eight totemic clans as follows :—⁴

- | | | | |
|-----------|------------|-----------------|---------|
| 1. Wolf. | 2. Bear. | 3. Cow Buffalo. | 4. Elk. |
| 5. Eagle. | 6. Pigeon. | 7. Snake. | 8. Owl. |

Thus the clans agreed in their totems as well as in their number with those of the Iowas. Like them, too, they were exogamous, no man being allowed to marry a woman of his own clan. But unlike the clans of the Iowas, Ponkas, and Omahas, the clans of the Otoes and Missouris are hereditary in the female line, children belonging to the clan of their mother, not to that of their father. The office of sachem is also hereditary in the clan, and therefore in the female line. Taken together with the case of the Mandans, another Siouan or Dacotan tribe who retain maternal descent, the custom of the Otoes and Missouris raises a presumption that all the Siouan or Dacotan tribes had

¹ The Rev. William Hamilton, quoted by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "The Social Organization of the Siouan Tribes," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, iv. (1891) pp. 338-340. These legends were originally published by Mr. Hamilton in 1848 in a letter to the children of Presbyterian Sunday Schools. Mr. Hamilton is Owen Dorsey's authority for the list of Iowa clans given above.

² L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 156.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, Table II, pp. 293 *seq.*

⁴ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 156. The list of Oto clans given

by J. Owen Dorsey agrees with that of Morgan, except that it inserts a Beaver clan and does not distinguish the Black Bear from the Wolf clan. Of the Missouri clans Dorsey ascertained the names of three, namely the Black Bear, Eagle or Thunderbird, and the Elk. Of these the Eagle or Thunderbird clan is subdivided into four subclans, namely Thunderbird, Eagle, Hawk, and A-people-who-eat-no-small-birds-which-have-been-killed-by-larger-ones. This last subclan is said to be a recent addition. See J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), p. 240.

formerly mother-kin instead of father-kin, and that the change from the one line of descent to the other, wherever it has taken place among them, has been comparatively recent.¹

The Otoes have the classificatory system of relationship in a form which agrees with that of the Omahas.²

Classifi-
catory
system.

Another tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock who had totemism were the Kansas or Kaw. Their language is most nearly akin to that of the Osages. According to Morgan, the Kansas or Kaw were among the wildest of the American Indians, yet withal an intelligent and interesting people. They long resisted all attempts to convert them to the Christian religion, of which the trappers and whisky-dealers in their neighbourhood did not perhaps afford an altogether shining example.³ But they were not nomads. When the explorers Lewis and Clark visited them in 1804, they inhabited two villages on the Kansas River, to which they had been compelled to retreat from the Missouri by the inroads of the Sauks.⁴ The members of Major Long's expedition in 1819 found the Kansas inhabiting a large village or town of a hundred and twenty houses on the Kansas River. The houses were circular, built of wood, thatched with mats and bark and covered completely over with earth. In the middle of the house was the fireplace, and raised bedsteads ran round the walls, which were hung with neatly-made reed-mats. In addition to the flesh of the buffalo, which they hunted till the vast herds of that useful animal were extinguished by the reckless improvidence of the white man, the Kansas subsisted on maize, beans, pumpkins, musk-melons, and water-melons. The work of cultivation was done by the women.⁵

The
Kansas
or Kaw,
another
Siouan
tribe.

Their
houses and
mode of
subsistence.

The Kansas or Kaw were visited in 1859 by L. H.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 155, 156.

² L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 156; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 653 sq.

the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri, etc. (London, 1905) i. 55.

⁵ Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains under the Command of Major S. H. Long* (London, 1823), i. 110 sqq. The tribe is here called the Konzas.

⁴ *History of the Expedition under*

The
totemic
clans of the
Kansas.

Morgan,¹ who found them divided into fourteen totemic and exogamous clans as follows:—

- | | | | |
|-------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 1. Deer. | 2. Bear. | 3. Buffalo. | 4. Eagle (white). |
| 5. Eagle (black). | 6. Duck. | 7. Elk. | 8. Raccoon. |
| 9. Prairie Wolf. | 10. Turtle. | 11. Earth. | 12. Deer Tail. |
| 13. Tent. | 14. Thunder. | | |

Segmenta-
tion of the
Eagle clan.

In this list, as Morgan points out, there are two Eagle clans and two Deer clans. This affords, he adds, a good illustration of the segmentation of a clan, the Eagle clan having probably split into two fragments, which, retaining the original eagle totem, distinguished themselves from each other as Black Eagles and White Eagles. The rules of marriage and descent among the Kansas were the same as among the Ponkas; that is, intermarriage within the totem clan was prohibited; children belonged to the clan of their father, not of their mother; and both property and the office of sachem were hereditary in the clan.²

Marriage
and
descent.

J. Owen
Dorsey's
account of
the social
organisa-
tion of the
Kansas.

Arrange-
ment of the
phratries
and clans
in a tribal
circle.

At a later time the social organisation of the Kansas was carefully investigated by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey. He found them divided into sixteen clans, which were grouped in seven phratries and subdivided into a number of subclans. The tribe camped in a circle, in which the clans had their fixed places. Eight clans, composing the *Yata* or left side of the tribe, camped in the semicircle on the left side of the line of march; and the other eight clans, composing the *Eeshtungga* or right side of the tribe, camped in the semicircle on the right side of the line of march. These two halves or sides of the tribe, the *Yata* and the *Eeshtungga*, formed what may be called superior phratries, since no man was allowed to marry a wife from his side of the tribal circle.³ The mode in which among the Kansas, and apparently among all the other Dacotan tribes of the Missouri who camped in circles, the exogamous groups were thus locally segregated from each other is very noteworthy; since it may help us to understand the method in which the somewhat complex relations between the groups were kept clear in the minds of those who had to observe

Such a
local
separation
of the
exogamous
divisions
was
probably
adopted
when
exogamy

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 285.

² L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 156 sq.

³ J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 230, 232.

them. It seems probable, as I have already pointed out in dealing with the Central Australians,¹ that when exogamy was first instituted the groups within which marriage was prohibited were for the sake of distinction locally separated from each other. Once the distinction between the kinship groups was clearly established in the minds of the people, the need of locally segregating them would be less urgent, and they might safely be allowed to intermingle freely, as they generally do in totemic communities. Yet still on certain occasions, when the tribe acted in concert, as in council or on the march, it might be deemed desirable to distinguish the kinship groups to the eye as well as to the mind by assigning them separate places at the council-board or in the camp. Such an arrangement would materially contribute to prevent the sharp but intricate lines, which at once united and divided the kinship groups, from becoming altogether blurred and confused.

The social organisation of the Kansas in phratries, clans, and subclans, as these were ascertained by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, is exhibited in the following table, in which the clans are arranged and numbered according to their order in the tribal circle.² It will be observed that clans of the same phratry do not always camp together. For the sake of clearness a diagram is subjoined, in which the places of the clans are numbered in the tribal circle.



¹ Vol. i. pp. 246 sqq.

² J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report*

of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1897), pp. 230-232.

TOTEMIC SYSTEM OF THE KANSAS

Phratries.	Clans.	Subclans.
I.	1. Earth, or Earth-lodge makers	1. Large Earth. 2. Small Earth.
II.	2. Deer, or Osage . . .	1. Real deer. 2. Eats-no-deer. 3. Kills-deer, or Kills-quadrupeds.
III.	3. Ponka	1. Ponka people. 2. Wear-red-cedar (fronds)-on-their-heads.
III.	4. Lodge-in-the-rear ; Last-lodge (<i>Āase</i> , <i>Kansa</i>)	1. Wind people, or South-wind people, or Camp-behind-all. 2. Small-wind, or Makes-a-breeze-near-the-ground.
III.	5. Black bear	1. Real Black-bear, or Eats-raw (food). 2. Wears-tails (locks of hair)-on-the-head.
I.	6. Ghost	Not ascertained.
IV.	7. Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back	Not ascertained.
V.	8. Carries-the-sun-on-his-back	Not ascertained.
I.	9. Elk	1. Real Elk. 2. <i>Sahage</i> (meaning unknown).
VI.	10. White eagle	1. Legs-stretched-out-stiff ; White-eagle people. 2. Wade-in-blood ; Blood people.
VI.	11. Night	1. Night-people. 2. Walks-shining (Star people ?).
VII.	12. Holds-the-fire-brand-to-sacred-pipes, or Small <i>Hangga</i>	1. Hawk-that-has-a-tail-like a "King-eagle" ; Little-one-like-an-eagle. 2. Raccoon people, or Small lean raccoon.
VII.	13. Large <i>Hangga</i> ; <i>Hangga</i> apart from the rest, or Stiff-deer-tail	A black eagle with spots. Subclans not recorded.
II.	14. Buffalo (bull), or Big Feet	1. Buffalo with dark hair. 2. Reddish-yellow buffalo.
V.	15. <i>Cheejoo</i> peacemaker	(Red-hawk people ?) Subclans not recorded.
II.	16 Thunder-being people ; Grey-hawk people	Subclans not recorded.

Magical
ceremonies
for the
control of
the totems.
Ceremony
of the
Thunder-

Some of the totemic clans of the Kansas, like certain of the clans of the Omahas, appear to have been supposed to exercise a magical control over their totems for the general good. Thus when the first thunderstorm broke in the spring of the year, the people of the Thunder-being clan used to put a quantity of green cedar on a fire, making a great smoke.

The storm ceased after the members of the other clans had offered prayers. The Buffalo clan helped the Thunder-being clan in the worship of the Thunder-being, by sending one of their men to open the sacred bag of grey hawk skin and remove the mystery pipe.¹ Again, when there was a blizzard or storm accompanied by severe cold and heavy snow, the other Kansas used to beg the men of the *Kaze* or *Kansa* clan to interpose, because they were Wind People. They said to one of that clan, "O grandfather, I wish good weather. Please cause one of your children to be decorated." Then the youngest son of one of the *Kaze* men was chosen for the purpose and painted with red paint. Thus decorated, the youth rolled over and over in the snow, reddening its white surface for some distance around him. That was supposed to stop the storm.² These ceremonies for stopping thunderstorms and snowstorms, performed respectively by Thunder People and Wind People, appear to resemble in principle the *intichiuma* ceremonies of the Central Australians: they are magical rites performed by members of totemic clans with the intention of controlling their totems for the general good of the community. It seems probable that such ceremonies were commonly practised by the American Indians, as by the aboriginal Australians, though unfortunately very little indeed about them has been observed and recorded.

The Kansas would not marry any of their kindred, however remote. Women before marriage laboured in the fields, served their parents, carried wood and water, and cooked. But when the eldest daughter married, she commanded the lodge, her mother, and all her sisters; for her sisters, in accordance with a custom widely prevalent among the North American Indians, were destined also to be the wives of her husband. The Kansas observed the law of the levirate. On the death of her husband the widow scarified herself, rubbed clay on her body, and neglected her dress for a year, after which the eldest brother of her deceased husband took her to wife without any ceremony, removing her and her children, whom he regarded as his own, to his house.

being clan at the first thunder-storm in spring.

Ceremony of the *Kaze* clan during a snow-storm.

Analogy of these ceremonies to the *intichiuma* rites of the Central Australians.

Marriage customs of the Kansas.

Marriage with several sisters.

The levirate.

¹ J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 385.

² J. Owen Dorsey, *op. cit.* pp. 410 sq.

If the deceased man left no brother, the widow might marry whom she liked. Some Kansas had four or five wives, mostly sisters.¹

The classificatory system of relationship among the Kansas.

The Kansas or Kaws had the classificatory system of relationship in the same form as the Omahas, including the peculiar position assigned to cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively.² The main outlines of the system were detected among the Kansas by the members of Major Long's expedition in 1819; for they have recorded that in this tribe "the niece has great deference for the uncle; the female calls her mother's sister *mother*, and her mother's brother *uncle*. The male calls his father's brother *father*, his father's sister *aunt*, his mother's sister *mother*, and his mother's brother *uncle*."³

The Osages another Siouan people of the Missouri valley.

Closely allied by language and blood to the Kansas, with whom they freely intermarried, were the Osages, another tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock in the basin of the Missouri. They called themselves Waw-sash-e, which the French traders corrupted into Osage. The tribe possessed fine horses, which they captured wild and kept in the best order. But they were settled in villages on the Osage River, had made considerable progress in agriculture, and were less addicted to war than their northern neighbours. In person the Osages were tall and well-built. L. H. Morgan did not succeed in reaching them when he was among the Missouri tribes in 1859 and 1860.⁴

The social system of the Osages; the Peace Side and the War Side.

The social system of the Osages has been described by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey. According to him three primary divisions or tribes, each including seven clans, coalesced into a nation of fourteen clans, several of the original clans being suppressed in order that the number of the clans in the tribal

¹ Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains under the Command of Maj. S. H. Long* (London, 1823), i. 115, 116.

² L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 178 sq., and Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

³ Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1823), i. 116 sq.

⁴ *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri*, etc. (London, 1905) i. 43 sq.; Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1823), iii. 106-108; L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 177; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 157.

circle should not exceed fourteen, seven on one side of the circle and seven on the other. Those on the left are called *Chee-zhoo*; they are the Peace Side. Those on the right are called *Hang-ka* and *Washashe* (Osage); they are the War Side. The Peace clans might not take animal life of any sort, but were obliged to content themselves with vegetable food, till they made an agreement with the War clans to supply them with vegetable food in exchange for flesh, which the War clans could obtain. Some of the clans are divided into subclans. The list of the fourteen clans with their subclans¹ will be found on the next page.

The totemic clans of the Osages.

Before they attacked an enemy, the Osages painted their faces afresh. This was the "death paint." All the clans on the *Chee-zhoo* or Peace side used "fire paint," which was red, applying it with the left hand all over the face. They also put mud on the left cheek. The clans on the War side put mud on the right cheek. Some warriors who acted like black bears painted themselves with charcoal alone.²

The war-paint of the Osages.

The Osages are said to have universally believed that they were descended from a snail and a beaver. A flood, they alleged, swept a snail from the banks of the Osage River down to the Missouri and left it high and dry on the shore. Warmed by the sun, the snail ripened into a man, who, after receiving a bow and arrow from the Great Spirit, returned to the Osage River. There he fell into a dispute with a beaver for the possession of the stream; but the dispute was happily settled by his marrying the beaver's daughter and sharing the enjoyment of the river with her family. From their union sprang the nation of the Osages, "who have ever since preserved a pious reverence for their ancestors, abstaining from the chase of the beaver, because in killing that animal, they killed a brother of the Osage.

Belief of the Osages that they are descended from a snail and a beaver.

Their respect for beavers.

¹ J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 233 sq.; *id.* "An Account of the War Customs of the Osages," *The American Naturalist*, xviii. (Philadelphia, 1884) pp. 113-114. In the latter article the order of clans 3 and 4 is inverted; and the names of the clans are simplified. In the text I

have omitted some of the alternative names of the clans and subclans. As before, I have altered Dorsey's peculiar spelling, setting some of the consonants on their feet instead of on their heads, etc. See above, p. 93, note ².

² J. Owen Dorsey, "An Account of the War Customs of the Osages," *The American Naturalist*, xviii. (Philadelphia, 1884) pp. 132 sq.

TOTEMIC SYSTEM OF THE OSAGES

Sides.	Clans.	Subclans.
<i>Chee-zhoo</i> (Left or Peace Side)	1. Those-who-wear-tails-or-locks-of-hair - on - their heads	1. Sun and Comet people. 2. Wolf people.
	2. Buffalo-bull face	1. ? 2. Hide-with-the-hair-on.
	3. Those-who-carry-the-sun-on-their-back, Sun - carriers	1. Sun-people. 2. Swan people.
	4. <i>Chee-zhoo</i> peace-makers, or Red eagle	1. Touches-no-blood, or Red-eagle (really a hawk). 2. Bald eagle, or Sycamore people.
	5. Night people	1. Night people. 2. Black-bear people.
	6. Buffalo bull	1. Buffalo-bull. 2. Reddish-yellow buffalo.
	7. Thunder - being, or Camp-last	(Not recorded.)
<i>Hang - ka</i> and <i>Washashe</i> (Right or War Side)	8. Elder Osages	1. White Osage. 2. Turtle-carriers. 3. Tall-flags, etc. 4. Deer-lights, or Deer people. 5. Fish people. 6. A deer subclan, called by some, "Turtle-with-a-serrated-crest-along-the-shell."
	9. <i>Hang-ka</i> apart from the rest, or Real Eagle people	
	10. Ponka peace-makers	1. Pond-lily } or according to another account { 1. Flags. 2. Dark Buffalo } 2. <i>Watsetsi</i> (?). 3. Red cedar.
	11. <i>Hang-ka</i> -having-wings, or White-eagle people	1. Elder <i>Hüsata</i> . 2. <i>Hüsata</i> .
	12. Black bear ¹	A { 1. Black bear. 2. Small cat. B { 1. Swan. 2. Dried pond-lily.
	13. Elk	
	14. Lighters - of - the - sacred - pipes, or South-wind people, or Wind people, or Fire people	

¹ This clan (No. 12) is divided into two parts, which were originally separate clans: A. Wearing-a-tail (or

lock)-of-hair-on-the-head; B. Wearing-four-locks-of-hair.

Of late years, however, since the trade with the whites has rendered beaver skins more valuable, the sanctity of these maternal relatives has visibly reduced, and the poor animals have nearly lost all the privileges of kindred."¹ This legend, with the custom said to be based on it, has the appearance of being totemic; yet neither the beaver nor the snail appears in the extant list of Osage totems. It is possible that they were the totems of clans which have become extinct.

The Osages had the classificatory system of relationship in a form which, apart from dialectical differences in the terms, agreed with that of the Omahas.²

The classificatory system.

Another tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock in the region of the Missouri were the Quappas. When they were discovered by the French they inhabited five villages on the Arkansas River. The following names of their totemic clans were obtained by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey from a full-blooded member of the tribe:—Deer, Elk, Eagle, Small-bird, Ancestral, Black Bear, Grizzly Bear (?), Buffalo (ordinary), Reddish-yellow Buffalo, Beaver, Fish, Star, Crane, Dog (or Wolf?), Thunder-being, Panther, Turtle, Serpent, and Sun. Mr. Dorsey's informant was not able to say on which side of the tribal circle each clan encamped.³ The Quappas had the classificatory system in a form which coincided with that of the Osages.⁴

The Quappas, another Siouan tribe: their totemic clans

The Winnebagoes are a tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock, who claimed to be the Elder Brothers of the Omahas, Otoes, Iowas, and Missouris, and their claim was conceded by these tribes.⁵ When they were first discovered they were established at the head of Green Bay, Lake Michigan, and around Winnebago Lake in the present State of Wisconsin.

The Winnebagoes, another Siouan tribe.

¹ *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri*, etc. (London, 1905) i. 43-45.

² L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

³ J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of*

the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1897), p. 229.

⁴ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

⁵ J. E. Fletcher, "Origin and History of the Winnebagoes," in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. (Philadelphia, 1856) pp. 227, 235 sq.

They are the so-called *Puants* of the early French explorers. The Winnebago dialect belongs to the Siouan or Dacotan family of speech, but occupies in some respects a peculiar position. It approximates to the dialects of the Missouri tribes rather than to the language of the Sioux or Dacotas proper.¹ The Winnebagoes were divided into eight totemic and exogamous clans, of which the names are given by Morgan as follows :—²

Totemic
clans of the
Winne-
bagoes.

- | | | | |
|----------|----------|-------------|-------------|
| 1. Wolf. | 2. Bear. | 3. Buffalo. | 4. Eagle. |
| 5. Elk. | 6. Deer. | 7. Snake. | 8. Thunder. |

Another list of the Winnebago clans was obtained by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey from a full-blooded Winnebago of the Wolf clan. It agrees with that of Morgan except that it substitutes a Water-monster clan for the Thunder clan, and that instead of the Eagle clan it exhibits a Bird clan subdivided into four subclans, namely Eagle, Pigeon, Hawk (probably), and Thunder-bird.³

Marriage
and descent
among the
Winne-
bagoes :
traces of
mother-kin.

The rules of marriage, descent, and inheritance were the same among the Winnebagoes as among the Ponkas ; that is, intermarriage within the clan was forbidden, children belonged to the clan of their father, not of their mother, and both property and the office of sachem were hereditary in the clan.⁴ Yet traces of an older custom of female descent or mother-kin may perhaps be detected among the Winnebagoes ; for Carver, who travelled in these regions in 1766, 1767, and 1768, observes that "some nations, where the dignity is hereditary, limit the succession to the female line. On the death of a chief, his sister's son sometimes succeeds him in preference to his own son ; and if he happens to have no sister, the nearest female relation assumes the dignity. This accounts for a woman being at the head of the Winnebagoe nation, which, before I was acquainted with their laws, appeared strange to me."⁵

The Winnebagoes possessed the classificatory system of

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 180. *the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 240 sq.

² L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 157.

⁴ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 157.

³ J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of*

⁵ J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, Third Edition (London, 1781), p. 259.

relationship in a form closely agreeing with that of the Omahas and Kansas ; amongst other points of agreement it placed cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively, in the relation of uncle and nephew, or mother and daughter to each other, according as the cousins were males or females.¹

The classificatory system of relationship.

An interesting account of the superstitions of the Indian tribes about Green Bay (*Baie des Puans*), Lake Michigan, is given in one of the Jesuit reports for 1672, and as the Winnebagoes were probably one at least of these tribes, the account may be here subjoined. If it does not directly bear on their totemic system, it does so indirectly, by illustrating that general attitude of mind towards nature of which totemism is a special product. "Four different peoples," says the Jesuit missionary, "are placed towards the head of the bay and live there partly by what they gather from the earth, and partly by fishing and hunting. Two others rather more distant dwell usually on the rivers which discharge into the same bay on the north side ; and all recognise diverse sorts of divinities, to which they often offer sacrifices. These peoples have their gods, as the pagans had theirs formerly ; they have them in the sky, in the air, on the earth, in the woods, in the waters, and even in the infernal regions ; and as there have been found theologians who assign particular intelligences not only to the stars but also to the earth for the preservation of each species of thing, so those of our savages who are esteemed intelligent by their fellows entertain a belief that in addition to the sun and the thunder, which they recognise as gods of the sky and the air, every sort of beast, fish, and fowl, has a particular guardian spirit (*genie*), which has care of it, which watches over its preservation, and which defends it from harm.

Superstitions of the Indians about Green Bay, Lake Michigan.

Guardian spirits of beast, fish, and fowl.

"That is why, just as the Egyptians erected altars to rats and mice, so these peoples have a particular regard for these creatures, as appears from a mouse which we had caught and thrown out of the house. For a young girl having seized the mouse and being desirous of eating it, her father took the creature first and fondled it tenderly. And

Guardian spirit of mice.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 180, and Table II. pp. 293 *sqq.* As to this

treatment of cousins, see above, pp. 70, 74, 115 *sqq.*

when we asked him why he did so, 'It is,' said he, 'because I would appease the guardian spirit (*genie*), who has charge of mice; in order that my daughter may not suffer from such an unusual viand.'

Veneration
for the
bear and
ceremonies
when it is
killed.

"There are certain animals, to the guardian spirits (*genies*) of which they pay much more respect than to others, because they are more useful to them. The veneration which they have for the bear is incredible; for when they have killed one of these animals in the chase, they usually make a solemn feast of it with very special ceremonies. They carefully preserve the beast's head, paint it with the most beautiful colours they can find, and during the feast they set the head in a conspicuous place, that it may receive the adoration of all the guests and the praises which they bestow on it, one after the other, in their finest songs.

Custom
of fasting
before a
hunt in
order to
dream of
the animal
which is to
be killed.

"They act somewhat in the same way towards the other divinities; but to propitiate them they practise diverse sorts of devotions, of which the commonest and most considerable is this. They remain four or five days without eating, in order that by thus weakening their heads they may be able in a dream to see one of their divinities, on whom they imagine all their good fortune to depend. And because they believe that they could not be lucky in the chase of the deer or the bear, if they had not first seen them in a dream before going to seek the beasts, their whole care is to get a sight in sleep of the animal which they wish to catch. That is why they prepare themselves for their hunts by great fasts, which they prolong sometimes for ten days, as the Outagami nation does more usually. Indeed they do much more, for while the men are out hunting, they oblige the little children to fast, in order that they may dream of the bear which their kinsfolk are gone to look for; and they fancy that the beast will be caught if it has been once dreamed of, even by children."¹

The
Mandans,
another
Siouan
tribe of
the Upper
Missouri.

A Siouan or Dacotan tribe of the Upper Missouri valley are the Mandans, who having had the good fortune to be described by the painter Catlin and other travellers are amongst the best known of North American Indians, though they

¹ *Relations des Jésuites*, 1672, p. 38 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858).

seem never to have played an important part in history. When they were visited in the first half of the nineteenth century, their once numerous villages had been reduced to two, which were situated on the Missouri about four miles below the mouth of the Knife River. Their principal village or town occupied a position of great natural beauty and strength, being built on a bluff at a bend of the Missouri and protected on two sides by the river, while the prairies stretched away, far as the eye could see, till their interminable carpet of green, unbroken by a tree, and changing into blue in the distance, touched the rim of the horizon. The houses of the village were of circular shape, from forty to sixty feet in diameter, solidly built of timber and covered with earth, which earned for them with white men the disparaging name of "dirt lodges." In spite of the name, however, the houses were not only commodious, but very neat and comfortable. The fire-place occupied the centre and the smoke escaped by a hole in the roof. Bedsteads, screened off by curtains of buffalo or elk skin, ran round the walls. Each house could accommodate from twenty to forty inmates. In the middle of the village was an open circular space, in which public festivals were held and religious rites celebrated. One of the huts facing on this open space was the council house or "Medicine Lodge," where some of the most sacred ceremonies were performed. It was in this lodge that the young Mandan warriors annually submitted to many of those dreadful tortures which Catlin has made famous by his descriptions and sketches.¹ The Mandans subsisted partly by agriculture and partly by the chase. Their staple foods were buffalo meat and maize. They raised a good deal of maize and some beans, pump-

Their principal village or town.

Their houses or "dirt lodges."

The "Medicine Lodge."

¹ *History of the Expedition under Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri*, etc. (London, 1905) i. 185 sq.; Geo. Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, Fourth Edition (London, 1844), i. 80 sqq., 169 sqq.; Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America* (Coblenz, 1839-1841), ii. 104 sq., 116 sqq.; L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity*

and Affinity, p. 181; Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* (Washington, 1877), pp. 6 sqq., 13 sq.; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 796 sqq. Lewis and Clark spent the winter of 1804-1805 at the principal Mandan village; Catlin resided for several months in the same village in 1832; and Prince Maximilian visited it in 1833.

The staplefoods of the Mandans were buffalo meat and maize.

kins, and tobacco. The corn was sown in May and reaped in October. During the summer the women thrice hoed the ground with the shoulder-blades of buffaloes, for which in later times iron hoes were substituted. The season of the green corn was a time of great festivity with the Mandans. What they did not then eat of the corn was dried and packed away in *caches*, as the French called such storehouses, that is, in pits six or eight feet deep, shaped like a jug and tightly closed at the top. But the Mandans depended mainly on the flesh of the buffalo, and when the herds did not approach their villages they sometimes suffered much from hunger; for being a small weak tribe they dared not venture far afield in search of the animals lest they should be cut off by their powerful enemies the Sioux.¹

Exogamous clans of the Mandans.

According to enquiries made by L. H. Morgan at the old Mandan village in 1862, the Mandans were divided into seven exogamous clans as follows:—

1. Wolf. 2. Bear. 3. Prairie Chicken. 4. Good Knife.
5. Eagle. 6. Flathead. 7. High Village.

Female descent of the clans.

Marriage within the clan was as usual forbidden, but contrary to the rule of most Siouan or Dacotan tribes of the Missouri the descent of the clan was in the female line, that is, children belonged to the clan of their mother, not to that of their father. Taken with other exceptions, which have already met us, this raises a presumption that descent was originally in the female line among all the tribes of the Siouan or Dacotan stock. Property and office were both hereditary in the clan.² When a man married an eldest daughter, he had a right to all her sisters.³ A woman never spoke to her son-in-law, the husband of her daughter; but if he brought her the scalp of a slain foe, from that moment the two were free to converse with each other.⁴

Right to marry a wife's younger sisters. Avoidance of wife's mother.

¹ *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri*, etc. (London, 1905) i. 220; Geo. Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians*, Fourth Edition (London, 1844), i. 121 sq.; Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America* (Coblenz, 1839-

1841), ii. 123 sqq., 192 sqq.; Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians*, pp. 8 sq., 23 sqq.

² L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 158.

³ Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, ii. 130.

⁴ Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *op. cit.* ii. 132.

Like all the other Indian tribes with which we are here concerned, the Mandans had the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man called his father's brother "my father" (*Tâ-tay*), and his mother's sister "my mother" (*Nâ-a*); but his mother's brother he called "my uncle" (*Tâ-wâ-râ-to-râ*), and his father's sister he called "my aunt" (*P-to-me-nick*). In his own generation he called his cousins, the children of his father's brother, "my elder brother" (*Moo-kâ*), "my younger brother" (*Me-sho-kâ*), "my elder sister" (*P'-tâ-me-a*), "my younger sister" (*P'-tâ-me-ha*), according to their sex and age. In the generation below his own he called his brother's son and daughter "my son" (*Me-ne-ka*) and "my daughter" (*Me-no-hâ-ka*); but his sister's son and daughter he called "my nephew" and "my niece."¹

The Mandans performed certain magical ceremonies for the increase of the food supply, which in principle resemble the *intichiuma* ceremonies of the Central Australian aborigines, the only essential difference between them being that, whereas among the Australians the ceremony for increasing any particular article of food is only performed by the persons who have that article of food for their totem, there appears to have been no such limitation among the Mandans. Strictly speaking, therefore, the ceremonies which the Mandans performed were not totemic; but as they agree in principle with the magical totemic ceremonies performed by their kinsmen the Omahas and the Kansas,² as well as by the Central Australians, a brief description of them may not be out of place in this work.

We have seen that the staple foods of the Mandans were two, namely, buffalo meat and Indian corn. Both these necessities of life they attempted to increase and multiply by ceremonies based on the principle of imitative or homœopathic magic. First, in regard to buffaloes, it was a standing rule of the Mandan village that every man must possess the

The classificatory system of relationship among the Mandans.

Magical ceremonies performed by the Mandans for the increase of the food supply.

The Buffalo dance. In order to make the buffaloes to come the Mandans used to

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 184 sq., and Table II. pp. 293 sqq. The terms for elder and younger sister are the same in the tables. Morgan noted

this and thought there might be a mistake. He was not able to obtain a complete set of the Mandan terms of relationship.

² See above, pp. 104-106, 126 sq.

dress them-
selves in
buffalo
skins and
mimic the
action and
voice of the
buffalo.

skin of a buffalo's head with the horns, and this he had to keep in constant readiness hanging on a post at the head of his bed, that he might be able at a moment's notice to put it as a mask on his own head, and so disguised to turn out and dance for buffaloes in the public square, whenever the chiefs might command him so to do. Sometimes the dancers wore the entire skins of buffaloes, with horns, hoof, and tail all complete. The order to dance the buffalo dance was issued whenever no buffaloes had been seen for some time, and the pressure of hunger began to be felt in the village. Thereupon from ten to fifteen men, each wearing the head and horns of a buffalo, and armed with the bow or spear with which they were accustomed to slaughter the beasts, would sally out into the public square and there stamp, grunt, and bellow in imitation of buffaloes till they could stamp, grunt, and bellow no more. As each grew tired he signified it by bending forward and sinking towards the ground; whereupon one of his fellows would draw his bow and hit him with a blunt arrow. The man so struck then dropped like a dead buffalo and was dragged out of the ring by the heels by the bystanders, who brandished their knives over him and went through the motions of skinning and cutting him up. The place of the wearied dancer was at once supplied by another, who danced into the ring with his mask on, and carried on the pantomime till exhausted nature compelled him also to desist. In this way the dance was kept up day and night by relays of dancers till the buffaloes appeared, even though the performance might last without a moment's intermission for weeks. All the time the drums were beating, the rattles rattling, the spectators singing or yelling themselves hoarse; and all the time the sentinels on the neighbouring hills were straining their eyes to catch the first sight of the herd like moving specks in the distance. The moment they did so, they signalled the joyful news to the village by waving their robes. Then at last the dance ceased, the drums throbbed no longer, all was bustle in preparation for the hunt. Spears were polishing, bows were twanging, horses pawing and snorting in impatience. Then there was a great clatter of hoofs, a whirlwind of galloping horses, and they were off.

The dance had been successful ; it had compelled the buffaloes to come.¹

In this ceremony, which has been graphically described for us by the painter Catlin, the pretence of being buffaloes and of being killed and cut up as such was clearly supposed, on the principles of imitative or homœopathic magic, to produce the effect which it mimicked ; it obliged the animals to come and be killed. The ceremony was not observed at stated intervals but only as occasion arose, whenever the buffaloes were long of coming. But the Mandans regularly performed another magical ceremony for buffaloes every year in spring, when the willows burst into leaf on the banks of the river. The intention of this annual rite, as the manner of its celebration clearly shews, was not to ensure the killing but rather the procreation of buffaloes. The actors were indeed disguised like buffaloes as in the other ceremony ; they wore the entire skins of buffaloes with the horns and tails complete ; the heads of the buffaloes were thrown over their heads, their eyes peered through the eye-holes of the animals, and they imitated the motions of buffaloes. But the scene which they acted was not the slaughter of the beast, but the leap of the buffalo bull on the buffalo cow. When that scene had been publicly acted in the presence of the whole population, wound up to the highest pitch of excitement, the actor who personated the buffalo bull was mocked by the women and children, bespattered with filth, and ignominiously driven away from the village into the prairie. There he was again beset by a throng of women and children, and the artificial implement of fertility was wrested from his body by one of the women, who wrapped it in a bunch of wild sage and, escorted by two matrons on each side, bore it back triumphantly to the village. There she was lifted by her four female attendants on to the roof of the Medicine Lodge, over the door, where she stood and harangued the multitude for some time,

Annual ceremony performed in spring for the multiplication of buffaloes. It consisted of a dramatic representation of the coupling of the buffaloes by men dressed in buffalo skins.

¹ Geo. Taplin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, Fourth Edition (London, 1844), i. 83, 127-129. Each buffalo-mask worn by a dancer had usually attached to it a strip

of skin of the whole length of the animal's back with the tail at the end, so that while the head and horns of the buffalo were on the dancer's head, its tail swept the ground at his heels.

claiming that "she held the power of *creation*, and also the power of life and death over them; that she was the father of all the buffaloes, and that she could make them come or stay away, as she pleased."¹

Both these buffalo ceremonies are based on the principle of imitative magic.

While the two buffalo dances of the Mandans which have just been described, differed from each other both in their immediate purpose and in the manner of their celebration, the ultimate aim of both was one and the same; it was to ensure a plentiful supply of food for the tribe. And as the aim of the two ceremonies was identical, so too was the principle on which both were supposed to produce the desired result. It was the principle of imitative or homœopathic magic.

Magical ceremony performed by the Mandans in spring to ensure a good crop of maize.

The same magical principle was resorted to by the Mandans for the purpose of ensuring an abundant supply of their other staple food, the Indian corn. They celebrated in spring and autumn what they called "the Corn Medicine Festival of the Women" (*Wahka-Sinhusch*). For they thought that the Old Woman, who never dies, causes the fruits of the earth to grow and sends the migratory water-fowl in spring—the swans, the geese, and the ducks—as symbols of the fruits and as her own representatives, the wild goose signifying maize, the wild swan pumpkins, and the wild duck beans. So in spring days, when the birds were expected, the Indians got much dried meat ready and hung it up as

¹ George Catlin, *O-Kee-Pa, a Religious Ceremony, and other Customs of the Mandans* (London, 1867), pp. 6, 9, 16-24, and *Folium Reservatum*, pp. i.-iii. Compare *id.*, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the American Indians*, Fourth Edition (London, 1844), i. 157 sq., 164 sqq. Catlin speaks of "dancing what they call, *Bel-lohck-na-pic* (bull-dance); to the strict observance of which they attribute the coming of buffaloes to supply them with food during the season." But the nature of the dance clearly indicates that the purpose of the ceremony was not so much to ensure the coming as the multiplication of the buffaloes. A remarkable feature of the ceremony, which is not mentioned by Catlin, was

that during its celebration the men offered the use of their wives to the older men and the offer was generally accepted. The same feature characterised the bull-dance of the Minnetarees or Hidatsas, a tribe akin to the Mandans. Probably it was regarded as a magical rite which sympathetically promoted the procreation of buffaloes. See *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri*, etc. (London, 1905) i. 209 sq.; Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1823), ii. 59 sq.; Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America* (Coblenz, 1839-1841), ii. 181, 263-267.

an offering to the Old Woman on rows of long poles in front of the village. Then on one of these days the old women of the village, as representatives of the Old Woman who never dies, assembled at the poles, each of them carrying a stick with a maize-cob fastened to the top. They sat down, laid their sticks before them on the earth, danced in a circle round the poles, and then took their maize-sticks in their hands. While they did so, old men beat drums and rattled rattles. Meantime younger women came and put a little dry powdered flesh in the mouths of the old women, each of them receiving in return a grain of the consecrated maize which she ate. Also three or four grains of the maize were placed in their dish, which were afterwards carefully mixed with the seed-corn and were supposed to impart luck and fertility to it. After that the dried meat which hung on the poles belonged to the old women, because they represented the Old Woman who never dies.

The Old Woman who never dies, and her birds, the symbols of the fruits of the earth.

Such was the Corn Medicine Festival of the Women which the Mandans held in spring. In autumn the festival was repeated, but its purpose, we are told, was then to attract the herds of buffaloes and to ensure a supply of their flesh. At that time, instead of a stick inserted into a cob of maize, every woman carried in her arms a whole plant of maize, which she had rooted out of the ground. They named the maize and also the birds, which symbolised the fruits of the earth, by the name of the Old Woman who never dies, and they cried to them in autumn, "Mother, have pity on us! Send us not the sharp cold too soon, that we may have meat! Let not all the game go away, that we may have something for the winter!" They thought that the birds flying south in autumn carried with them to the Old Woman the dried meat and other things which they had hung up on the poles as thank-offerings to her for the crops she had given them, and they imagined that she ate the meat which the birds brought her. Old women who could not afford to give a costlier offering would hang up the foot of a buffalo on one of the poles; and when the Old Woman who never dies received such a humble gift brought her by one of the birds, she would take it and say, "This poor offering is dearer to me than the costliest gifts"; and she

Ceremony in autumn to attract the buffaloes; appeal to the Old Woman who never dies.

would boil a piece of it with her maize and eat it with relish.¹

The Old Woman is a corn-goddess, a savage equivalent of Demeter and Ceres.

In these ceremonies the Old Woman who never dies has clearly attained to the rank of a corn-goddess, the equivalent of the Greek Demeter and the Roman Ceres. For she is supposed to cause the crops to grow; she is actually, like her Greek and Roman counterparts, identified with the corn, since it is called by her name; she receives offerings, and is prayed to by the women under the title of Mother. All this is purely religious. Yet the personification of the goddess by the old women and the fertilisation of the seed-corn by them are magical in their nature, since they are not propitiations of the deity; far from that, they are usurpations of her divine functions by women, who take it on themselves to represent instead of to worship the goddess. Thus, whereas the Mandan ceremonies designed to ensure a supply of buffalo meat were purely magical, the ceremony for the fertilisation of the ground exhibits a blending of magic with religion. The distinction is interesting, since the intellectual advance from magic to religion is thus associated with the social advance from hunting to agriculture.

Minnetaree ceremony to promote the growth of the corn.

A somewhat similar ceremony intended to promote the growth of the corn was observed by the Minnetarees or Hidatsas, who also, as we saw, resembled their kinsmen the Mandans in dancing a bull-dance for the multiplication of buffaloes. The ceremony has been described by Dr. Edwin James as follows:—

“Amongst the Minnetarees, is a ceremony called the corn dance; which, however, has but little claim to the title of a dance. Notice being given of this ceremony, by the village criers, the squaws repair to the medicine lodge, in which the magi are seated, performing their incantations, carrying with them a portion of each kind of seed which they respectively intend to plant the ensuing season; as an ear of maize, some pumpkin, water-melon, or tobacco-seed. These are attached to the end of small sticks, which are stuck in the ground, so as to form a right line in front of the magi. The squaws then strip themselves entirely of their

¹ Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, ii. 182-184.

garments, and take their seats before the spectators. The magi then throw themselves into a violent agitation, singing, leaping about, pointing to the sky, the earth, the sun, and the north star, successively. After these paroxysms have subsided, the squaws arise ; and each one taking her respective sticks, holds them up with extended arms. One of the magi being provided with a large bunch of a species of bitter herb, dips it in a vessel of water, and sprinkles copiously the seeds and persons of the squaws, with much grotesque gesticulation. This concludes the ceremony ; when the seeds are supposed to be fertilized, and to be capable of communicating their fertility to any quantity of their kind. The women then assume their clothing, and return home, being careful to deposit the fertilized seed with their stock ; after which they may proceed to planting as soon as they please.”¹

In this Minnetaree ceremony it will be noticed that the fertilisation of the seed is performed by men, not by women ; yet the presence of naked women at the ceremony, each bearing the seed which is to be fertilised, shews that their help was deemed essential to the success of the rite. We may conjecture that their co-operation was based on the principle of imitative magic, their maternal functions being supposed to aid the production of the corn and other fruits of the earth. The conjecture is confirmed by the evidence of Prince Maximilian, who witnessed this same corn dance of the women among the Minnetarees, the intention of which, he tells us, was to ensure a good crop of maize in the coming year. In the middle of the hut, where a fire was blazing, stood a tall strong woman dressed in a long robe of yellow leather decorated with many tassels and pieces of red and blue cloth. She pretended to have a maize-cob in her body which she could conjure out and in at will. The music struck up and four other women began to dance, waddling like ducks with tiny steps in time to the rapid beat of the drum, while their arms hung limp at their sides. Meantime the other big woman danced alone by the fire, warming her hands at the flames and then holding them to

Women as well as men take part in the fertilisation ceremony.

Prince Maximilian's description of the Minnetaree ceremony for ensuring a good crop of maize. A woman pretended to bring up a cob of maize out of her mouth.

¹ Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains under the Command of Maj. S. H. Long* (London, 1823), ii. 58 sq.

her face. At last she began to totter and to swing her arms to and fro. Then her head drooped backwards, and in her open mouth appeared the point of a white cob of maize, which gradually protruded more and more, while the convulsive movements of the dancer increased in violence. When the cob was half out of her mouth, it seemed as if she would faint, and another woman ran to her assistance, put her arms round the sufferer's body, and set her on the ground. There she lay in convulsions, supported by her companion, while the music rose higher than ever. Other women stroked the arms and breast of the patient with bunches of wormwood, and the maize-cob gradually vanished again. Then the dancer rose to her feet, danced about for a little, and was relieved by another.¹

Possible resemblance of this ceremony to one of the rites of the Eleusinian mysteries.

In this scene the medicine-woman, as the writer calls her, seems to have personated the corn-goddess giving birth to the corn from her own body. In the Eleusinian mysteries the culminating point of the ceremonies was reached when the high priest, in a blaze of light, presented to the initiated a reaped ear of corn, while he cried with a loud voice that the goddess had been delivered of a sacred boy.² Perhaps in the temple at Eleusis, as in the Indian hut on the prairie by the Missouri, the goddess was personated by a woman who feigned to bring forth from her body the good gift of the goddess to mankind, an ear of corn. At all events we may assume with some degree of probability that the Old Woman who never dies, who makes the corn to grow, and whom the Mandans addressed as "Mother," was originally, like Demeter and Ceres, nothing but a personification of the corn itself. If any doubt remains in the reader's mind, it may be dissipated by a custom which is practised by the Arickarees, an Indian tribe of the Upper Missouri whose survivors now live in the same village with the survivors both of the Mandans and the Minnetarees. "In every Arickaree lodge," we are told, "there is a large ear of corn, which has lasted for generations, sticking out of the mouth of a medicine-bag. At their feasts, they make offerings to the

Arickaree worship of a corn-ear as "Mother."

¹ Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, ii. 190, 268-270.

² Hippolytus, *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium*, v. 8. p. 164 (ed. L. Duncker and F. G. Schneidewin).

corn by rubbing a piece of meat on it, while they pray to it for plentiful harvests, and address it by the name of 'mother.'"¹ In this simple worship of the mother-corn we may see as it were in miniature the origin of some of the great goddesses of classical antiquity, Isis, Demeter, and Ceres, the only substantial difference between them being that whereas the corn-goddess of America was a personification of maize, the corn-goddesses of the old world were personifications of wheat or barley.

Before concluding this subject I would remind the reader that there is no ground for connecting either the buffalodances or the corn-dances of these Indians with totemism; in other words, there is no evidence that such dances were danced by men and women who had the buffalo or the corn for their totem. If nevertheless I have called attention to them in a treatise on totemism it is merely because in their aim and method these dances or rather dramas present a close analogy to the purely totemic ceremonies of the Central Australians, which similarly aim at increasing the food supply by means of imitative or homœopathic magic.

These ceremonies for the multiplication of buffaloes and corn are magical but not totemic.

Another tribe of the Upper Missouri valley are the Minnetarees or Hidatsas, as they now generally call themselves. The name Minnetarees, by which they have been

The Minnetarees or Hidatsas.

¹ Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* (Washington, 1877), p. 12. As to the Arickaree worship of maize, see Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, ii. 244 sq. "Maize," he says, "is one of the chief mysteries ('medicines') of the Arickarees, and they honour it in many ways." He describes a very sacred bird-box, which was thought to be a most powerful means of promoting the growth of maize and the other crops. The box was about six feet long, but narrow, with seven gourd-bottles inserted on the top. Inside it was full of the stuffed skins of many birds, but only of migratory birds which passed the summer in the Arickaree country. The box also contained a famous medicine-pipe, which was only smoked at great festivals and on extraordinary

occasions. This priceless treasure, which, we are told, the Arickarees prized as much as Christians do the Bible, was kept in a medicine-hut, fastened high up. One of the chief mysteries or religious festivals of the Arickarees was celebrated with this bird-box when the fields had been sown and the first pumpkins were ripe. Also in summer, when the trees were in leaf, they took an evergreen tree, a juniper, peeled its stem, painted it with red, white, and blue stripes, and set it up before the medicine-hut. Then the precious bird-box was taken down and the sacred hocus-pocus performed with it. On the analogy of the Mandan belief (see above, p. 140) we may conjecture that the summer-birds, whose skins were kept in the mystic box, symbolised the various fruits of the earth, which the ceremony was designed to quicken.

commonly known, was applied to them by their neighbours the Mandans. From the French traders they received, very unjustly, the epithet *Grosventres*. When the tribe was visited by Lewis and Clark in 1804, they occupied villages on the Knife River. The remnant of the tribe, together with the survivors of the Mandans and the Arickarees, now inhabit the village of Fort Berthold on the Missouri in North Dakota. A remote affinity may be traced between the languages of the Minnetarees and the Mandans, but none between these languages and that of the Arickarees, with whom they live; a competent observer was not able to detect a single word alike in the Mandan and Arickaree tongues. On the other hand the language of the Minnetarees or Hidatsas is more nearly related to that of the Upsarokas or Crows, and it appears that these two tribes are immediate subdivisions of the same people. But though the speech of the Minnetarees or Hidatsas differs somewhat widely from that of the Mandans, the two tribes have been intimately connected with each other for centuries, and their culture, civil and religious, is of the same type. The Minnetarees or Hidatsas built commodious and comfortable houses of the same pattern as the Mandans; they cultivated maize, beans, pumpkins, and tobacco; they built boats of buffalo-hide; they manufactured pottery, made mats and baskets of various sorts, and fashioned arrow-heads out of flint and horn. They garnished their clothing with porcupine quills, which they coloured brilliantly with dyes of Indian discovery. They even knew how to manufacture glass and make rude beads and pendants out of it; and they possessed various pigments with which they recorded events in symbolic pictures. Yet though they were settled in villages and tilled the ground their staple food down to about 1870 was buffalo flesh, and their principal standard of value was a buffalo-horse, that is, a horse fleet enough to run down a young buffalo bull. With the nomadic tribes they exchanged their agricultural produce for horses. When the Dacotas saw a certain flower (*Liatris punctata*) blooming on the prairies, they knew that the corn was ripe, and they repaired to the villages of the farming Indians to trade. From the time they came in sight over the bluffs in the distance till the

Their mode
of life;
their arts
and crafts.

Their
staple
food was
buffalo
meat.

moment they disappeared behind them again, there was a truce to the warfare between these Bedouins of the prairie and the village Indians.¹ We have seen that the Minnetarees, like the Mandans, performed magical dances or ceremonies to ensure a supply of their two staple foods, buffalo meat and maize;² and annually in July they celebrated their great medicine-dance or dance of penitence, at which their young warriors, like those of the Mandans, voluntarily submitted themselves to excruciating tortures.³ It was the opinion of L. H. Morgan that the partial civilisation of the tribes of the Upper Missouri valley, characterised by agriculture, communal timber-framed houses, and a peculiar system of religion or magic, was imported into this region by the Minnetarees when they immigrated thither from the south and imparted their superior knowledge to the Mandans, who had been settled in that country before them. Certainly the Mandans could not have learned either agriculture or house-building from the Sioux or Dacotas, for that nation of roving hunters was ignorant of both these arts.⁴ In personal appearance the Minnetarees and Mandans were among the finest specimens of the Red Man in North America. Prince Maximilian describes with admiration the tall well-built figures of the Minnetarees, their long plaited hair decked with feathers, and the beautiful bronze colour of their skin set off by the red paint on their faces and the strings of white and sky-blue beads which they wore.⁵

Morgan's view that the partial civilisation of the Upper Missouri tribes was imported from the south.

The Minnetarees or Hidatsas are, or were, divided into seven exogamous clans as follows:—⁶

¹ Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians*, pp. 17 sqq., 23 sqq., 85; L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 185 sq.; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, p. 158; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 547 sq.

² Above, pp. 140 note¹, 142-144.

³ Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1823), i. 254-256; Washington Matthews, *Ethnology and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians*, pp. 45 sq.

⁴ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Con-*

sanguinity and Affinity, pp. 181-186; *id.*, *Ancient Society*, pp. 158 sq.

⁶ Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, i. 411; L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 159.

⁶ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 159. As to this list the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey observed that "Dr. Washington Matthews could have furnished a corrected list from his own notes had they not unfortunately been destroyed by fire" ("Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), p. 242).

Exogamous
clans of
the Minne-
tarees or
Hidatsas.

- | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1. Knife. | 2. Water. | 3. Lodge. |
| 4. Prairie Chicken. | 5. Hill People. | 6. Unknown Animal. |
| 7. Bonnet. | | |

Right to
marry a
wife's
younger
sisters.

The
levirate.

Avoidance
of a wife's
mother.

The classi-
ficatory
system of
relation-
ship among
the Minne-
tarees or
Hidatsas.
Terms for
father and
mother.

The large proportion of artificial objects in this list is suspicious, but L. H. Morgan, to whom we owe it, seems to have entertained no doubt that the clans so named were of the ordinary type. Intermarriage within the clan is forbidden; descent is in the female line; and both property and the office of sachem are hereditary in the clan.¹ A man who marries the eldest of several sisters has a claim to the others as they grow up, and he generally marries them, unless in the meantime they have formed other attachments and refuse to live with him. As certain female cousins are regarded as younger sisters, a man has often much latitude in choosing wives under this law. As a rule, the Minnetarees or Hidatsas observe the law of the levirate; that is, a man usually takes to wife the widow of his deceased brother, unless she expresses unwillingness, and he may adopt the orphans as his own children.² Like other Indian tribes of the Siouan or Dacotan stock, the Minnetarees deem it improper for a man to hold a direct conversation with his mother-in-law; but this custom seems to be falling into disuse.³

Further the Minnetarees or Hidatsas have as usual the classificatory system of relationship; but their form of the system is characterised by one anomalous feature, and by another which deviates from every form we have hitherto met with, though it has its counterpart, as we shall see, in the system of the Gulf nations. In the generation above his own a man calls his father's brother "my father" (*Tâ-ta*) and his mother's sister "my mother" (*Ih-kâ*); but his father's sister he calls "my grandmother" (*Kâ-ru-hă*), and his mother's brother he calls "my elder brother" (*Me-â-ka*). This is an anomalous relationship in which the system of the Minnetarees and the Crows differs from that of all other tribes of American Indians. A Crow man calls his

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, *Indians*, p. 53.
p. 159.

² Washington Matthews, *Ethno-
graphy and Philology of the Hidatsa*

³ Washington Matthews, *op. cit.*
p. 54.

father's sister, not like a Minnetaree, "my grandmother," but "my mother" (*E-ke-â*).

In his own generation a Minnetaree or Hidatsa man calls his male and female cousins, the son and daughter of his father's brother, "my elder brother" (*Mec-â-kâ*), "my younger brother" (*Mat-so-gâ*), "my elder sister" (*Mat-tâ-we-â*), "my younger sister" (*Mă-tâ-ka-shâ*), according to the sex and age of the person. But his male cousin, the son of his father's sister, he calls "my father" (*Tâ-ta*), and his female cousin, the daughter of his father's sister, he calls "my mother" (*Ih-kâ*). Conversely he calls his male cousin, the son of his mother's brother, "my son" (*Mă-de-shâ*), and his female cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, he calls "my daughter" (*Mâ-kâ*). A woman applies the same terms to her cousins, the children either of her father's sister or of her mother's brother; that is, she calls them not her cousins but her father or mother, her son or daughter, according to their sex and according as they are the children of her father's sister or of her mother's brother. This treatment of cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively, will meet us again in the system of the Gulf Indians. It differs from the treatment of such cousins among the Omahas, Kansas, and other tribes of the Dacotan stock, in as much as, unlike the system of these tribes, which assigns seniority to the brother's child over the sister's child,¹ it assigns seniority to the sister's child over the brother's child, thus shewing a preference for the female line. For of cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively, it is the children of the sister who rank as "father" and "mother" of their cousins; and it is the children of the brother who rank as "son" and "daughter" of their cousins.

In the generation below his own a Minnetaree or Hidatsa man calls his brother's son and daughter "my son" (*Ma-de-shâ*) and "my daughter" (*Mâ-kâ*); but his sister's son and daughter he calls "my younger brother" (*Mat-so-gâ*) and "my younger sister" (*Mă-tâ-ka-shâ*). This remarkable deviation from the ordinary form of the classificatory system is shared by the Upsarokas or Crows, and it is peculiar to these two tribes. A woman calls her sister's son and

Terms for
cousins.

Preference
shewn for
the female
line.

Terms for
nephews
and nieces.

¹ See above, pp. 115-117, 128, 133.

daughter "my son" (*Mă-de-shă*) and "my daughter" (*Mă-kă*); but her brother's son and daughter she calls "my grandchild" (*Met-a-wă-pish-sha*). This last denomination is a deviation from the common form of the classificatory system.¹

Terms for wife and wife's sisters, for husband and husband's brothers.

Further, it deserves to be noticed that a man applies the same term *itadamia* to his wife and to her sisters, especially to her younger sisters, which is natural enough, since they are his potential wives, he having a customary right to marry them in his wife's lifetime. But the wife applies quite different terms to her husband (*kida*) and to his brothers (*isikisi*), which is also natural, since they have not the right to marry her in their brother's lifetime, though they have at least a preferential right to marry her after his death.²

Belief of the Minnetarees or Hidatsas that there is a cave where children live, who can enter into women and be born of them.

It deserves to be noted that the Minnetarees or Hidatsas entertained a belief as to the birth of children which closely resembles the Central Australian theory of conception.³ We possess two independent accounts of the Minnetaree belief. The older of the two, which we owe to Major Long's expedition of 1819-1820, runs thus: "At the distance of the journey of one day and a half from Knife-creek, which divides the larger and smaller towns of the Minnetarees from each other, are situate two conical hills, separated by about the distance of a mile. One of these hills was supposed to impart a prolific virtue to such squaws as resorted to it for the purpose of crying and lamenting, for the circumstance of their having no male issue. A person one day walking near the other mount, fancied he observed upon the top of it two very small children. Thinking they had strayed from the village, he ran towards them to induce them to return home; but they immediately fled from him, nor could his utmost speed overtake them,

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 188 sq. and Table II. pp. 293 sqq. Compare Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians*, pp. 55-57.

² Washington Matthews, *op. cit.* pp. 56, 57. But a man has another term (*ua*) by which he can distinguish his

actual wife from her sisters. Similarly he has terms by which he can distinguish his actual father from his father's brothers and his actual mother from his mother's sisters (Washington Matthews, pp. 55-57).

³ As to the Australian theory, see vol. i. pp. 93 sq., 182 sq., 188 sqq., 576 sqq.

and in a short time they eluded his sight. Returning to the village, the relation of his story excited much interest, and an Indian set out next day, mounted on a fleet horse, to take the little strangers. On the approach of this individual to the mount, he also saw the children, who ran away as before, and although he endeavoured to overtake them by lashing the horse into his utmost swiftness, the children left him far behind. But these children are no longer to be seen, and the hill once of singular efficacy in rendering the human species prolific, has lost this remarkable property."¹

However, the property in question, or at least the faith of the Indians in it, seems to have survived much longer than the explorers imagined; for Dr. Washington Matthews, whose account of the tribe was published in 1877, speaks of the belief as if it were still entertained by some of the Hidatsas. He says: "The other famous oracle, to which they now often refer, as they have still some fancies connected with it, was the *Makadistati*, or 'House of the Infants,' a cavern, near the Knife River, which they supposed extended far into the earth, but whose entrance was only a span wide. This cave, they say, was inhabited by pigmies, or mysterious infants, who came out only at night, and then with great caution, lest they should be observed, and who followed a wise and watchful leader that knew the scent of a man and snuffed the air as he advanced, like the leader of a band of antelope. They suppose that if he detected the presence of a human being, he gave the alarm and all retreated. After rainy nights, they saw tracks of some animals going from and returning to the cave, which tracks they said were those of the infants. The oracle was thus consulted: The childless husband, after a long fast, would repair to the neighborhood of the cave at night, and secrete himself behind a bowlder, to the leeward, to watch; if, in his hunger-weakened brain, he had a vision of the infants, he returned home, confident that he would be a father within a year. The barren wife who desired children would, at sunset, lay at the mouth of the cave a tiny play-ball and a little bow and arrow. If the ball was missing in the

Dr. Washington Matthews' account of the cave called the "House of the Infants," to which barren women resorted in order to obtain offspring.

¹ Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1823), i. 253 sq.

morning, she believed that within a year she would be the mother of a girl; while if the bow and arrow were missing, she supposed she would be the mother of a boy. If neither were 'taken,' she went back with little hope, and could not consult the oracle again until a year had elapsed. There are those among them who imagine that, in some way or other, their children come from the *Makadistati*; and marks of contusion on an infant, arising from tight swaddling or other causes, are gravely attributed to kicks received from his former comrades when he was ejected from his subterranean abode."¹

Analogy
of the
Hidatsa or
Minnetaree
belief to
that of the
Central
Australians.

According to this last account it appears that some at least of the Hidatsas or Minnetarees imagine the "House of the Infants" to be inhabited by spirit children, who can project themselves into barren women and be born of them. This belief is identical with that of the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia, and also with that of the Melanesians of the Banks' Islands.² A similar belief is entertained in certain circumstances by the Baganda of Central Africa. For in Uganda still-born babes and children born feet foremost are buried at cross-roads, and mounds are raised over their remains; and when women or girls pass by such a grave, they throw grass, sticks, or dust on it for the purpose, so they say, of preventing the ghost of the child from entering into them and being reborn.³ Finding this crude theory of conception at points so distant from each other, we can hardly doubt that it has been held by savages far more commonly than would appear from the few instances of it which have been recorded. As I have already repeatedly pointed out, such primitive theories probably furnish the starting-point of totemism; and it is therefore not without significance that they are held in what may be called the classic lands of totemism, the heart of America, the heart of Africa, and the heart of Australia.

A Siouan or Dacotan tribe closely akin by blood and

¹ Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* (Washington, 1877), p. 51.

² See above, vol. i. pp. 182 sq., 188 sqq., vol. ii. pp. 89 sqq.

³ From notes furnished by the Rev.

J. Roscoe, who had already described the custom somewhat more briefly. See his "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 30.

language to the Minnetarees or Hidatsas are the Upsarokas or Crows. In 1804 they were found by Lewis and Clark on the Knife River. Unlike their kinsmen the Minnetarees, who were agricultural and village Indians, the Crows were a roving tribe of hunters, who neither dwelt in villages nor tilled the ground, except that they grew a little tobacco. With their skin tents they moved about from place to place on horseback, hunting the buffaloes and every sort of game. They were a haughty tribe, who looked down with contempt on the whites. A troop of these barbarous cavaliers was a picturesque sight, as they sat their fine horses on panther-skins, their bronzed faces painted with many colours, their long hanging hair, of which they were very proud, decked with fluttering feathers, their bows and arrows slung on their backs, and guns or spears in their hands. When Prince Maximilian travelled in their country, they were reckoned to number four hundred tents and to muster from nine to ten thousand horses, some of them very fine animals. They roamed the prairies from the Yellowstone and Cheyenne Rivers to the Big Horn River and the Rocky Mountains. Their foes were the Dacotas, Blackfeet, and Cheyennes; their friends the Minnetarees and Mandans.¹

The Upsarokas or Crows, a Siouan tribe of hunters.

According to L. H. Morgan, the Crows were divided into the following exogamous clans:—²

Exogamous clans of the Crows.

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Prairie Dog. | 2. Bad Leggings. |
| 3. Skunk. | 4. Treacherous Lodges. |
| 5. Lost Lodges. | 6. Bad Honours. |
| 7. Butchers. | 8. Moving Lodges. |
| 9. Bear's Paw Mountain. | 10. Blackfoot Lodges. |
| 11. Fish Catchers. | 12. Antelope. |
| 13. Raven. | |

Only two or three of these names appear to be totemic; the others resemble those of the dancing bands or societies,

¹ *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri*, etc. (London, 1905), i. 187; Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, i. 395 sq., 398 sqq.; L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 185; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 367 sqq. The name Crow as applied to this tribe is a translation through the French *gens des corbeaux* of their own name for themselves, namely, *Absároke*, which means crow, sparrow-hawk, or bird people.

² L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 159.

It seems doubtful whether the Crow clans are totemic.

Rules of marriage and descent.

Right of a man to marry all his wife's younger sisters in her lifetime. Frequency of this custom among the American Indians.

which are common in Indian tribes. Morgan himself was inclined for a time to take the same view; however, he says that the organisation of the Crows in clans or gentes, as he calls them, was clearly established by their rules of descent, marriage customs, and laws of inheritance with respect to property. His interpreter among the Crows was Robert Meldrum, then a factor of the American Fur Company, who had lived in the tribe for forty years, was one of their chiefs, and had mastered their language so perfectly that he thought in it. The rules of marriage, descent, and inheritance among the Crows were the same as among the Minnetarees; that is, no man might marry a woman of the same clan, children belonged to the clan of their mother, not of their father, and property was hereditary in the clan.¹

The Crows observed a remarkable marriage custom which we have already met with among other Indian tribes.² If a man married the eldest daughter of a family, he had a right to marry all her younger sisters when they grew up, even in the lifetime of his first wife, their eldest sister. He might waive the right; but if he insisted, his claim to the women would be admitted by their clan. Morgan found the same custom with regard to the marriage of sisters practised by at least forty other Indian tribes.³ Such a custom, taken together with the custom of the levirate, which allows brothers to marry the same woman successively, appears to be most naturally explicable on the hypothesis that it has survived from a time when a group of brothers regularly married a group of sisters.⁴

The last tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock which we shall notice here, though it does not belong to the

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 159. Prince Maximilian says that the Crows were divided into eight bands or societies, each of them with its own dance. Among the names of these bands were Buffalo-bulls, Prairie-foxes, Shorn Heads, Little Dogs, and Big Dogs. See Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, i. 401. The Prince's

evidence is in favour of the view that the divisions of the Crows were not totemic clans, but dancing bands or societies. We shall deal with these bands or societies later on.

² See above, pp. 65, 85, 127, 136, 148.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 160.

⁴ See also above, vol. ii. pp. 266 sq.

Missouri valley, are the Biloxi. They were a small tribe living in the southern part of what is now the State of Mississippi. Formerly they were reckoned to the Musk-hogean stock, which comprised the Indian tribes occupying the south-east portion of the United States. But the researches of Messrs. A. S. Gatschet and J. Owen Dorsey have proved that the language of the Biloxi was Siouan. The tribe is nearly or actually now extinct. A few survivors whom J. Owen Dorsey visited in 1892 and 1893 at Lecompte in Louisiana gave him the names of three of their clans, the Deer, the Bear, and the Alligator. Descent was traced in the female line. Though the exogamy of the clan appears to have broken down, the Biloxi retained the classificatory system of relationship in a peculiarly elaborate form. Thus they had terms for at least three degrees beyond grandparents; they had distinct terms and groups for father's elder sister, father's younger sister, father's elder brother, father's younger brother, and similarly for the mother's elder and younger brothers and sisters. They distinguished between the son of an elder sister and the son of a younger sister, and similarly between the daughter of an elder sister and the daughter of a younger sister. A man might not marry the daughter of his brother's wife nor the sister of his wife's father; but he might marry his deceased wife's sister, and a woman might marry her deceased husband's brother.¹ It is interesting, but not surprising, to find the classificatory system of relationship outlasting the exogamy of the totemic clans.

The Biloxi, a Siouan tribe of the south.

Their clans.

The classificatory system of relationship among the Biloxi.

Marriage with a deceased wife's sister and with a deceased husband's brother.

§ 11. Totemism among the Gulf Nations

The south-eastern portion of what is now the United States, from the Mississippi on the west to the Atlantic on the east, and from the Tennessee River on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, was inhabited by five principal Indian nations, which, following Morgan, we may call the

The Gulf nations, the Creeks, Seminoles, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees.

¹ The Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 243 sq.; J. Mooney, *The Siouan Tribes of the East* (Washington, 1894), pp. 14-17; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 147 sq.

The Musk-
hogeian
family.

These
nations
were
settled
and agri-
cultural.
The Musk-
hogeian
con-
federacies.

The con-
federacy of
the Creeks.

Gulf nations. These were the Creeks, the Seminoles, the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, and the Cherokees. Of these the first four belonged to the same linguistic stock, which has been called the Muskhogean, from *Muskogee*, more properly *Maskoki*, the name by which the Creeks, the leading nation of the four, called themselves. The Choctaws and Chickasaws were subdivisions of the same people; their dialects are closely allied. But the variation between the Creek and the Choctaw dialects is very great. The Seminoles are derived from the Creeks. On the other hand the Cherokees belonged to an entirely different linguistic family, being an outlying branch of the Iroquoian stock. The territory occupied by the Muskhogean peoples comprised the present States of Mississippi and Alabama, with parts of Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina. All the nations of this region had made considerable progress in culture. They were sedentary and agricultural, inhabiting large villages or rather towns of substantially built houses. Politically the Muskhogean nations were organised in confederacies, each of which was governed by a federal council composed of representatives, who met annually or as occasion required at a place and time appointed by the chief. Each town was in like manner ruled by a council of its own, a miniature of the federal council. Thus the constitution of these Indians bore some resemblance to that under which the same region is still governed by a white race instead of a red.¹

Among these nations the confederacy of the Creeks formed the largest division of the Muskhogean family. In early times they occupied the greater part of Alabama and Georgia, and for about a century before they were finally removed, between 1836 and 1840, to the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi, they owned some fifty towns.² The confederacy included six tribes, namely the Creeks proper or Muskogees (*Maskoki*), as they called themselves, the Hitchetes, Yoochees, Alabamas, Coosatees, and Natchez, all

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 189 sq.; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 245 sqq., 961 sq. As to the languages of the Muskhogean family, see A. S. Gatschet, *A Migra-*

tion Legend of the Creek Indians, i. (Philadelphia, 1884) pp. 53 sqq.

² James Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), p. 257; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 362 sq.

of whom spoke dialects of the same language, with the exception of the Natchez, who were admitted to the confederacy after their settlement on the lower Mississippi had been broken up and the tribe dispersed by the French in 1730.¹ Taken altogether the Creeks were the most powerful and notable Indian nation in the southern territories of the United States.² Their land is a pleasant one and the climate salubrious. The winters are soft and mild, and the summers sweet and wholesome. Running waters and constant breezes temper the heat of summer, and in the autumn the air is fragrant with the perfume of the ripening aromatic shrubbery, which abounds throughout the country. In the eighteenth century the towns and villages of the Creeks were built along the banks of rivers, where the land was fertile, the water clear, and the air pure. The number of houses in them varied from twenty to two hundred. A distinction was drawn between the Red or War towns and the White or Peace towns; the Red towns were governed by warriors only, and the White towns by civil officers. These towns were distinguished from each other by red and white poles respectively. In the centre of each town was the public square, which was the place for public meetings and the celebration of festivals, especially for the annual busk or feast of first fruits in autumn, when the new maize was eaten with solemn rites.³ A Creek town

The towns
of the
Creeks.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 160 sq.; compare *id.*, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 189; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 362 sq. As to the Natchez (*Naktche*), see A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 34 sqq.

² A. S. Gatschet, *op. cit.* i. 118.

³ J. Adair, *History of the American Indians*, p. 257; W. Bartram, *Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians* (1789), with prefatory and supplementary notes by E. G. Squier, p. 61; A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 120-122; Caleb Swan, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. 258, 262 sqq., 279. The article of W. Bartram to which I

have referred (*Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians*), is, I understand, an extract from the *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society*, vol. iii. Part i. (1853). I possess a copy of the article, but without the general title. As to the Creek festival of the new fruits at harvest, see J. Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), pp. 96-111; W. Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, etc.* (London, 1792), pp. 507 sq.; A. Hodgson, *Letters from North America* (London, 1824), i. 131 sq.; B. Hawkins, "Sketch of the Creek Country," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, iii. (Savannah, 1848) pp. 75-78; A. A. Mc Gillivray, in

Creek agri- had generally a large tract of excellent arable land adjoining or near it. The crops raised by the inhabitants included maize, rice, sweet potatoes, beans, pumpkins, and water-melons. The whole population planted their crops in one vast field together, yet every family or household had its own plot, which was marked out from the rest by a narrow strip of grass or any other natural or artificial boundary. Thus the whole plantation was an assemblage of lots adjoining each other, all comprised within one enclosure or general boundary. In the spring, after the ground had been already prepared, early one morning the sound of a conch shell summoned all the people to meet in the public square. Thither accordingly they repaired with their hoes and axes, and thence they proceeded to the fields, where they began to plant, not every one in his own plot, but all together working at one part of the field till it was finished. And when the rising crops were ready for dressing and cleansing, the people wrought all together in the same manner. When the harvest was come and the busk or feast of first fruits was over, every man carried off the ripe grain from his own patch and laid it up in his own granary. But before the crops were brought home from the field, a large crib or granary called the king's crib was set up in the plantation, and in it each family deposited as much or as little of the fruits of the earth as they thought fit. The grain and other fruits thus laid up in the king's crib served the king or chief (*mico*) as a public treasure over which he had control for the general good. Besides their cereals and roots the Creeks cultivated peaches, oranges, plums, and figs; several species of palms furnished them with a variety of agreeable and nourishing food; and grapes they had in abundance. They extracted a sweet oil from acorns and made use of it in their cookery. And in addition to the common field or public plantation every householder in a town enclosed a garden next to his house, where he planted maize, rice, squashes and so forth; and these, being planted earlier and tended more carefully, bore fruit before the crops in the common field were ripe.¹

H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. 267 sq. Elsewhere I have given a description of this

festival based on the original authorities (*The Golden Bough*,² ii. 329 sqq.).

¹ W. Bartram, *Travels through*

At the head of every Creek town was a chief (*mico*), whom the whites commonly called the king. He was elected for life from one particular tribe or totemic clan; for example, in one town he was always chosen from the Eagle clan. On his death, if his nephews were fit for office, one of them always succeeded his uncle; but if they were unfit, another of the next of kin was chosen, the office always descending in the female line. It was the king's duty to convene the council and preside over its deliberations in the public square. The council heard complaints, judged disputes, and decided questions of peace and war as well as all other matters of public concern. The king was little more than its president, and though he was treated with profound respect he dressed like an ordinary citizen, hunted with his family, and even worked daily in the field with his axe and hoe. His house was distinguished from those of other people only by its size. The king's body was beautifully tattooed in blue with figures of the sun, moon, and stars, animals of the chase, landscapes, battles, and so forth. The royal standard, which the Creeks always carried with them to battle, was made from the tail feathers of a species of vulture. Next in dignity to the king was the War Chief, who commanded the army. He was appointed to office by the king. Further, in every town there was a High Priest or chief Medicine-man, a person of great power and consequence in the state. The council never decided on an expedition against an enemy without his advice and assistance. He foretold, and even professed to produce, rain, thunder, and lightning; he claimed to heal diseases, to practise witchcraft, and to invoke or exorcise evil spirits. Sometimes the king combined the offices of War Chief and High Priest with his proper regal functions, and then his power became very formidable and dangerous to the liberty of the citizens; and he must be a very cunning man if he died in his bed

Each Creek town was governed by a king (*mico*) and council.

Duties of the king.

His mode of life.

The War Chief.

The High Priest or chief Medicine-man.

North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, etc. (London, 1792) pp. 509-511; *id.*, *Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians* (1789), with prefatory and supplementary notes by E. G. Squier, pp. 39-41, 47-49. For a detailed account of the

various Creek towns, their situation, fields and orchards, see Col. Benjamin Hawkins, "A Sketch of the Creek Country in the years 1798 and 1799," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. Part i. (Savannah, 1848) pp. 19 *sqq.*

The annual
new fire.

and not by the rifle or the tomahawk.¹ One of the duties of the High Priest was to make the new fire annually at the Feast of the First Fruits in autumn. This he did by rubbing two dry sticks against each other. All the fires in the town or nation had previously been put out and they were afterwards rekindled with the new fire. A perpetual fire burned in a large circular building commonly called the Rotunda. It was guarded by priests, and no woman might set foot within the building under pain of death.²

The
houses of
the Creeks.

The houses of well-to-do people among the Creeks consisted of four buildings arranged round a square courtyard. One of these buildings served as a kitchen and winter lodging-house; another as a summer lodging-house and hall for receiving visitors; a third consisted of a warehouse for storing skins and furs; and the fourth, completing the square, was commonly in two stories and comprised a granary, a storeroom, a parlour, and a spacious and airy pavilion on the upper floor, where the head of the family reposed and received his guests in the hot weather. Smaller or less wealthy families contented themselves with houses composed of one, two, or three buildings.³

The Creeks were divided into more than twenty-two

¹ B. Hawkins, "Sketch of the Creek Country," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. Part i. (Savannah, 1848) pp. 68, 69 sq.; W. Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida*, etc. (London, 1792) pp. 149, 492-495; *id.*, *Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians* (1789) with prefatory and supplementary notes by E. G. Squier, pp. 19, 23 sq.; Caleb Swan, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. 279; A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, pp. 156 sq.

² W. Bartram, *Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians*, with prefatory and supplementary notes by E. G. Squier, pp. 26 sq.; J. Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), pp. 105-108. As to the Rotunda, which stood near the public square, see B. Hawkins, "Sketch

of the Creek Country," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. Part i. (Savannah, 1848) pp. 71 sq., from whose description we should not infer that any special sanctity attached to the fire in the Rotunda. He says: "In the centre of the room, on a small rise, the fire is made, of dry cane or dry old pine slabs, split fine, and laid in a spiral circle. This is the assembly room for all people, old and young; they assemble every night, and amuse themselves with dancing, singing, or conversation. And here, sometimes, in very cold weather the old and naked sleep." See further Caleb Swan, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. 265 sq.; A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 174-176.

³ W. Bartram, *Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians*, with prefatory and supplementary notes by E. G. Squier, pp. 55 sq.

exogamous clans, of which the following have been recorded :—

Exogamous
clans of the
Creeks.

- | | | |
|------------------|------------|-------------------|
| 1. Wolf. | 2. Bear. | 3. Skunk. |
| 4. Alligator. | 5. Deer. | 6. Bird. |
| 7. Panther. | 8. Wind. | 9. Toad. |
| 10. Mole. | 11. Fox. | 12. Raccoon. |
| 13. Fish. | 14. Maize. | 15. Sweet potato. |
| 16. Hickory nut. | 17. Salt. | 18. Wild-cat. |
| 19. Beaver. | 20. Otter. | 21. Buffalo. |
| 22. Snake, | | |

and several others, whose native names are recorded, though their meanings have been forgotten.¹

In the eighteenth century James Adair rejected "the wild notion which some have espoused of the North American Indians being Præ-Adamites," but adopted what he conceived to be the rational view that they were lineally descended from the ancient Israelites, either while that Chosen People was still a maritime power (whenever that may have been), or more probably after the captivity.² He was personally acquainted with the Creek, Choctaw, Chikasaw, and Cherokee nations, and appears to have been an accurate observer, however little we may now be disposed to accept his genealogical theories and his attempts to resolve Indian words into Hebrew. On the totemism of these nations his observations deserve to be quoted, though we cannot say how far they apply to the Creeks in particular: He says: "As the Israelites were divided into tribes, and had chiefs over them, so the Indians divide themselves: each tribe forms a little community within the nation, and as the nation hath its particular symbol, so hath each tribe the badge from which it is denominated. The sachem of each tribe is a necessary party in conveyances and treaties, to which he affixes the mark of his tribe, as a corporation with

James
Adair's
account of
totemism
among the
tribes of
this region.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 161; A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 155 sq. The two lists given by these writers are independent and for the most part in agreement with each other. The Beaver and Otter clans are not mentioned by Morgan; and the Buffalo and Snake clans are mentioned neither

by Morgan nor Gatschet. As to these two last, see below, pp. 162, 163. Compare H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, i. 275, where the Creek clans mentioned are those of the Tiger (Panther), Wind, Bear, Wolf, Bird, Fox, Root, Alligator, and Deer.

² J. Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), pp. 11 sqq.

us doth their public seal. If we go from nation to nation among them, we shall not find one, who doth not lineally distinguish himself by his respective family. The genealogical names which they assume are derived, either from the names of those animals, whereof the *cherubim* are said in revelation to be compounded, or from such creatures as are most familiar to them. They have the families of the *eagle*, *panther*, *tyger*, and *buffalo*; the family of the *bear*, *deer*, *raccoon*, *tortoise*, *snake*, *fish*, and likewise of the *wind*. . . . The Indians, however, bear no religious respect to the animals from which they derive the names of their tribes, but will kill any of the species, when opportunity serves. The wolf, indeed, several of them do not care to meddle with, believing it unlucky to kill them; which is the sole reason that few of the Indians shoot at that creature, through a notion of spoiling their guns."¹

Closeness
of the
social tie
between
members
of the same
clan.

Thus it appears from Adair's account that among the Creeks and kindred nations men had no superstitious regard for their totemic animals. On the other hand, we learn from him that the social tie, which knits together members of the same totemic clan, was strong among these nations. For after describing what he calls the tribes or families named after animals, that is, the totemic clans, he proceeds thus: "I have observed with much inward satisfaction the community of goods that prevailed among them, after the patriarchal manner, and that of the primitive christians; especially with those of their own tribe. Though they are become exceedingly corrupt, in most of their ancient commendable qualities, yet they are so hospitable, kind-hearted, and free, that they would share with those of their own tribe the last part of their provisions, even to a single ear of corn. . . . When the Indians are travelling in their own country, they enquire for a house of their own tribe; and if there be any, they go to it, and are kindly received, though they never saw the persons before—they eat, drink, and regale themselves with as much freedom as at their own tables."² It would seem that the relationship between members of the same clan, who inhabited different towns,

¹ J. Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), pp. 15 sq.

² J. Adair, *op. cit.* p. 17.

was closer than that between members of different clans who inhabited the same town. For Adair tells us that "when a warrior dies a natural death (which seldom happens) the war-drums, musical instruments, and all other kinds of diversion are laid aside for the space of three days and nights. In this time of mourning for the dead, I have known some of the frolicksome young sparks to ask the name of the deceased person's tribe ; and once, being told it was a *raccoon* (the genealogical name of the family), one of them scoffingly replied, 'Then let us away to another town, and cheer ourselves with those who have no reason to weep ; for why should we make our hearts weigh heavy for an ugly, dead racoon?' But notwithstanding they are commonly negligent of any other tribe but their own, they regard their own particular lineal descent in as strict a manner as did the Hebrew nation."¹

Amongst the clans mentioned by Adair are those of the Buffalo and the Snake. These seem to have become extinct since his time, for they are not noticed by Morgan or Gatschet, our principal modern authorities. However, the Buffalo clan is mentioned by Major Caleb Swan, who travelled among the Creeks in the winter of 1790-1791. He says: "On the post, or on a plank over each of the cabins, are painted the emblems of the family to whom it is allotted, to wit: the buffalo family have the buffalo painted on their cabin ; the bear has the bear, and so on."²

Buffalo and Snake clans.

Totemic emblems.

Marriage between persons of the same clan was forbidden, and among the Creeks, as among the Seminoles and all the nations of the Muskogean family, descent was in the female line. Children took their clan from their mother, not from their father. Property and the office of head chief or king (*mico*) were hereditary in the clan. The king, as we have seen,³ could only be chosen from one particular clan, but the royal clan differed in different towns. In one town it was the Eagle clan, in another the Raccoon clan, in another the Bear clan, and in another probably the Wind clan. In cases of adultery and murder, only the relations

Rules of marriage and descent.

¹ J. Adair, *History of the American Indians*, p. 18.

Indian Tribes of the United States, v. 265.

² C. Swan, in H. R. Schoolcraft's

³ Above, p. 159.

of the injured person who belonged to his clan had the right of judging and obtaining satisfaction: the king and the council were debarred from any interference.¹

Trace
of the
levirate.

Amongst the Creeks and kindred nations it appears that the law of the levirate was observed in a somewhat peculiar form; for James Adair, sniffing about for traces of Judaism among the Indians, thought he detected a particularly strong scent in the relation of a widow to her deceased husband's brother. After mentioning the Hebrew law which obliged a man to raise up seed to his deceased brother by marrying his childless widow, he goes on: "The Indian custom looks the very same way; yet it is in this as in their law of blood—the eldest brother can redeem. Although a widow is bound, by a strict penal law, to mourn the death of her husband for the space of three or four years; yet, if she be known to lament her loss with a sincere heart, for the space of a year, and her circumstances of living are so strait as to need a change of her station—and the elder brother of her deceased husband lies with her, she is thereby exempted from the law of mourning, has a liberty to tie up her hair, anoint and paint herself in the same manner as the Hebrew widow, who was refused by the surviving brother of her deceased husband, became free to marry whom she pleased. The warm-constituted young widows keep their eye so intent on this mild beneficent law, that they frequently treat their elder brothers-in-law with spirituous liquors till they intoxicate them, and thereby decoy them to make free, and so put themselves out of the reach of that mortifying law."² This account seems to shew that an old custom, which obliged an elder brother to marry the widow of his deceased younger brother, had dwindled away to a custom which allowed the widow to marry whom she pleased, if only the elder brother of the deceased had once exercised his marital right.

The classifi-
catory
system of
relation-
ship among
the Creeks.

The Creeks, like all the other Gulf nations, including the Cherokees, possessed the classificatory system of relationship, though in a form which presents certain anomalies.

¹ A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Society*, p. 161.

Legend of the Creek Indians, i. 153,
154. Compare L. H. Morgan, *Ancient*

² J. Adair, *History of the American
Indians*, pp. 189 sq.

Thus among the Creeks, in the generation above his own a man called his father's brother "my little father" (*Chul-kÿ-che*) and his mother's sister "my little mother" (*Chuch-kÿ-ce*); but his mother's brother he called "my uncle" (*Chu-pâ-wâ*), and his father's sister he called "my grandmother" (*Chu-pÿ-se*). Classificatory terms for father and mother.

In his own generation he called his cousins, the children of his father's brother, "my other brother" (*Un-it-te-châ-ke-to*) and "my sister" (*Chu-wun-wâ*); and he called his cousins, the children of his mother's sister, "my elder brother" (*Chu-hlâ-hâ*), "my younger brother" (*Chu-chÿ-se*), and "my sister" (*Chu-wun-wâ*), according to their sex and age. But, as usually happens under the classificatory system, his relations to his other cousins, the children either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother, were different. He called his male cousin, the son of his father's sister, "my little father" (*Chuhl-kÿ-che*), and he called his female cousin, the daughter of his father's sister, "my grandmother" (*Chu-pÿ-se*). Conversely, he called his male cousin, the son of his mother's brother, "my son" (*Chup-pÿ-che*); and he called his female cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, "my daughter" (*Chuch-lus-te*). A woman likewise called her female cousin, the daughter of her father's sister, "my grandmother" (*Chu-pÿ-se*); and, conversely, she called her female cousin, the daughter of her mother's brother, "my grandchild" (*Um-os-sÿs-wâ*). But her male cousin, the son of her father's sister, she called "my little father" (*Chuhl-kÿ-che*); and her male cousin, the son of her mother's brother, she called "my grandchild" (*Um-os-sus-wa*). In this treatment of cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively, the Creek form of the classificatory system agrees with the Minnetaree form in assigning to the cousin who is the child of the sister seniority of rank over the cousin who is the child of the brother. For the son of the sister is "little father" to his cousin, the son of the brother; and the daughter of the sister is "grandmother" to her cousin, the daughter of the brother. Thus, like the Minnetaree, and unlike the Omaha form of the classificatory system,¹ the Creek form shews a preference for the female line; Preference shewn for the female line.

¹ See above, pp. 115-117, 149.

and this is natural enough, since the Creeks have retained maternal descent or mother-kin.

Classi-
ficatory
terms for
nephews
and nieces.

In the generation below his own a Creek man calls his brother's son and daughter "my son" (*Chup-pŷ-che*) and "my daughter" (*Chu-chus-te*); but his sister's son and daughter he calls "my nephew" (*Un-ho-pŷe-wă*) and "my niece" (*Un-hăk-pu-te*). In the generation below her own a woman calls her sister's son and daughter "my little son" (*Cuch-ho-sŷ-che*) and "my daughter" (*Chu-chus-wă*). Thus far the relationships between a Creek man and woman and what we should call their nephews and nieces are normal according to the classificatory system, except that a woman calls her sister's son "my little son" instead of "my son." But when we come to the relationship between a woman and her brother's children, the Creek form of the classificatory system presents an anomaly; for instead of calling them "my nephew" and "my niece," as she would do in the normal form of the system, she calls them both "my grandchild" (*Um-os-sus-wă*).¹ A similar anomaly occurs in the Choctaw form of the classificatory system.²

Peculiari-
ties of the
Creek
form of
the classi-
ficatory
system.

The reader is perhaps now sufficiently familiar with the classificatory system of relationship to perceive for himself the other points in which the Creek form of it diverges from the normal pattern. But it may not be amiss to indicate some of them. In the first place, then, a man distinguishes his father's brother from his father by calling him "my little father," and similarly he distinguishes his mother's sister from his mother by calling her "my little mother." This change marks an advance; the father's brother is no longer confounded with the father nor the mother's sister with the mother. Again, in his own generation, while he continues to call his male cousins, the sons of his mother's sister, "my elder brother" and "my younger brother," according to their ages, he gives a quite different name (translated by Morgan "my other brother") to his male cousins, the sons of his father's brother. This also

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Con-
sanguinity and Affinity*, Table II.
pp. 293 *sqq.*; compare *id.* pp. 190

sq. (where the system presented is
the Choctaw, not the Creek).

² See below, pp. 176 *sq.*

marks an advance ; certain cousins are no longer confounded with brothers. Lastly, the treatment of cousins, who are the children not of two brothers or of two sisters, but of a brother and a sister, also differs from that accorded to them in the ordinary type of the classificatory system ; for whereas under the ordinary form of the system these children would be cousins to each other, just as with us, under the Creek form of the system they are little father and son, little father and daughter, or grandmother and grandchild. Similar, but not identical, treatment of such cousins occurs in the Minnetaree and Choctaw forms of the classificatory system.¹

The Seminole Indians of Florida are a branch of the Creeks, from whom they seceded and by whom they were looked down upon as outcasts. Their language does not differ appreciably from the Creek. But they never attained the same power and importance as the parent stock, though they offered a stubborn resistance both to the Spaniards and to the troops of the United States.² Indeed the Government of the United States, on the confession of one of its citizens, has never been able either to conciliate or to conquer these intractable Indians. The mass of the Seminoles has been deported from their native country to the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi, but in 1880 more than two hundred Seminoles still remained in Florida, spread in scattered settlements over

The Seminoles of Florida, a branch of the Creek Indians.

¹ See above, p. 149, and below, pp. 175 sq.

² As to the history of the Seminoles, see A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 66 sqq. The attempt of the United States Government in 1832 to banish the Seminoles from Florida to the west of the Mississippi resulted in a war which raged with unabated fury for five years, entailing an immense expenditure of blood and treasure. As to the identity of the Seminole and Creek language, see A. S. Gatschet, *op. cit.* i. 73. On the other hand it has been said that the

Creek and Seminole dialects differ so widely as to be hardly intelligible ; but this statement is made on the authority of General M'Gillivray, who, although he was called their great chief by the Seminoles, had seldom, if ever, visited their country, and few of them had ever seen him. See H. R. Schoolcraft, *The Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. 260. The Creek chief, Alexander McGillivray, was the son of a Scotch trader by a half-breed mother. See J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) pp. 209 sq.

The
country
of the
Seminoles.

an otherwise almost uninhabited region and rarely seeing the face of a white man. Their country is a vast and nearly unbroken plain, which exhibits a remarkable alternation of the most exuberant fertility and almost absolute sterility. For miles the traveller may pass over low ridges of dry dazzling white sand interspersed with a growth of dwarf palmetto and of sparse pinewoods, which afford little or no shade from the burning rays of the nearly tropical sun. Then for miles again he may splash through sedgy swamps or shallow lakes, for so level is the country that the sluggish streams have no proper banks and the water overflows on all sides in reedy grass-fringed meres and morasses. Where the ground rises a few inches above the dead flat it is commonly covered with dark pines or oaks, which rise like islets above the marsh. Where it sinks a few inches, the swamp is generally filled with cypress trees, forming sombre sharply-marked thickets. Again, it is a far-spreading savannah of springy turf, a great expanse of green lawns and swelling knolls, over which the traveller passes with delight to rest from time to time in the shade of noble woods of intermingled pines and oaks, of beeches with massive trunks like the shafts of a cathedral aisle, of palms and magnolias, of luxuriant groves of oranges and lemons, spangled with their golden fruit, and mirrored in the still clear water of a glassy lake. Over all is spread the serenity of a sky of eternal summer ; for lying on the edge of the tropics the country, where it is not a sandy waste, is green throughout the year with a profusion of foliage, fruit, and flowers. It was well named by the Spaniards Florida, the Flowery Land.¹

Fertility
of the
country.

The country abounds with game, and the waters with fish, and the soil, where it exists, being a soft black loam, is of such fertility that it needs only to be cleared of trees, vines, and underwood and to be planted, in order to yield an abundant return of maize, sweet potatoes, melons, or anything else that thrives in a warm and equable climate.

¹ W. Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, etc.* (London, 1792), pp. 168-216 ; Clay MacCauley, "The Seminole

Indians of Florida," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1887), pp. 477 *sqq.*, 504, 508, 512, 527-529.

Indeed nature has here been so bounteous to man and made life so easy for him, that it might seem as if his energy, unbraced by any serious difficulties to contend with, must in time be sapped and he must sink into languor and indolence, content with the present and heedless of the morrow. At all events, from whatever cause, the Seminoles never played the conspicuous part in history which was sustained by their kinsfolk the Creeks. Yet a modern American observer of the remnant of the tribe in its native haunts has drawn a very favourable picture of their physical appearance and character. The men are tall, strong, handsome, and well-built, the women very comely. They are intelligent, affectionate, and industrious, the men working with the women in the fields, as well as hunting and fishing for the support of their families. The women are virtuous and modest; there are no half-breed whites among them; death at the hand of her relations would be the penalty inflicted on the woman who gave birth to such a child. They dislike the Government of the United States and everything even remotely connected with it, and they have probably good reasons for doing so.¹ Not less favourable is the portrait painted of the Seminoles and their country by a traveller towards the end of the eighteenth century, at a time when the tribe had not yet been conquered in war and banished for the most part from its native land to a remote region of the West. He says: "The Siminoles are but a weak people with respect to numbers. . . . Yet this handful of people possesses a vast territory; all East Florida and the greatest part of West Florida, which being naturally cut and divided into thousands of islets, knolls, and eminences by the innumerable rivers, lakes, swamps, vast savannas and ponds, form so many secure retreats and temporary dwelling places, that effectually guard them from any sudden invasions or attacks from their enemies; and being such a swampy, hommocky country, furnishes such a plenty and variety of supplies for the nourishment of varieties of animals, that I can venture to assert, that no part of the globe so abounds

Character
of the
Seminoles.

W.
Bartram's
account
of the
Seminoles.

¹ Clay MacCauley, "The Seminole Indians of Florida," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1887), pp. 479, 481, 482, 490 *sqq.*, 504, 529-531.

with wild game or creatures fit for the food of man. Thus they enjoy a superabundance of the necessities and conveniences of life, with the security of person and property, the two great concerns of mankind. The hides of deer, bears, tigers and wolves, together with honey, wax and other productions of the country, purchase their clothing, equipage, and domestic utensils from the whites. They seem to be free from want or desires. No cruel enemy to dread; nothing to give them disquietude, but the gradual encroachments of the white people. Thus contented and undisturbed, they appear as blithe and free as the birds of the air, and like them as volatile and active, tuneful and vociferous. The visage, action, and deportment of the Seminoles form the most striking picture of happiness in this life; joy, contentment, love, and friendship, without guile or affectation, seem inherent in them, or predominant in their vital principle, for it leaves them but with the last breath of life. It even seems imposing a constraint upon their ancient chiefs and senators, to maintain a necessary decorum and solemnity, in their public councils; not even the debility and decrepitude of extreme old age is sufficient to erase from their visages this youthful, joyous simplicity; but like the gray eve of a serene and calm day a gladdening, cheering blush remains on the western horizon after the sun is set.”¹ Since Bartram thus wrote, the birds to which he compared the Seminoles are mostly flown and their nests are empty.

Exogamous
clans of the
Seminoles.

The small remnant of the tribe still living in Florida in 1880-1881 was found to be divided into at least nine exogamous clans, of which the names were as follows:—²

- | | | |
|----------|---------------------|---------------|
| 1. Wind. | 2. Tiger (Panther). | 3. Otter. |
| 4. Bird. | 5. Deer. | 6. Snake. |
| 7. Bear. | 8. Wolf. | 9. Alligator. |

Rules of
marriage
and
descent.

Thus the clans, so far as they go, agree with those of the Creeks.³ No man is allowed to marry a woman of his own clan; the children belong exclusively to the mother and

¹ W. Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country*, etc. (London, 1792), pp. 209 sq.

² Clay MacCauley, “The Seminole

Indians of Florida,” *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1887), p. 507.

³ See above, p. 161.

take their clan from her, not from their father. The two hundred and eight persons who made up this fragment of the tribe consisted of thirty-seven families, and these were distributed into twenty-two camps, in each of which, with one apparent exception, all the persons but the husbands belonged to a single clan.¹ Nothing is known as to any religious or magical rites practised by the totemic clans. If we may judge by the analogy of their kinsmen the Creeks, who are said to have no respect for their totemic animals,² it seems probable that among the Seminoles also the superstitious side of totemism has long fallen into decay. The principal ceremony in which the native religious beliefs of the Seminoles find expression is the Green Corn Dance, held at the time when the maize is ripe in May and June. It resembles the Creek Feast of First Fruits, being an annual purification and rejoicing to celebrate the eating of the new corn. But the details of the festival are unknown.³ Maize is the principal product of Seminole agriculture, but the people also highly value an edible root called *koonti*, which yields an excellent flour. They say that when Jesus Christ was incarnated on earth He came down first at Cape Florida and there bestowed this valuable root on the Red Man.⁴

The Green
Corn
Dance.

A more important tribe than the Seminoles were the Choctaws, who in the eighteenth century were perhaps the most numerous branch of the Muskogean stock. They held the middle and southern parts of what is now the State of Mississippi, where they had, according to early authors, from fifty to seventy villages. Their territory began some two hundred miles north of New Orleans and extended from the Mississippi on the west to the Tombigbee River and east of it. It is, or was in those days, a pleasant land of rich pastures, watered by numerous springs and brooks, broken here and there by hills, and shaded by fine timber, such as oak, hickory, walnut, and poplar. The climate is

The
Choctaws,
a numerous
branch of
the Musk-
ogean
stock.

¹ Clay MacCauley, "The Seminole Indians of Florida," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1887), pp. 507, 508.

² Above, p. 162.

³ Clay MacCauley, "The Seminole

Indians of Florida," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1887), pp. 499, 510, 522 sq.

⁴ Clay MacCauley, *op. cit.* pp. 499, 504, 513 sqq., 519.

happy and healthy. The towns of the Choctaws, who were a settled and agricultural people, stood on the banks of the small streams which flow into the Mobile River. The tribe waged constant war with their kinsmen the Creeks and Chickasaws. In the long struggle between France and England for the possession of America, the Choctaws sided with the French; they received an annual subsidy from the French court. The Englishman Adair paints their character in the darkest colours, the only virtues he allows them being their intense love of their native land and their utter contempt of danger in the defence of it. Even the French traveller Bossu, while he speaks of their devotion to France and their warlike character, has little good to say of their intelligence and their morals. In the early part of the nineteenth century, about 1832, the Choctaws migrated or were transferred to a rich and beautiful country on the Red River, to the west of the Mississippi.¹

Their
devotion to
the French.

Their
character.

Totemic
and
exogamous
clans of the
Choctaws.

The Choctaws were divided into totemic and exogamous clans. The first, apparently, to observe and record their totemic system was an Englishman, Adam Hodgson, who travelled among them in 1820. He says: "My half-breed Choctaw also informed me, that there were tribes or families among the Indians, somewhat similar to the Scottish clans; such as, the Panther Family, the Bird Family, the Racoon Family, the Wolf Family. He belonged to the Racoon Family, but his children to the family of his wife; families being perpetuated in the female line—an institution originating, perhaps, in polygamy. By marriage, the husband is considered as, in some degree, adopted into the family of his wife; and the mother's brothers are regarded as, in some respects, entitled to more influence over the children than their own father. The suitor always consults them (sending them the usual propitiatory offering of a blanket) when he wishes to marry their niece; and, if they approve,

¹ J. Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), pp. 282-285; Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, Seconde Édition (Paris, 1768), ii. 87 sqq., 100; G. Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the Ameri-*

can Indians, Fourth Edition (London, 1844), ii. 45 sq., 122 sq.; A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 100 sqq.; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 288 sq.

the father consents as a matter of course. I have since had this confirmed by information from many different sources. Those of the same family or clan are not allowed to intermarry; although no relationship, however remote, can be traced between them; and although the ancestors of the two parties may have been living, for centuries, in different and distant nations. A marriage between a brother and a sister would not excite a stronger sensation, or be more loudly condemned. Indeed, wherever any of the family or clan meet, they recognise one another as brothers and sisters; and use one another's houses, though personally strangers, without reserve."¹ The same traveller also tells us that "the Choctaws formerly placed their dead on a scaffold, in a large chamber, called the House of Bones, a particular portion of which was reserved for each particular family, as the Racoon Family, or the Panther Family."²

According to L. H. Morgan, the Choctaws were divided into eight exogamous clans, which were equally distributed between two phratries as follows:—³

Morgan's
list of the
Choctaw
clans.

TOTEMIC SYSTEM OF THE CHOCTAWS

Phratries.	Clans.
I. Divided People . . .	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reed. 2. <i>Law Okla.</i> 3. <i>Lulak.</i> 4. <i>Linoklusha.</i>
II. Beloved People . . .	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Beloved People. 2. Small People. 3. Large People. 4. Cray Fish.

It will be observed that none of the totemic clans mentioned by Hodgson (namely, the Panther, Bird, Raccoon,

¹ Adam Hodgson, *Letters from North America written during a Tour in the United States and Canada* (London, 1824), i. 244-246.

² Adam Hodgson, *op. cit.* pp. 258 sq.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 162.

and Wolf clans) are noticed by Morgan; but on the other hand all of them are included in his list of the Chickasaw clans.¹ It is possible, therefore, that Hodgson's informant, a half-blood Choctaw, whose wife was a Chickasaw and whose hut stood on the frontier between the two tribes,² referred to the Chickasaw and not to the Choctaw clans. But it is also possible that the Panther, Bird, Raccoon, and Wolf clans among the Choctaws were overlooked by Morgan, or that they had become extinct before his time.

Rules of marriage and descent.

Though property passed in the female line, a man might give it in his lifetime to his children. Such a practice might help to shift descent from the female to the male line.

No man might marry a woman of any clan in his own phratry, but he might marry a woman of any clan in the other phratry. Descent was in the female line. Both property and the office of sachem were hereditary in the clan. A Choctaw once expressed to Dr. Cyrus Byington, who laboured devotedly in the tribe as a missionary for forty-five years, a wish that he might be made a citizen of the United States in order that his children might inherit his property instead of his clan kindred, who would take it under the old clan law. For Choctaw custom distributed a man's property after his death among his brothers and sisters and the children of his sisters, all of whom were members of his own clan, whereas his children belonged not to his clan but to their mother's. However, a man was allowed to give his property in his lifetime to his own children, and if he did so, they could hold it against the members of their father's clan. Many Indian tribes now have considerable property in domestic animals, houses, and lands owned by individuals, and in these tribes it has become a common practice for a father to bestow his property during his life upon his children in order that it may not pass from them to his clan kindred after his death. As property increases, the disinheritance of a man's children under a rule of maternal descent arouses more and more opposition; hence in some Indian tribes, including the Choctaw, the law of inheritance has been changed and the right of succession invested exclusively in the children of the deceased owner.³ Thus the growth of private property has been a powerful agent

¹ See below, p. 179.

² Adam Hodgson, *Letters from North America*, i. 240.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 162 sq.

in shifting descent from the female to the male line, and thereby substituting father-kin for mother-kin.

The Choctaws tell a story to account for the origin of their Cray-fish clan. They say that the ancestors of the clan were a species of cray-fish who lived long ago under ground, going on their hands and feet in a great cave where there was no light for miles. They neither spoke nor understood any language, but they used to come up through the mud into the sunshine. The Choctaws watched for them and tried to talk to them and to strike up an acquaintance, but the cray-fish escaped back into their cave. However, one day the Choctaws contrived to smoke a parcel of them out of their den, and treated them kindly, taught them the Choctaw language, taught them to walk on two legs, made them cut off their toe nails, and pluck the hair from their bodies, and after that they adopted them into the Choctaw nation. But the rest of the cray-fish are still cray-fish under ground.¹

Legend of the descent of the Cray-fish clan from real cray-fish.

The Choctaws possess the classificatory system of relationship in a form closely similar to that of their kinsmen the Creeks. Thus, in the generation above his own a man calls his father's brother "my father" (*A-kĭ*) and his mother's sister "my mother" (*Ush-kĭ*); but his mother's brother he calls "my uncle" (*Um-ush-ĭ*) and his father's sister he calls "my aunt" (*A-huk-ne*).

The classificatory system of relationship among the Choctaws.

In his own generation a Choctaw man calls his cousins, the children either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister, "my elder brother" (*Um-un-nĭ*), "my younger brother" (*Suh-nāk-fish*), and "my sister" (*An-take*), according to their age and sex; whereby it is to be observed that, as in some other forms of the classificatory system, while there are two quite distinct words for "elder brother" and "younger brother," there is only one word for "sister," whether elder or younger. But as usual the relationship between cousins, who are the children of a brother and sister respectively, differs from that between cousins, who are the children of two brothers or of two sisters. Thus, a Choctaw man calls his male cousin, the son of his

Classificatory terms for cousins.

¹ Geo. Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, Fourth Edition (London, 1844), ii. 128.

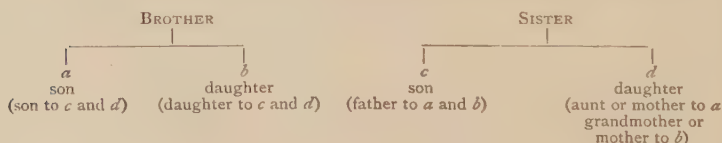
father's sister, not "my brother" nor yet "my cousin," but "my father" (*A-kĭ*); and, similarly, a woman calls her male cousin, the son of her father's sister, "my father" (*A-kĭ*). A man calls his female cousin, the daughter of his father's sister, not "my sister" nor yet "my cousin," but "my aunt" (*A-huc-ne*) or "my mother" (*Ush-kĭ*); but a woman calls her female cousin, the daughter of her father's sister, "my grandmother" (*Up-puk-ne*) or "my mother" (*Ush-kĭ*). Conversely, a man calls his cousins, the children of his mother's brother, "my son" (*Suh-sĭh*) and "my daughter" (*Suh-suh-take*), according to their sex; and, similarly, a woman calls her cousins, the children of her mother's brother, "my son" (*Suh-sĭh*) and "my daughter" (*Suh-suh-take*). Thus in the Choctaw as in the Creek form of the classificatory system a preference is shewn for the female line by making the cousin who is the son or daughter of the sister senior in rank to the cousin who is the son or daughter of the brother. For the son of the sister ranks as "father" to his cousins, the son and daughter of the brother; and the daughter of the sister ranks as "aunt" or "mother" to her male cousin, the son of the brother, and she ranks as "grandmother" or "mother" to her female cousin, the daughter of the brother. And on the other hand, the son and daughter of the brother rank as "son" and "daughter" to their male and female cousins, the son and daughter of the sister.¹

Preference
shewn for
the female
line.

Classifi-
catory
terms for
nephews
and nieces.

In the generation below his own a Choctaw man calls his brother's son and daughter "my son" (*Suh-sĭh*) and "my daughter" (*Suh-sĭh-take*); but his sister's son and daughter he calls "my nephew" (*Sub-ai-yih*) and "my niece" (*Suh-bĭh-take*). A woman calls her sister's son and daughter "my son" (*Suh-sĭh*) and "my daughter" (*Suh-sĭh-take*). So far the relationships of a Choctaw man and woman to what we should call their nephews and nieces are entirely normal according to the classificatory system; but

¹ The following tree will make the relationships of these cousins clear:—



the relationship between a woman and the children of her brother is anomalous, for whereas according to the normal type of the classificatory system she should call them "my nephew" and "my niece," she actually calls them "my grandson" (*Sup-uk - nōk - ne*) and "my granddaughter" (*Sup-uk*).¹ We have seen that a similar anomaly occurs in the Creek form of the classificatory system.²

To the north of the Choctaws lay the territory of their kinsmen but enemies the Chickasaws, a still more warlike tribe, who were as steady in their loyalty to England as the Choctaws in their devotion to France. The dialects of the two tribes were closely allied and they differed little in their manners and customs, except that the Choctaws were more sedentary and devoted to agriculture, the Chickasaws more restless and turbulent.³ But if the Chickasaws paid less attention to their fields, they seem to have paid more to their persons. A traveller passing from the Choctaws to the Chickasaws noticed the greater magnificence of dress among the latter tribe and the far greater profusion of silver ornaments which they wore. Thus adorned, he says, they cut a splendid figure as they galloped through the woods.⁴ Their country was situated in the north of what is now the State of Mississippi. "The Chikkasah," says Adair, "live in as happy a region as any under the sun. It is temperate; as cool in summer as can be wished, and but moderately cold in winter. There is frost enough to purify the air, but not to chill the blood; and the snow does not lie four-and-twenty hours together. This extraordinary benefit is not

The
Chicka-
saws.

The
country of
the Chicka-
saws.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 190 sq., and Table II. pp. 293 sqq. Morgan here gives two forms of the Choctaw system, which differ somewhat from each other. Thus in one form a father's sister's daughter ranks as "mother" to her cousins, the son and daughter of her mother's brother; in the other form she ranks as "aunt" to her male cousin, the son of her mother's brother and as "grandmother" to her female cousin, the daughter of her mother's brother. In the text I have not noted all the variations of the two

forms.

² Above, p. 176.

³ J. Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), pp. 352 sqq., 358; Le Page du Pratz, *History of Louisiana* (London, 1774), p. 310; L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 189; A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 90 sqq.; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 260 sqq.

⁴ Adam Hodgson, *Letters from North America* (London, 1824), i. 255 sq.

from its situation to the equator, for the Cheerake country, among the Apalahche mountains is colder in a surprising degree, but from the nature and levelness of the extensive circumjacent lands, which in general are very fertile.”¹ A traveller passing through the Chickasaw country on the borders of Mississippi and Alabama describes with delight the prospect which suddenly opened out when, after journeying for days through dense forests, he at last emerged on the brow of a hill and saw spread out below and beyond him a wide expanse of wooded and broken country with a romantic river winding through it. All was solitude and silence except for the warbling of birds in the branches; the only signs of human habitation were a solitary hut and a patch of Indian corn. Yet the fragrance of the woods, the magnificence of the forest-trees, the cooing of doves, and the ethereal charm of the delicious climate of Mississippi softened or dissipated the impression of melancholy which the sight of this savage wilderness, stretching away to the horizon, naturally made upon the mind; and it was with regret that towards evening the traveller passed from the land of the Chickasaws into the settlements of the whites.²

Totemic
and
exogamous
clans of the
Chickasaws.

Like their kinsmen but hereditary foes, the Creeks and Choctaws, the Chickasaws were divided into totemic and exogamous clans, and these clans were distributed into two phratries. The social organisation of the tribe, according to L. H. Morgan, was as follows :—³

¹ J. Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), p. 357.

² Adam Hodgson, *Letters from North America* (London, 1824), i. 262-266. Afterwards the Chickasaws were removed to a fertile and well-

watered district in the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi. See H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, i. 312.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 163.

TOTEMIC ORGANISATION OF THE CHICKASAWS

Phratries.	Clans.
I. Panther	<div> 1. Wild Cat. 2. Bird. 3. Fish. 4. Deer. </div>
II. Spanish	<div> 1. Raccoon. 2. Spanish. 3. Royal. 4. <i>Hush-ko-ni</i>. 5. Squirrel. 6. Alligator. 7. Wolf. 8. Blackbird. </div>

This list of the Chickasaw clans was obtained by Morgan from the Rev. Chas. C. Copeland, an American missionary residing with the tribe. Another list, which omits some of the foregoing clans, mentions in addition a Tiger clan, a Catamount clan, and a Skunk clan, the last being the least respected of all.¹ No man was allowed to marry a woman of his own clan; descent was in the female line, children belonging to the clan of their mother, not of their father; and both property and the office of sachem were hereditary in the clan.² The head chief, or king (*minko*), as he has been called, was always chosen from the Royal clan; the office was hereditary in the female line.³

The Chickasaws possess the classificatory system of relationship in a form like that of their near kinsmen the Choctaws; many of the terms of relationship are verbally the same.⁴ It would be needless, therefore, to repeat the account of the system which has been given above.⁵

¹ A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 96 sq., on the authority of Gibbs.

² L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 163.

³ H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, i. 311; A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 97. The title *minko*

applied to the chief or king of the Chickasaws is clearly identical with *mico*, the title which the Creeks bestowed on their head chiefs or kings.

⁴ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

⁵ See above, pp. 175-177.

The
Caddos.

The Caddos, a name contracted from *Kadohadacho*, that is, "the real Caddo," formed one of the chief tribes of a confederacy, which embraced about a dozen tribes and claimed as their original territory the whole of the lower Red River and adjacent country in Louisiana, Eastern Texas, and Southern Arkansas. They formed the southern group of a linguistic family, of which the northern group included the Arickarees of North Dakota, and the middle group the Pawnees.¹ The charm and beauty of the old homes of the Caddos on the Red River in Texas are described in enthusiastic terms by the painter Catlin. He says that as he and his companions sat their horses on a bluff in the prairie and drank in with their eyes the landscape, as it rolled away before them till its swelling waves of deepest green melted into the blue of the mountains which rimmed the horizon, far far away, the very horses on which they rode seemed sensible of the beauty of the scene and forgot to graze, as with deep-drawn sighs, high-arched necks, and starting eyeballs they gazed into the distance. For days they had been travelling, now over ridges sprinkled with oak-woods, where the ground was mantled with vines laden with clusters of delicious grapes; now they would be trailing through verdant valleys where the way was often blocked by tangled thickets of plum-trees bent to the earth with the weight of their purple fruit, while the intervening ground was variegated by beds of wild roses, wild currants, and gooseberries, interlaced here and there with huge masses of prickly pears.²

The old
country
of the
Caddos.

The
Caddos
a settled
agricul-
tural tribe.

The Caddos early came into contact with the Spaniards and the French, and from the oldest records and traditions it would seem that so far as memory goes back they and the kindred tribes of the confederacy have always been tillers of the soil. Their fields extended round their villages and yielded them large crops of maize, pumpkins, and

¹ *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 179, 182, 638; J. Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1896) p. 1092. As to the Arickaree language, see above, p. 146.

² Geo. Catlin, *Letters and Notes on*

the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians, Fourth Edition (London, 1844), ii. 45 sq. The point where Catlin was especially struck by the beauty of the landscape was at the meeting of the waters of the Red and False Washita rivers, with Texas on the opposite bank.

melons, their staple foods. They lived in conical huts thatched with grass and grouped round an open space which served for social and ceremonial gatherings. Couches covered with mats ran round the interior of the house, serving as seats by day and as beds by night. The fire was in the centre. They cooked their food in earthenware vessels, made baskets, and wove cloth of vegetable fibres. Their mantles adorned with feathers were much admired by the French. Besides bracelets, necklaces, and ear-rings, they wore rings in their noses, which earned for them the epithet of "Pierced Noses." They did not hunt the buffalo until they came out into the plains. Though they were a brave people, they boasted that they had never shed a white man's blood.¹

The Caddo or, to give them their full name, the Kadohadacho, are divided into ten totemic clans, which are named as follows:—

The totemic clans of the Caddos.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Bear (<i>Nawotsi</i>). | 2. Wolf (<i>Tasha</i>). | 3. Buffalo (<i>Tahnăhă</i>). |
| 4. Beaver (<i>Tao</i>). | 5. Eagle (<i>Iwi</i>). | 6. Raccoon (<i>Oăt</i>). |
| 7. Crow (<i>Kagăih</i>). | 8. Thunder (<i>Kagăhănin</i>). | 9. Panther (<i>Kăshi</i>). |
| 10. Sun (<i>Săko</i>). | | |

Of these the Bear clan is the most numerous. The Buffalo clan is sometimes called the Alligator (*Koho*), because both animals bellow in the same way. Members of a clan will not kill the animal from which their clan takes its name.² The writer to whom we are indebted for these particulars says nothing as to the rules of marriage and descent in the clans. But we may perhaps assume that the clans are, or were, exogamous, and that descent is in the female line; in other words, that no man may marry a woman of his own clan, and that children take their clan from their mother, not from their father. That amongst the Caddos descent was traced through the mother is expressly mentioned by another writer.³

Respect of the clans-people for their totems.

While no Caddo would kill an animal of his own particular totemic species, all Caddos without distinction of

¹ *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 179 sqq., 182; J. Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part ii.

(Washington, 1896) pp. 1094 sq.

² J. Mooney, *op. cit.* p. 1093.

³ *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 181.

Respect of
the Caddos
for the
eagle :
ceremonies
observed
at killing
the bird for
the sake of
its feathers.

totemic clan abstained from killing eagles and panthers. With them, as with other Indian tribes, the eagle was a sacred bird, and in the old times only a few medicine-men, who knew the sacred formula, would dare to kill an eagle for the sake of its feathers. Were any one else to slay an eagle, it was believed that his family would die or some other great misfortune would befall him. The formula consisted of certain secret prayers and rites. The eagle-killer always took a robe or some other valuable offering with him, and after he had shot the eagle, he recited the prayer, pulled out the tail and wing feathers, and covered the body of the dead bird with the robe, which he left there as a peace offering to the spirit of the eagle.¹ This general respect for the eagle is not totemic, because it is shared by the whole tribe instead of being confined to the members of a particular clan. Totemism implies that within the tribe there are groups of kinsfolk, each group respecting its own species of natural or occasionally artificial objects, that is, its totem, but not respecting the totems of the other groups. Hence an animal which is revered by all the members of a tribe without distinction is not strictly speaking a totem at all, and ought not to be so designated. It may indeed have been originally a totem, that is, the sacred animal of a particular clan within the tribe. But there is no necessity that it should ever have been so ; the respect for the animal may have sprung from causes quite independent of totemism.

The
Cherokee
and their
mountain
country.

The Cherokee were the mountaineers, the Indian Swiss, of the South. They held the whole region of the Alleghany Mountains, from the head-streams of the Kanawha and the Tennessee southward almost to the site of Atlanta, and from the Blue Ridge on the east to the Cumberland Range on the west. The country, comprising an area of 40,000 square miles, is now included in the States of Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama.² The Cherokee divided their territory into two,

¹ J. Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1896) pp. 1093, 1100. As to the Cherokee practice in regard

to eagles, see below, pp. 187 sq.

² J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) p. 14.

the lowlands and the highlands, the former intersected by the head-waters of the beautiful meandering Savannah River, the latter by the streams that flow westward to join the Mississippi. The climate even of the lowlands strikes a native of Carolina as sharp and cold in winter, but that of the highlands is much more severe. For there the mountains are high, and on their northern slopes the ice and snow last till late in the spring. In this lofty rugged chilly country the towns of the Cherokee were widely scattered, being built for the most part on stretches of level and fertile land beside some river or creek shut in by frowning mountains, whose tops were veiled in black and blue clouds or lit up fitfully by scattered rays of sunshine. The Indian paths wound along the foot of the mountains, following the beds of the streams, and were so steep in places that horses often pitched and reared in the attempt to scramble up them. Yet there is not, says an old writer, a more healthful region under the sun than this country; for the air is commonly open and clear, and abundance of wholesome water gushes from every hillside to join the cold crystalline rivers. For the most part the rivers are very shallow and pleasant to the eye, their limpid streams flowing swiftly along without overflowing their banks. But when heavy rain has fallen on the snow of the high mountains, the swollen torrents, whirling blocks of ice in their current, come rushing down the crags with tremendous violence, and sweep away rocks, pinewoods, and oakwoods in their impetuous career.¹

The Cherokee belong to the stock of the Iroquois, as is proved by their language, which is spoken in several dialects.² They are amongst the most civilised of American Indians. Like the Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, they lived in settled villages or towns and practised agriculture, raising crops of maize and beans. Their houses were oblong in shape, built of logs and plastered with clay both

The Cherokee amongst the most civilised of American Indians.

¹ J. Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), pp. 226-230, 233, 236. For detailed descriptions of the beautiful scenery in the Cherokee country, see W. Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country*, etc. (London, 1792),

pp. 306 *sqq.*, especially pp. 328 *sq.*, 350 *sqq.*, 360 *sqq.*

² J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) p. 16; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 245 *sq.*

Their
houses.

The
perpetual
fire.

outside and inside, the whole being roofed with bark or shingles. Each house was partitioned transversely into three apartments, and had besides a small conical hut, called the winter or hot house, distant a few yards from the front door. The town-house or council-house was a rotunda built of wood and sometimes raised on an artificial mound. In the middle of the town-house was a fire-pit in which burned or smouldered a perpetual fire in charge of a fire-maker. All the fires in the town were obtained from the one in the town-house. The council of the village or town held its meetings in this circular building, and here too the annual Green-Corn Dance and other national ceremonies were celebrated. Couches or seats ran round the inside of the building for the accommodation of spectators. The only entrance to the edifice was a narrow door; window or chimney there was none. The smoke escaped by the door.¹

The
Cherokee
alphabet,
national
press, and
national
constitu-
tion.

In the early part of the nineteenth century a Cherokee of mixed blood named Sequoya, or, as the whites called him, George Gist, after years of patient study invented a syllabary or alphabet to represent the sounds of the Cherokee language. It was adopted by his nation, whom it at once raised to the rank of a literary people. In the course of a few months the Cherokee were able to read and write in their own language. Types were cast and books and newspapers printed in the native tongue. One of the newspapers was published in English and Cherokee and distributed free at the expense of the nation. Simultaneously with the institution of a national press the Cherokee, in a general convention of delegates held for that purpose in 1827, adopted a national constitution based on the assumption of a distinct and independent Cherokee nationality. Thus with a political constitution, a national press, a well-developed system of industries and home education, and a government administered by educated Christian men, the Cherokee were now justly entitled to

¹ W. Barttram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, etc.* (London, 1792), pp. 365-367; J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the*

Bureau of American Ethnology, Part i. (Washington, 1900) pp. 395 sq., 502 sq.; *id.* "Cherokee Mound-building," *American Anthropologist*, ii. (1889) pp. 167-171.

be considered a civilised people.¹ The prospect was fair, but it was soon clouded.

The neighbouring States, and Georgia in particular, coveted the territory of the Cherokee, and when violence and chicanery alike failed to shake the attachment of the patriots to their native land, the United States Government in 1838 sent troops, drove the Indians from their homes at the point of the bayonet, and forced them to emigrate on foot and in waggons, in the dead of the winter, to the lands which had been assigned to them in the Indian Territory beyond the Mississippi. On that march of death, as it has been called by an American writer, the exiles perished by the hundred and the thousand. In their new home they set themselves bravely to retrieve their shattered fortunes. The national government was reorganised, the national press restored, the missions revived, and the work of civilisation again taken up. At the close of the Civil War, in which the Cherokee suffered severely for their adherence to the South, the Government of the United States pledged its faith to leave them in undisturbed possession of their lands and to guard them against intrusion. The pledge was not kept. The whites again encroached, and again, after long but vain resistance the Indians yielded to the inevitable. Only a few years ago—in 1906—the national government of the Cherokee was abolished and their lands divided. The Cherokee nation as such ceased to exist. The despoiled Indians dream of quitting the country of their fathers and seeking in some foreign land, in Mexico or South America, a haven of rest, where the long arm of the United States can reach and harass them no more. A remnant of the tribe, who fled to the mountains in 1838, contrived to elude the man-hunt of the soldiers, and their descendants still cling to the old ancestral home among the mountains, the woods, and waters of the Alleghanies. They are a peaceable, law-abiding folk, kindly and hospitable, providing for their simple wants by their industry and neither asking nor receiving help from Govern-

Expulsion of the Cherokee from their homes by the United States troops.

Broken faith of the United States Government.

Abolition of the Cherokee constitution and division of their lands. An Indian dream.

¹ J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*,

Part i. (Washington, 1900) pp. 108-113.

ment. Their fields, orchards, and fish-traps, with a few domestic animals and a little hunting, supply them with food, while, by the sale of ginseng and other simples gathered in the mountains, as well as by fruit and honey of their own raising, they procure what additional comforts they need from the traders. The old folk still cleave to their ancient rites and sacred traditions, but the dance and the once favourite ball-play are neglected, and the long Indian day draws fast to evening.¹

Exogamous
clans of the
Cherokee.

According to L. H. Morgan, the Cherokee were anciently divided into ten exogamous clans, which were named as follows :—

- | | | | |
|-----------|---------------|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Wolf. | 2. Red Paint. | 3. Long Prairie. | 4. Deaf (a bird). |
| 5. Holly. | 6. Deer. | 7. Blue. | 8. Long Hair. |
| 9. Acorn. | 10. Bird. | | |

The classi-
ficatory
system of
relation-
ship.

Of these ten clans the two last were extinct when Morgan wrote. Marriage within the clan was forbidden. Descent was in the female line.² The Cherokee possess the classificatory system of relationship in a form agreeing so closely with that of the Choctaws that it need not be considered separately.³

The
Cherokee
have many
super-
stitious
beliefs and
customs in
regard to
animals
and plants,
which are
independ-
ent of
totemism.

While the clans of the Cherokee had animals and plants for their totems, it should be observed that these Indians entertained many superstitious beliefs and observed many superstitious practices in reference to animals and plants which had no connection whatever with totemism. This observation is the more necessary because with some writers there appears to be a tendency, whenever they find superstitious beliefs and practices concerned with animals and plants, to derive them all from totemism, actual or hypo-

¹ Charles C. Royce, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1887), pp. 129 *sqq.*; J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) pp. 114-181; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 246 *sq.*

² L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 164. A list of seven Cherokee

clans is given by Mr. A. S. Gatschet on the authority of Mr. Richard Wolf, a delegate of the Cherokee people to the United States Government. So far as this list goes, it seems to agree with that of Morgan. See A. S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 27.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 192, Table II. pp. 293 *sqq.*

thetical. Such a derivation is by no means necessary. There appears to be no reason why even among totemic peoples there should not be many superstitions connected with animals and plants which are and always have been quite independent of totemism. If we doubted this, the example of the Cherokee might suffice to satisfy us. Thus, for instance, the eagle and the snake were not totems of the Cherokee, yet these Indians regarded eagles and snakes as sacred or supernatural beings and treated them accordingly. The eagle, we are told, is the great sacred bird of the Cherokee, as of nearly all the Indian tribes, and it figures prominently in their ritual, especially in everything that pertains to war. The particular species on which so high a value was set was the golden or war eagle (*Aquila chrysoetus*), called by the Cherokee the "pretty-feathered eagle," on account of its beautiful tail feathers, white tipped with black, which were in great demand for ceremonial and decorative purposes. Among the Cherokee in old times the killing of an eagle was an event which concerned the whole settlement and could be undertaken only by the professional eagle-killer, who was chosen for the work because he was an adept in eagle-lore, having learned the ceremonies which had to be observed and the prayers which had to be said in order to obtain pardon for the sacrilege and ward off vengeance from the tribe. The eagle might be killed only in the winter or the late autumn, when the crops were gathered in and the snakes had retired to their dens for their winter sleep. They thought that if an eagle were slain in summer, a frost would blight the maize, and the songs of the Eagle dance, danced when the feathers were brought home, would so anger the snakes that they would become doubly dangerous. So the Eagle songs were never sung till the snakes had gone to sleep for the winter and could not hear them. When the people of a Cherokee town decided to hold an Eagle dance, they hired a professional eagle-killer to procure the feathers for the occasion. He repaired alone to the mountains with his gun or bow and arrows, and there, after a long vigil of prayer and fasting, he hunted till he had killed a deer. Having exposed the carcass in a

Cherokee
super-
stitions
about the
eagle.

Ceremonies
at killing
an eagle for
its feathers.

Apologies
offered to
the dead
eagle.

prominent place on one of the highest cliffs, he hid himself hard by and sang in a low undertone songs to draw down eagles from the sky. When an eagle had swooped on the carrion, he shot the bird and standing by its dead body prayed that it would not wreak its vengeance on his tribe, because it was not a Cherokee but a Spaniard who had done the foul deed. Then leaving the dead eagle on the ground, he hastened to the town and announced that a snowbird had died. This he did to deceive the eagles, in order that they might think he had only killed a poor little snowbird and not one of their fierce and majestic selves. Four days later hunters went out and brought back the eagle feathers to the town, where a dish of venison and corn was set on the ground before them and they were invited to eat, because it was thought that they must be hungry after their journey. And the carcase of the deer, which the eagle-killer had shot, was left lying on the ground beside the carcase of the eagle as a sacrifice to the eagle-spirits. The same day on which the feathers were brought in, the Indians danced the Eagle dance.¹

Super-
stitious
respect
of the
Cherokee
for snakes.

Again, snakes are not totems of the Cherokee, yet these Indians hold the creatures in awe and are very careful not to offend them. All snakes are regarded by them as supernatural (*anida'wehi*) and as endowed with a certain influence over the other animals and plants. It is said that the snakes, the deer, and the ginseng are allies, and that an injury done to any one of them is avenged by all. He who kills snakes will see, or fancy he sees, them swarming about him with glistening eyes and darting tongues, till the sight drives him crazy and he roams the woods unable to find the way out. Certain songs, such as those of the Townhouse dance, are offensive to snakes, therefore they are not danced till late in the autumn when the snakes have withdrawn to their dens for the winter. And for fear of hurting the feelings of the reptiles, it is never said that a man has been bitten by a snake, but only that he has been scratched by a brier. Moreover, when

¹ J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*,

Part i. (Washington, 1900) pp. 281-283.

a man merely dreams that he has been bitten by a snake, he must be treated in exactly the same way as if he had been actually bitten; for in fact a snake ghost has stung him, and if the sufferer were not so treated, the place would certainly swell and ulcerate, not perhaps at the time, but sooner or later, it may be years afterwards. The rattlesnake is deemed by the Cherokee to be the chief of the snake tribe, and they fear and respect him accordingly. Few Cherokee will dare to kill a rattlesnake, unless they are actually compelled to do so, and even then they will atone for the crime by begging pardon of its ghost, either in their own person or through the medium of a priest. Otherwise the kinsfolk of the slain rattlesnake would send one of their number to track down the murderer and sting him to death. Nevertheless, rattlesnakes are killed by the Cherokee for the sake of their rattles, teeth, flesh, and oil, which are greatly prized for occult or medical uses. But the slaughter is done only by certain priests who know the rites and prayers necessary for obtaining pardon from the victim and his injured fellow-snakes. Whenever a rattlesnake is killed, its head must be cut off and buried in the ground and the body must be buried in a hollow log. For if the remains were left exposed to the weather, the angry snakes would send such torrents of rain that all the streams would overflow their banks. Moreover, they would tell their friends the deer and the ginseng in the mountains what had been done, so that the deer and the ginseng would hide themselves, and the hunter would seek for them in vain.¹

Respect for the rattlesnake, which is deemed the chief of snakes.

Ceremonies at killing a rattlesnake.

The respect and fear naturally entertained for such powerful and dangerous creatures as the eagle and the rattlesnake are quite sufficient to explain these superstitious beliefs and practices of the Cherokee; we need not resort to an hypothesis that the eagle and the rattlesnake were once totems of the Cherokee, of which there is no record or evidence whatever.

The Cherokee respect for the eagle and rattlesnake is not totemic.

Further, it may be observed that while the deer and the wolf are certainly Cherokee totems, certain superstitions

¹ J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) pp. 294-296.

Super-
stitious
beliefs and
customs
of the
Cherokee
about deer.

attaching to these animals are not limited to members of the Deer and Wolf clans, but appear to be shared by all members of the tribe. Thus, the deer, which still ranges the mountains, was the main stand-by of the Cherokee hunter and consequently figures prominently in Cherokee myth, folk-lore, and ceremonial. Rheumatic pains were supposed to be inflicted by the ghosts of angry deer, which the heedless hunter had omitted to appease. For the deer tribe is ruled by a powerful chief called Little Deer, who watches over his people and takes care that none of them is wantonly put to death. Though none but the greatest masters of the huntsman's craft can see him, this chief of the deer tribe hastens to the spot where a deer has been killed, and bending low asks the blood stains on the ground whether they have heard, that is, whether the hunter has begged pardon for the life which he has taken. If the blood stains say yes, all is well: the hunter has recited the necessary formula and so atoned for his crime. But if the blood stains say no, then Little Deer tracks the huntsman to his house by the blood drops on the trail, and unseen and unsuspected he insinuates into the rash man's body the spirit of rheumatism which will rack him with aches and pains from that time forth.¹

Super-
stitious
beliefs and
customs
of the
Cherokee
about
wolves.

Again, though the wolf is the totem of the largest Cherokee clan, the reverence for the formidable animal is not restricted to members of the Wolf clan, but is shared by Cherokee hunters generally. The ordinary Cherokee will never kill a wolf if he can help it, but will let the beast go unscathed, believing that the kindred of a slain wolf would surely avenge his death, and that the weapon with which the deed had been done would never shoot straight again till it had been cleaned and exorcised by a medicine-man. However, when a man's fish-traps or cattle have suffered much from the raids of wolves, he will sometimes hire a professional wolf-killer to abate the nuisance. This man of skill can slaughter wolves with impunity, because he knows the proper rites of atonement. After he has killed a wolf, he prays the animal not to avenge his death on the

¹ J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) pp. 263 sq.

tribe, because the burden of guilt really rests on other people. And he cleanses the gun which has shot the wolf by unscrewing the barrel, inserting seven small sour-wood rods in it, and leaving it overnight in a running stream.¹

Further, the Cherokee ascribe mysterious properties and perform curious rites to plants which are not and, so far as we know, never have been their totems. The Cherokee are an agricultural tribe, and accordingly of all vegetables the one which holds the first place in their domestic economy and ceremonial observances is maize (*selu*). In their sacred formulas they invoke the plant under the name of the Old Woman, because they have a legend that maize sprang from the blood of an old woman slain by her disobedient sons.

Superstitious veneration of the Cherokee for maize, which they personified as the Old Woman.

Formerly the most solemn ceremony of the tribe was the annual Green-corn dance, celebrated as a preliminary to eating the new corn. It was at once an expiation for the sins of the past year, an amnesty for public criminals, and a prayer for happiness and prosperity in the year to come. Only such as had duly prepared themselves by prayer, fasting and purification were allowed to partake of this solemn sacrament; and till then no one dared to taste the new corn. Seven ears from the last year's crop were always put carefully aside in order to "attract the corn" until the new crop had ripened; and when the harvest was come and the Green-corn dance was danced, these seven ears were eaten with the rest.² At the Green-Corn Dance in ancient times it was customary for each household to procure fresh fire from a new fire kindled in the town-house.³ Much ceremony also attended the planting and tending of the maize. Thus, when the corn was growing, a priest went into the field with the owner and built a small inclosure in the middle of it. There the two sat themselves on the ground, and the priest, rattle in hand, sang songs of invocation to the spirit of the corn. Soon a loud rustling sound would be heard. It was the Old Woman bringing the corn into the field; but neither of the

The Green-corn dance, an annual ceremony observed before eating the new corn.

Ceremonies at the planting and tending of maize.

¹ J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) pp. 264 sq.

² J. Mooney, *op. cit.* pp. 242 sqq., 423.

³ J. Mooney, "Cherokee Mound-building," *American Anthropologist*, ii. (1889) p. 167.

men crouching among the corn might look up till the song was finished. This ceremony was repeated on four successive nights; then when seven more nights had gone by, during which no one might enter the field, the priest himself would come to it and, lo! the young ears would be upon the stalks. Moreover, care was always taken to keep a clean trail from the field to the house, so that the corn might be encouraged to stay at home and not go wandering elsewhere. Again, soon after the maize had been sown, the owner, or a priest, would stand at each corner of the field, one after the other, and weep and wail loudly; but why they did so, the priests cannot now say. It was perhaps, as has been suggested, a lament for the bloody death of the corn-goddess, the Old Woman who had been slain by her sons.¹

The weeping and wailing for the corn.

Story of the death of the Corn-Woman, and of the fertilising virtue of her blood.

The story of her death was this. Once upon a time there was a woman and her name was Corn (*selu*). She was the wife of a hunter and lived with him at Pilot Knob. They had an only child, a little boy. But the boy had a playmate, a Wild Boy, who sprang from the blood of some game which the woman had washed beside the river. The Wild Boy called himself the little boy's elder brother. Well, one day it happened that the two boys were very tired and hungry and asked their mother for something to eat. She told them to wait and she would fetch it. So off she went with a basket to the storehouse. The storehouse stood on poles high above the ground to keep it out of reach of the animals, and there was a ladder to climb up to it, and a door, but no other opening. Every day when Corn, which was the woman's name, made ready to cook the dinner she would go to the storehouse with a basket, and bring it back full of corn and beans. The storehouse was not large, and the boys, who had never been in it, wondered where all the corn and beans could come from. So no sooner was their mother's back turned than the Wild Boy said to his brother, "Let us go and see what she does." They ran and climbed up at the back of the storehouse, pulled out a piece of clay from between the logs, and peeped

¹ J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the*

Bureau of American Ethnology, Part i. (Washington, 1900) pp. 423 sq.

in. What should they see but their mother standing in the middle of the room with the basket in front of her on the floor; and there she was rubbing her stomach, so, and then the basket was half full of corn; and then she rubbed under her armpits, so, and the basket was now full to the brim with beans. The two boys looked at each other and said, "This will never do. Our mother is a witch. If we eat any of that stuff, it will poison us. We must kill her." When the boys came back to the house, their mother read their thoughts and said, "So you are going to kill me?" "That we are," said the boys; "you are a witch." "Well," said the mother, "when you have killed me, clear a large piece of ground in front of the house and drag my body seven times round the circle. Then drag me seven times over the ground inside the circle, and stay up all night and watch, and in the morning you will have plenty of corn. The boys killed her with their clubs, cut off her head, put it on the roof of the house with her face to the west, and told her, with cutting sarcasm, to look for her husband. Then they set to work to clear the ground in front of the house, but instead of clearing the whole piece they only cleared seven little spots. That is why corn now grows only in a few places instead of over the whole wide world. They dragged the body of their mother Corn round the circle, and wherever her blood fell on the ground, corn sprang up. But instead of dragging her body seven times across the ground, they dragged it only twice, and that is why the Indians still hoe their fields only twice. The two brothers, having disposed of their mother, sat up and watched their corn all night, and in the morning it was full-grown and ripe.¹

How the corn goddess produced corn and beans from her body.

How she was slain, and how the corn sprang from her blood.

In this story and these customs we may see in germ a myth and ritual of a mother goddess of the corn; yet although the story and the customs are found among a totemic people, there is no ground whatever for connecting them with totemism.

Myth and ritual of a Corn-goddess in germ.

Again, the Cherokee have many superstitious beliefs and practices connected with ginseng, yet the plant is not one of their totems. They gather it on the mountains, use it in

¹ J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the*

Bureau of American Ethnology, Part i (Washington, 1900) pp. 242, 244 sq.

Superstitious beliefs and customs of the Cherokee about ginseng.

medicine, and sell large quantities of it to the traders. The priests address the plant as "Little Man" or "Little Man, Most Powerful Magician" on account of the resemblance which the root often bears to a man's body. The doctor speaks constantly of it as of a sentient being, and it is thought to be able to make itself invisible to such as are unworthy to gather it. In the search for it the first three plants are passed by and the fourth is taken, but not until the doctor has humbly entreated the Great Magician to let him take a small piece of his flesh. Having dug up the plant he drops a bead into the hole and covers it up, leaving it there by way of payment to the plant spirit. After that he gathers the other ginseng plants as he finds them without further ceremony.¹

Cherokee superstitions about the cedar and the laurel.

Again, with the Cherokee, as with nearly all Indian tribes, the cedar is a sacred tree, but it is not a totem. They burn the small green twigs as incense in certain ceremonies, especially to counteract the effect of evil dreams; for they think that the malicious demons who cause such dreams cannot endure the smell of burning cedar. But cedar-wood is too sacred to be used as fuel. They say that the red tinge of the wood comes from the blood of a wicked magician whose head was hung on the top of a tall cedar.² Again, the Cherokee never burn the laurel, yet it is not one of their totems. They use it in medicine and carve spoons and combs out of its close-grained wood. The reason why they will not burn it is simply that in the fire laurel leaves make a hissing, sputtering sound like winter winds or falling snow; so the Cherokee think that to burn them would bring on cold weather.³ Thus the ground of their objection to putting laurel in the fire is not totemism, but the fallacy

J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) p. 425.

² J. Mooney, *op. cit.* p. 421. In order to drive away ghosts from sick people, the Teton make a smoke with cedar-wood, or they will fasten the wood at the smoke-hole, or lay it down outside the hut. See the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "Teton Folk-lore," *American Anthropologist*, ii. (Wash-

ington, 1889) p. 144. The same mythical explanation of the redness of cedar-wood which is given by the Cherokee is alleged also by the Yuchi Indians. See A. S. Gatschet, "Some Mythic Stories of the Yuchi Indians," *American Anthropologist*, vi. (1893) pp. 281 sq.

³ J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) p. 422.

which underlies homœopathic magic, namely, the assumption that effects resemble their causes.

With these instances before us—and instances of the same sort might be multiplied indefinitely—we must beware of reducing to totemism all the superstitious beliefs and practices which even a really totemic people entertain and observe in regard to animals and plants. Totemism in fact, as I have said before, is only one of the multitudinous forms in which such superstitions have crystallised. It is indeed a common crystal, but there are many others of diverse shapes and colours. In a treatise on totemism it is legitimate and even necessary to emphasise the distinction, because there is a common tendency to confound all sacred animals and plants with totems. The example of the Cherokee, to which I have just called attention, may serve as a warning against this confusion.

Totemism is only one of many forms of superstition concerned with animals and plants.

§ 12. Totemism among the Pueblo Indians

Amongst the most interesting and important aborigines of North America are the Pueblo or Village Indians of Arizona and New Mexico. Their importance arises neither from their numbers nor the part which they have played in history; for their numbers are inconsiderable and they have always been a quiet pacific people, more concerned to support themselves by their own industry than to overrun and conquer their neighbours. But in their institutions they form a link or intermediate stage between the barbarous tribes to the north and the civilised Indians of Mexico, Central America, and Peru. They are settled in substantially built villages or towns, to which the Spaniards gave the name of *pueblos*; they subsist mainly by agriculture; and they exhibit some degree of skill and taste in the arts of pottery and weaving. The material basis of their indigenous civilisation was supplied by a single cereal, maize; by a single textile plant, cotton; and by the sandstone or the sun-dried bricks of which they constructed their two-, three-, or four-storied dwellings.¹

The Pueblo or Village Indians of Arizona and New Mexico.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 254 sqq.

A convenient summary of information on the Pueblo Indians, compiled from

Ruins of Pueblo villages are scattered over a wide area.

Although the Pueblo Indians are now confined to a limited area in Arizona and New Mexico, the abundant ruins of their deserted towns and villages prove that at one time or another they must have occupied the whole region from the Great Salt Lake in Utah southward into Mexico, and from the Grand Canyon of the Colorado eastward to the prairies beyond the Rio Grande. Within this great area, covering about a hundred and fifty thousand square miles, the ruined Pueblos may be numbered almost by thousands.¹

The natural features and landscape of the Pueblo country.

The natural features of the Pueblo country are very remarkable and have done much to mould the character and institutions of the natives. For the most part the land is an arid wilderness, almost a desert, where animal life is very scarce and vegetation sparse and stunted. These characteristics it owes partly to its great elevation, which varies from six to eight or even nine thousand feet above the sea, and partly to the lack of rain and running water, an effect of the extreme dryness of the air. The surface is generally smooth or slightly undulating. Were a traveller suddenly set down in the midst of one of these high tablelands, he might at first sight imagine it an ideal country for journeying in. But he could not go far without being undeceived. For sooner or later he would find himself on the brink of a yawning chasm which opened suddenly at his feet; or mounting to higher ground he would see, spread out below him, a bewildering network of jagged ravines, a confused tangle of cliffs and gorges, barring his progress. In fact the apparent level of the plateau is gashed and seamed at frequent intervals by tremendous gullies or canyons, as they are called in the country, which nature has scooped and carved to giddy depths out of the sandstone rock. To put

The tablelands and canyons.

the original sources, is furnished by Mr. Fritz Krause, "Die Pueblo-Indianer, eine historisch-ethnographische Studie," *Nova Acta, Abhandlungen der Kaiser. Leopoldin.-Carolin. Deutsch. Akademie der Naturforscher*, lxxxvii. (Halle, 1907) pp. 1-218. For a graphic picture by an eyewitness of the country and life of the Pueblo Indians a book of the late Captain J. G. Bourke (*The Snake-*

Dance of the Moquis of Arizona, London, 1884) may be recommended.

¹ Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), p. 13; Cosmos Mindeleff, "Localisation of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) p. 639.

it otherwise, the country consists of an endless series of isolated tablelands, of no great extent, each terminating in steep rugged slopes or sheer precipices and divided from its neighbours, sometimes merely by a deep and narrow ravine, sometimes by a broad stretch of flat ground. These tablelands are what the Spaniards, the former lords of the land, used to call the *mesas*, and the name still survives in the common speech of the inhabitants. The cliffs which bound the tablelands sometimes run in the same general direction for miles, winding in and out so as to form a long succession of bays and capes, of alcoves and bastions, in the wall of precipice. For the most part the soil is utterly barren. Even near the villages, which are commonly built for safety on the summit of some beetling crag or jutting ledge of rock, there are wide expanses where not a green blade is to be seen, nothing but a waste of drifting sand or a labyrinth of rugged rocks piled in confusion at the foot of the cliffs. The beds of the rivers themselves, except after heavy rain, are generally dry, consisting merely of sandy stony hollows, like the wadies of the Arabian desert. Such scanty vegetation as contrives to find a foothold in the thirsty soil has little in it to relieve the dreary monotony of the landscape; for it consists usually of scrubby dwarf pines and cedars, gnarled bushes of prickly greasewood, or clumps of sad-coloured sagebrush. Yet desolate as the scenery undoubtedly is, it possesses nevertheless a certain charm of its own. The sandstone rocks, of which the country is chiefly composed, are of many tints, most commonly of a bright red; and in the clear desert air, under a sky of the deepest blue, their mighty precipices, soaring pinnacles, and swelling buttresses present a wonderful spectacle as they recede, crag beyond crag, till they melt away in the distance. But the characteristic landscape of the Pueblo region is a dull monotonous expanse of plains bounded only far away by cliffs of gorgeous colours; in the foreground a soil of bright yellow or ashy grey; and over all the most brilliant sunshine, while distant features are softened by a blue haze. For a few weeks in early summer the tablelands are seen at their best. The open stretches are then carpeted with verdure almost hidden under a profusion of flowers. Then, too, the

Situation
of the
villages.

Aridity and
desolation
of the
scenery.

The red
cliffs.

The bloom
of early
summer.

grey and dusty sagebrush takes on a tinge of green: even the furzy greasewood drapes itself in flakes of golden bloom; and every thorny green tablet of the prickly pear seems grafted with rosebuds. Fantastic cactuses of many kinds vie with each other in putting forth the gayest flowers, scentless but gorgeous. But soon all this brightness fades, and the country resumes its habitual aspect of sterile monotony.¹

The
landscape
in winter.

Very different, however, is the appearance which the landscape wears in mid-winter, especially if we view it on a day when the Indians of some high-perched village are busy celebrating one of those elaborate religious rites, to which in the dead season of the year the natives of these bleak uplands devote much time and thought. Snow then covers the earth with a mantle of dazzling white; the valley below is white; and white without a speck are the slopes of the tablelands, except where a solitary clump of pines, seen through the distant haze, shews like a blue stain on the blanched hillside. In the foreground the bands of Indians intent on their sacred mission, as they flit about in their bright dresses across the snow, present a constantly shifting kaleidoscope of colours, the effect of which is heightened by the crisp frosty air. The gay scene lasts all the winter day, till the stars begin to sparkle overhead, and in the west the orange light of evening dies away.²

¹ Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 42-44; A. M. Stephen, "The Navaho," *American Anthropologist*, vi. (1893) pp. 345-347; Cosmos Mindeleff, "The Cliff Ruins of Canyon de Chelly, Arizona," *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 82-84; *id.* "Navaho Houses," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1898) pp. 477-481; *id.* "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) pp. 640-642; Walter Hough, "The Hopi in relation to their Plant Environment," *American*

Anthropologist, x. (1897) pp. 33 *sq.* The monotony of the landscape is even more marked in Tusayan, the home of the Hopi Indians, because there the sandstones are mostly of a neutral tint, and consequently there is less of that warmth and play of colour which elsewhere in the Pueblo country goes far to relieve the dullness of the scenery.

² Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "The Zuni Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), p. 119. I have borrowed from Wordsworth the description of a winter sunset:—

the stars
Eastward were sparkling clear, and in
the west
The orange sky of evening died away.

The great lack of the Pueblo country is water. The rainfall, in years when it rains at all, is less than ten inches and dew is rare. Great tracts in the mountains would be utterly uninhabitable for want of water if it were not for the snow which lies deep in winter and percolating through the porous sandstone soil issues in small springs at the foot of the tablelands or in the recesses of the ravines. But such springs are few and far between; they are reached by tortuous trails often known only to the Indians; and they fail in the hot summer days, when the withered grass is dry and brittle and the whole country is parched. In winter the Navaho shepherds and their sheep depend wholly on snow water; and it is the melting snow in spring which causes the grass to grow and vegetation to sprout. Yet meagre as plant life is in this arid region, the Pueblo Indians, till they obtained some sheep and cattle from the whites, supported themselves entirely by agriculture or horticulture; for they are gardeners rather than farmers. Indeed they had no alternative. They could not be hunters, because there is little game to hunt; they could not be fishermen, because there is little fish to catch. Accordingly in their natural state these Indians subsisted almost wholly on vegetable food except for a stray rat, rabbit, or prairie-dog which occasionally went to the pot. A religious fraternity of the Hopi Indians did indeed solemnly turn out once a year and hunt the neighbourhood; but twenty-five men on horseback and many men on foot have been known to scour the country for miles and knock down one rabbit. It seems clear that in such regions man could not live by rabbits nor yet by rats and dogs alone; he must have something else to eat or perish. He found the staple of life in maize.¹

Scarcity of water in the Pueblo country.

The Pueblo Indians in their native state depended entirely on agriculture.

¹ Walter Hough, "The Hopi in relation to their Plant Environment," *American Anthropologist*, x. (1897) pp. 33 sqq.; Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 42 sq.; Cosmos Mindeleff, "Navaho Houses," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1898)

pp. 478-482; *id.* "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) pp. 640-643; Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Two Summers' Work in Pueblo Ruins," *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1904) p. 194. As to sheep and cattle of the Zuni Indians, see Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson,

The
peculiar
type of the
Pueblo
village
originated
in the need
of defence
and of
being
near the
cultivated
lands.

Thus the prime necessity of these tribes, when they first migrated or were driven by foes into their present country, was to discover arable land and to settle near it. Except in the valleys of the so-called rivers or rather wadies such land is to be found only here and there in small patches, little sheltered nooks of the tablelands or fertile bottoms of rich alluvial soil in the depth of the canyons. Beside or within reach of these favoured spots the Indians were compelled to fix their abodes. They had no choice. Whatever happened, the crops must be sown and reaped; their failure involved the death of the people. At first, perhaps, when the Indians entered the country they may have lived dispersed in small groups wherever they met with a plot of arable land sufficient for their wants; for it is likely enough that they moved into these deserts only under the pressure of stronger tribes, and that for a while they had no formidable rivals to dispute the possession of the steppes. But as time went on their enemies would follow on their heels, and the need of protecting themselves and their fields from raids and depredations would be more and more felt. Thus they would naturally gather for mutual defence in large fortified villages or towns. Such were in all probability the circumstances which created the peculiar type of Indian village or town known as a Pueblo. These villages were built for safety in positions of great natural strength such as in that rugged and broken country can everywhere be found, whether on the projecting spur of a tableland with access from one side only, or on a pinnacle wholly surrounded by precipices and steep slopes, which could be reached only by a long and arduous climb up a winding and difficult path.¹ For example, the Hopi

"The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), p. 368. The Navahoes are not Pueblo Indians, but their country adjoins the Pueblo country on the north and partakes of its character. As to the annual rabbit-hunt of the Pueblo Indians, see Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 78; Mrs. Matilda Cox Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual*

Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1904), pp. 89-94. From the detailed account given by Mrs. Stevenson it would seem that the hunt is a religious or magical rite specially designed to bestow fertility on women as well as to ensure a supply of game and rain. According to her, the ceremony is celebrated quadrennially, but may be held oftener in time of great drought.

¹ Cosmos Mindeleff, "The Localization of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth*

or Moqui villages are built like eagles' eyries on the crests of perpendicular sandstone bluffs at a height of from five hundred to eight hundred feet above the springs on which the villagers depend for their supply of water. All the water used in such a village is carried on the backs of women who patiently trudge up and down the steep and giddy tracks cut in the side of the precipice, each bearing a brimming or an empty pot on her shoulders. It is a common sight to see them toiling slowly up the almost vertical face of the cliff wrapped in their faded blue blankets and bending under a weight of which the strongest man would soon grow weary.¹

The plan of a Pueblo village differs from that of all other Indian villages in North America. It consists of long rows of quadrangular flat-roofed chambers rising in a series of terraces, one row of chambers above the other, to a height of two, three, four or even five stories, in such a way that each story recedes by a space of ten feet or more from the front wall of the story immediately below it, and hence the inmates of the upper stories can walk out on the flat roofs of the houses below them and use them as promenades. The whole structure viewed from the front thus presents the appearance of a gigantic staircase; viewed from the back it is one perpendicular wall. Such rows of chambers, each chamber forming a separate house with its own fire-place and chimney, may be two or three hundred feet long; and the ground floor, on which all the receding upper stories rest, may be a hundred feet deep. Access from one story to another is obtained by ladders placed against the outside walls; sometimes the upper stories are connected by staircases. In the old villages the ground-floor rooms had no doors opening on the street or public square; the only entrance was a hole in the roof, so that in order to enter one of them it was necessary first to ascend a ladder to the roof and then to descend another ladder into the chamber.

The plan and architecture of a Pueblo village.

The terraced, flat-roofed houses rise above each other in rows like the steps of a gigantic staircase.

Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) pp. 639-646; compare *id.* "The Cliff Ruins in the Canyon de Chelly, Arizona," *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American*

Ethnology (Washington, 1897), p. 194.

¹ J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), pp. 104, 155, 272.

This arrangement was adopted for the purpose of defence ; for it enabled the inmates, on the approach of an enemy, to retire to the upper stories, draw up the ladders behind them, and then assail the attacking party with a shower of missiles from a position of comparative safety. For a similar reason the tiers of houses were arranged round a square or courtyard in such a way that they presented their terraced front to the square and turned their perpendicular back walls to the open country, thus offering a formidable obstacle to assailants possessed of no better artillery than bows and arrows. But in positions where the nature of the ground furnished a sufficient defence, the tiers of houses were sometimes arranged not in a square but in streets. However, now that the strong arm of the United States Government protects these peaceful Indians from the depredations of their fiercer neighbours, the Navahoes and Apaches, the old type of a fortified village has undergone some modifications, and the population shews a tendency to disperse into a number of lesser settlements planted more conveniently on lower ground near the cultivated lands.¹

The building-materials, stone and sun-dried bricks.

Nearly all the ancient Pueblo villages, at least in the provinces of Tusayan and Cibola, were built of the native limestone, a stone which readily breaks into small pieces of regular shape suitable for use in simple masonry without the need of being artificially dressed. The chinks were filled

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 262; Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), *passim*; Cosmos Mindeleff, "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) pp. 639-646; Mrs. Matilda Cox Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904 *sq.*), pp. 349 *sq.*; Fritz Krause, "Die Pueblo-Indianer," *Nova Acta, Abhandlungen der Kaiserl. Leopold. Carol. Deutschen Akademie der Naturforscher*, lxxvii. No. 1 (Halle, 1907), pp. 40 *sqq.* With reference to the pacific character of the Pueblo

Indians I may cite what Captain Bourke says of the Hopis or Moquis: "They are avaricious in the extreme, vacillating and timid, and generally do not impress one as being so reliable as their immediate neighbours, the Apaches and Navajoes. They have not been known to engage in hostilities with the whites or Indians since the date of American occupation" (J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, p. 255). Another writer observes of the Hopis that "they are an undersized puny race, content with what they have and asking only to be left alone" (Cosmos Mindeleff, "Navaho Houses," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1898) p. 486).

with smaller stones and a mortar of mud. The practice of building with sun-dried bricks instead of stone is now common, but it appears to be comparatively recent, and was perhaps learned by the Indians from the Spaniards. As the bricks which the Indians make are of inferior quality and the walls too thin to bear the weight of the upper stories, houses constructed of this material are apt to fall into ruins.¹

An interesting feature in the architecture of a Pueblo village is the *kiva*, or the *estufa*, as it used to be called by the Spaniards. This is a sacred chamber in which the civil and religious affairs of the people are transacted. It also forms a place of resort, a club, or lounge for the men. No women frequent these sacred chambers; indeed they never enter them except to plaster the walls at customary periods or during the celebration of certain ceremonies. A village may have several *kivas*; for example, the village of Walpi (Hualpi) has five, and the large village of Oraibi has ten. Some of these sacred chambers belong each to a particular totemic clan; thus among the Hopis or Moquis we hear of *kivas* of the Butterfly, Rabbit, Oak, Corn, and Eagle clans. Many of them have been built by religious societies, which hold their stated observances there; but no *kiva* now serves exclusively for religious purposes. In the province of Tusayan the *kivas* are quadrangular, like the rest of the chambers; but elsewhere they are sometimes circular, as in the village of Taos; and in many of the older ruins the same shape is found. This circular *kiva*, differing from all the other rooms of the village, which are regularly quadrangular, is probably a survival from the time when the ancestors of the Pueblo Indians dwelt in circular huts or tents. Religious conservatism has retained the ancient form for the sacred buildings long after considerations of utility had abolished it from purely secular edifices. For a similar reason, probably, the entrance to a *kiva* is never by a door but always by a hole in the roof, through which you descend into the room by a ladder. Further, it seems to have been a common requirement throughout the Pueblo

The sacred chambers (*kivas* or *estufas*) of the Pueblo villages.

These sacred chambers are sometimes circular, and probably this was the original shape.

¹ Cosmos Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 137-140.

country that the *kiva* should be wholly or partially underground, as it still is in Tusayan.¹

Population
of the
Pueblo
villages.

The population of a large Pueblo village often numbered from a thousand to fifteen hundred persons.² In 1852 the seven Hopi or Moqui villages were estimated to contain eight thousand inhabitants; and the population of a single large village, Zuñi, was put as high as four thousand.³ If these estimates were correct, the Pueblo Indians have since diminished in number; for in 1896 the population of the village of Zuñi was given at 1621 persons, and the total number of Pueblo Indians in Arizona and New Mexico was said to be 10,287.⁴

The agri-
culture of
the Pueblo
Indians.

The principal crop raised by the Pueblo Indians is maize, and they cultivate several varieties of this cereal. The fields, of which some are artificially irrigated by water led to them in channels from springs, often lie at considerable distances from the main settlement; hence many of the Indians have been accustomed to leave their villages in summer and take up a temporary abode in farm-steadings near their fields. In peaceful times such as the present these summer farm-steadings tend to develop into permanent villages. The soil is hoed with primitive implements, and when the corn has been gathered and brought home, it is spread on the terraced roofs of the houses to dry before it is husked and stacked in the store-rooms. Experience has taught the Pueblo Indians to store corn as a provision against a possible failure of crops. The harvests of one or even two years may sometimes be seen piled in large granaries. The corn is ground into flour between millstones, kneaded into a paste, and baked on flat stones into wafers no thicker than sheets of paper, and of interminable length. Besides maize the Indians also grow large quantities of

The maize
is kept in
store-
rooms.

¹ Cosmos Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 111 sqq.; *id.* "The Cliff Ruins of Canyon de Chelly," *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 174 sqq.; J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), pp. 119-133, 151, 332.

² Cosmos Mindeleff, "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) p. 643.

³ Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 80, 85.

⁴ F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) p. 346.

beans, melons, pumpkins, and onions, and these they also store for winter use. From the whites they have obtained wheat, peaches, apricots, and other plants, which they cultivate to some extent. Of peaches they are extravagantly fond, and every village has its peach orchards. When the fruit is ripe, people who have orchards move to them and live there in temporary or permanent huts till the peaches are gathered and sometimes dried. It is a happy season for the Indians, and especially for the children, who spend their days eating peaches and rolling on the sandhills. Cotton and tobacco are raised in small quantities; in old days the cultivation of native cotton was much more extensive.¹

Other crops.

In modern times the Pueblo Indians, having acquired sheep, goats, and cattle from the whites, have become to some extent a pastoral people. They eat the flesh of these animals and weave the wool of the sheep into blankets, which they adorn with parti-coloured patterns. Their woven stuffs are durable and shew a considerable variety of fabric. Pottery is made by the women without the use of the wheel. In many villages the pots are undecorated, the surface being finished in plain black or red. But in other villages the pottery is adorned with paintings of animals, plants, flowers, and so forth. Some of the designs are said to be totemic. The vessels themselves are sometimes moulded in the form of animals. On ancient vases the figures of beasts and birds are sometimes executed in so purely conventional a style that only the initiated can decipher them. Certain superstitions attend the making of pottery; for example, a bit of wafer bread is deposited in each pot, that the spirit of the pot may consume its spiritual essence.²

Flocks and herds.

Weaving and pottery.

¹ Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 76, 86; Walter Hough, "The Hopi in relation to their Plant Environment," *American Anthropologist*, x. (1897) p. 35; Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), pp. 350-354, 361 sqq.; Cosmos Mindeleff, "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual*

Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) pp. 640 sqq.; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 565 sq.

² Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 72; J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), pp. 262 sqq.; Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the*

Government of the Pueblo villages.

Among the Hopi or Moqui Indians, one of the principal branches of the Pueblo peoples, the governing body is composed of a council of hereditary clan-elders and chiefs of religious fraternities. Of these officials one is a speaker-chief and another a war-chief; but there has never been a supreme chief among the Hopis. Each village has its own hereditary chief who directs certain communal works, such as the cleaning of springs.¹ The government of Zuñi is described as hierarchical, being in the hands of various priesthoods and other religious fraternities, of whom the Rain Priests, eight men and one woman, form the dominant body. The civil branch of the government consists of a governor with four assistants, and a lieutenant-governor, also with four deputies. These men are all nominated by the Rain Priests. The governor is elected for one year, but he may be re-elected. He and his staff attend to such secular affairs as do not require the intervention of the priests.²

The Pueblo Indians are at present restricted to a small area in New Mexico and Arizona.

While Indians of the Pueblo type of culture appear from the ruins of their villages to have at one time occupied the great region of arid plateaus which stretches from central Utah on the north to the Mexican boundary and beyond it to the south, their descendants or successors are now restricted to a comparatively small area in Western New Mexico and Eastern Arizona, over which their villages, about thirty in number, are irregularly distributed. Most of them are scattered along the upper course of the Rio Grande and its tributaries in New Mexico; and a few of them, situated partly in Western New Mexico and partly in Eastern Arizona, lie in the ancient provinces of Cibola and Tusayan, which are drained by the Little Colorado. Locally, the Pueblo villages may be said to fall into three groups, an eastern group on the Rio Grande, a central group on the

There are three groups of them; an

Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1904), pp. 368, 372-377; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 566. Sheep and cattle were obtained by the Pueblo Indians from the Spaniards in the seventeenth century. See Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of*

Ethnology (Washington, 1891), p. 22.

¹ *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 565.

² Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), pp. 289 sq.

Zuñi plateau, and a western group in Tusayan.¹ But though the Pueblo Indians inhabit contiguous districts, and though their general character and type of culture are the same, it is remarkable that they speak languages of four different stocks, and therefore presumably belong to four different families. The four stock languages spoken by these people are the Tanoan, Keresan, Zuñian, and Shoshonean; and of these the Tanoan language is, or rather used to be, spoken in five different dialects, the Tano, the Tewa, the Tiwa, the Jemez, and the Piro. The Tano are now extinct as a tribe, but their descendants are still scattered throughout the other Pueblo villages, most of them being at Santo Domingo on the Rio Grande. The Tewa occupy the villages of San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Pojoaque, Nambe, and Tesuque, all on or near the Rio Grande, together with the village of Hano among the Hopi in Tusayan.² The Tiwa, called by the Spaniards Tigua, inhabit the villages of Taos, Picuris, Sandia, and Isleta, all in the valley of the Rio Grande. The Jemez live in the single village of that name, which stands on a small western tributary of the Rio Grande. The Piros, who are now almost completely Mexicanised, are found, mixed with some Tiwa, at the villages of Senecu and Isleta del Sur, below El Paso, on the Rio Grande in Texas and Chihuahua. The Indians who speak the Keres or Keresan language occupy the villages of Acoma, Laguna, Sia, Santa Ana, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochiti, all in the Rio Grande valley.

eastern group on the Rio Grande, a central group on the Zuñi plateau, and a western group in Tusayan. They speak languages of four different stocks.

¹ Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), p. 13, with the map.

² The difference of language between the people of Hano or Harno and the Hopi or Moqui by whom they were surrounded was long ago noted by Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, who, writing of the Hopi or Moqui villages, observes that "they all speak the same language except Harno, the most northern town of the three, which has a different language and some customs peculiar to itself. It is, however, considered one of the towns of the confederation, and

joins in all the feasts. It seems a very singular fact that, being within 150 yards of the middle town, Harno should have preserved for so long a period its own language and customs. The other Moquis say the inhabitants of this town have a great advantage over them, as they perfectly understand the common language, and none but the people of Harno understand their dialect" (Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 87 sq.). Compare J. W. Fewkes, "The Kinship of a Tanoan-speaking Community in Tusayan," *American Anthropologist*, vii. (1894) pp. 162 sqq.

The people who speak the Zuñi language are confined to the single large village of that name, situated about midway between the Pueblos on the Rio Grande and the Pueblos of the Hopis or Moquis in Arizona. Lastly, the Shoshonean language is spoken by the Hopis or Moquis who occupy the ancient province of Tusayan in North-eastern Arizona: their villages or towns are Oraibi, Walpi, Sichimovi, Mishongnovi, Shupaulovi, and Shongopovi.¹ This diversity of tongues among groups of Indians, all living side by side within a comparatively small area and characterised by the same general type of culture, seems to shew that these groups are descendants of different races who have been driven, probably by the pressure of stronger tribes, into these arid and semi-desert regions; and that the similarity of their civilisation is to be ascribed, not to derivation from common ancestors, but to the effect of peculiar natural surroundings acting alike upon them all, and aided, no doubt, by inter-communication between them.²

This diversity of languages seem to shew that the Pueblo Indians belong to different races.

The Pueblo Indians are divided into many totemic and exogamous clans with descent in the female line.

The Pueblo Indians are divided into a large number of totemic and exogamous clans, and the clans are further grouped in phratries. In former times marriage within the clan, and sometimes within the phratry, was rigorously forbidden; members of the same clan were regarded as brothers and sisters. But nowadays the old rule of exogamy has to some extent broken down and in many villages a man may marry any woman who will have him, without regard to her clan or her phratry. The Pueblo Indians are monogamists. When a man marries, he goes to live in his wife's house. Descent and inheritance are in the female line; children belong to the clan of their mother, not to that of their father. Women own the houses, crops, sheep, and orchards, all in fact that pertains to the comfort of the family. The men own the horses and donkeys. No man

¹ F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) pp. 345 sq., with Mr. Victor Mindeleff's map (Plate I.), in *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), prefixed to page 13. Authorities differ in their spelling of the names of the Hopi villages. I follow Mr. J. W. Fewkes,

in the *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 561 sq.

² Compare Fritz Krause, "Die Pueblo-Indianer," *Nova Acta, Abhandlungen der Kaiserl. Leopold. Carol. Deutschen Akademie der Naturforscher*, lxxxvii. No. 1 (Halle, 1907), pp. 108 sqq.

will sell anything in a house without his wife's consent, and when anything is sold the price received belongs to her. At a woman's death her property descends to her daughters.¹

The most westerly group of Pueblo Indians are the Hopis or, as they used to be called, the Moquis. The name Hopi is a contraction of Hopitu, "peaceful ones," or *Hopitushinumu*, "peaceful all people," the name by which they call themselves. The origin of the name Moqui or Moki, by which these Indians have been popularly known, is uncertain.² Their country lies just west of the boundary between New Mexico and Arizona, north and east of the Little Colorado River, and some sixty or seventy miles south of the Grand Colorado. The Hopi villages are seven in number, each built on the crest of a sandstone precipice in a position which must have rendered it practically impregnable to aboriginal foes. They fall into three groups, an eastern, a central, and a western. The eastern group comprises three villages all situated very close together on what is called the Eastern Tableland (*Mesa*). The names of the three villages, beginning at the east, are Hano (or Tegua), Sichomovi (Suchongnewy), and Walpi (Hualpi). Of these three Hano, as we have seen,³ is not strictly speaking a Hopi village, being inhabited by Indians who speak a different language. A broad valley of seven miles of sand, interspersed with the corn, bean, and melon patches of these Indian farmers, divides the Eastern Tableland from the abrupt promontory on which perches, first, the romantic village of Mishongnovi

The Hopis or Moquis, the most westerly group of Pueblo Indians.

Their seven villages.

¹ The Rev. Samuel Gorman, quoted by L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 180 (as to the Laguna Indians); J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), pp. 135 sq., 230, 248 (as to the Moquis or Hopis); Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), p. 24 (as to the Hopis); Mrs. Matilda Cox Stevenson, "The Sia," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), pp. 19-21 (as to the Sia); *id.* "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), p. 291 (as to the

Zuñi); F. H. Cushing, "Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths," *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1896), p. 368 (as to the Zuñi); Cosmos Mindeleff, "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington 1900), p. 647. Compare Fritz Krause, "Die Pueblo-Indianer," *Nova Acta, Abhandlungen der Kaiserl. Leopold. Carol. Deutschen Akademie der Naturforscher*, lxxxvii. No. 1 (Halle, 1907), pp. 84 sq.

² *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 560.

³ Above, p. 207, note ².

(Mushangnewy); above it, looking like the stronghold of a German robber-baron of the Middle Ages, appear the masonry walls of Shupaulovi (Shupowlewy); and three miles away, on the other wall of a wide and deep ravine, the fortress of Shongopovi (Sumopowy). Nearly ten miles west of Shongopovi is the solitary village or rather town of Oraibi (Oraybe), the largest and most westerly of the Hopi settlements. It occupies a strong position on the summit of a lofty bluff. The inhabitants studiously hold aloof from their kinsmen in the other villages, and their pronunciation of the common Hopi language differs somewhat from that of their fellows. The village of Walpi (Hualpi or Gualpe, as the Spaniards called it) is regarded as the most ancient of the Hopi settlements in Tusayan: it dates from before the middle of the sixteenth century. Some thirty years ago the population of Oraibi was estimated at not less than fifteen hundred.¹

Clans and
phratries of
the Indians
of Walpi
and
Sichomovi.

The Indians of Walpi and its neighbour village of Sichomovi are or were divided into twelve phratries, and each of these phratries is subdivided into a number of totemic clans. The names of these phratries and clans are as follows:—²

¹ J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), pp. 226 sq., 329 sq.; J. W. Fewkes, "Tusayan Migration Traditions," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) pp. 579 sq.; *id.* in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 560 sqq. The forms of the names in brackets are those given by Captain Bourke. For a detailed description of the Hopi (Moqui) villages, with illustrations and plans, see Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 45 sqq. The date assigned to Walpi in the text rests on the authority of Mr. J. W. Fewkes ("Tusayan Migration Traditions," p. 579). Elsewhere Mr. Fewkes argues that Walpi was not founded on its present site till about 1700. See J. W.

Fewkes, "The Kinship of the Tusayan Villages," *American Anthropologist*, vii. (1894) pp. 394 sqq.

² J. W. Fewkes, in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 562. This is the latest and presumably the most complete list. For earlier lists of Hopi (Moqui) clans, see Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 86 (repeated by L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 179); J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), pp. 116 sq., 335 sq.; Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 38 sq.; J. W. Fewkes, "The Kinship of the Tusayan Villages," *American Anthropologist*, vii. (1894) pp. 400 sqq.; *id.* "Tusayan Migration Traditions," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900), pp. 582 sqq.; Cosmos

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HOPI AT WALPI AND SICHOMOVI

Phratries.	Clans.
I. Horn-flute (<i>Ala-Lengya</i>)	1. Horn (<i>Ala</i>); 2. Mountain sheep; 3. Deer; 4. Antelope; 5. Elk; 6. Seed grass; 7. Ant; 8. Red ant; 9. Black ant; 10. Great ant; 11. Tiny ant; 12. Blue flute; 13. Drab or All-colours flute.
II. Waterhouse or Cloud (<i>Patki</i>)	1. Water-house (<i>Patki</i>); 2. Corn; 3. Rain-cloud; 4. Rainbow; 5. Lightning; 6. Agave; 7. Rabbit-brush; 8. Aquatic animal [Duck]; 9. Frog; 10. Tadpole; 11. Bean; 12. Watermelon; 13. Rain.
III. Snake (<i>Chua</i>)	1. Snake (<i>Chua</i>); 2. Puma; 3. Dove; 4. Columnar cactus; 5. Cactus fruit; 6. <i>Opuntia</i> ; 7. <i>Opuntia frutescens</i> ; 8. Marmot; 9. Skunk; 10. Raccoon; 11. Sorrow; 12. Squash; 13. Crane; 14. Pigeon-hawk; 15. Thistle. The last five of these clans are extinct.
IV. Reed (<i>Pakab</i>)	1. Reed (<i>Pakab</i>); 2. Eagle; 3. Hawk; 4. Turkey; 5. Sun; 6. Paluna (Twin-brother of Puhukonghoya); 7. Star; 8. Chicken-hawk; 9. Willow; 10. Greasewood.

[Continued on p. 212.]

Mindeleff, "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *ibid.* p. 651. The earliest of these lists (that of Dr. Ten Broeck) comprised only seven clans, namely, the 'Deer, Sand, Water, Bear, Hare, Prairie-wolf, Rattlesnake, Tobacco-

plant, and Reed-grass clans. Captain Bourke enlarged the list to twenty-three, arranged in ten phratries with one clan over. His list (*The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), p. 336) is as follows :—

Phratries.	Clans.	Phratries.	Clans.
I. Phratry {	1. Parrot.	VI. Phratry {	13. Bear.
II. Phratry {	2. Cottonwood.	VII. Phratry {	14. Hemlock.
III. Phratry {	3. Macaw.	VIII. Phratry {	15. Rattlesnake.
IV. Phratry {	4. Corn.		16. Dove.
V. Phratry {	5. Frog.		17. Tobacco.
	6. Turkey.		18. Cotton-tail Rabbit.
	7. Eagle.		19. Blue-seed grass.
	8. Sun.	IX. Phratry {	20. Buck-grass.
	9. Badger.	X. Phratry {	21. Deer.
	10. Butterfly.		22. Yellow Wood.
	11. Coyote.		23. Squash.
	12. Skeleton.		

Phratries.	Clans.
V. Wood (<i>Kokop</i>)	1. Wood (<i>Kokop</i>); 2. Coyote; 3. Wolf; 4. Yellow fox; 5. Grey fox; 6. <i>Zrohona</i> (small mammal); 7. <i>Masi</i> (<i>Masauu</i> , dead, skeleton, Ruler of the Dead); 8. Piñon; 9. Juniper; 10. Bow; 11. <i>Sikyachi</i> (small yellow bird); 12. <i>Tuvuchi</i> (small red bird).
VI. Cottontail rabbit (<i>Tabo</i>)	1. Cottontail rabbit (<i>Tabo</i>); 2. Jackrabbit.
VII. Sand or Earth (<i>Tuwa</i>)	1. <i>Kukuch</i> (kind of lizard); 2. <i>Bachipkwasi</i> (kind of lizard); 3. <i>Nananawi</i> (kind of lizard); 4. <i>Momobi</i> (kind of lizard); 5. White sand; 6. Red sand (<i>Tuwa</i>); 7. Mud; 8. Flower; 9. Small striped squirrel.
VIII. Bear (<i>Honau</i>)	1. Bear (<i>Honau</i>); 2. Wild-cat; 3. Blue-bird; 4. Spider; 5. Fir.
IX. Sacred Dancer (<i>Kachina</i>)	1. Sacred Dancer (<i>Kachina</i>); 2. Paroquet; 3. Raven; 4. Yellow bird; 5. Blackbird; 6. Spruce; 7. Cottonwood.
X. Tansy mus- tard (<i>Asa</i>)	1. Tansy mustard (<i>Asa</i>); 2. Blackearth Sacred Dancer (<i>Kachina</i>); 3. Oak; 4. Chaparral cock; 5. Magpie; 6. Snow-bunting; 7. Boomerang rabbit-stick; 8. Field-mouse.
XI. Tobacco (<i>Piba</i>)	1. Tobacco (<i>Piba</i>); 2. Pipe.
XII. Badger (<i>Honani</i>)	1. Badger (<i>Honani</i>); 2. Porcupine; 3. Turkey-buzzard; 4. Butterfly; 5. Evening primrose; 6. Sacred Dancer (<i>Kachina</i>).

Small size
of the Hopi
clans.

This gives a total of one hundred and two, or rather one hundred and one clans for the two villages of Walpi and Sichomovi, one of the clans (Sacred Dancer, *Kachina*) occurring in two phratries. But of these clans five are now extinct, so that the number of existing clans in these two villages seems to be ninety-six. As the total population of the two villages at the census of 1900 was only 324,¹ it follows that the average strength, or rather weakness, of each clan in these villages was three persons and a fraction, all told. These very remarkable figures deserve to be borne in mind in considering the present state of totemism

¹ J. W. Fewkes, in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 562. Of this grand total Walpi

claimed two hundred and five, and Sichomovi had to be content with one hundred and nineteen.

among the Hopis. No wonder the Hopi clans are exogamous. A man could not have a very large choice of wives in his own clan, when the rest of it, exclusive of himself, is composed of two whole persons and a fragment of a third, all, or rather both, of whom may possibly be males.

Most of these clans occur in the other Hopi villages, though not in Hano. The Bear clan is supposed to be the oldest in Tusayan, and the Snake clan is said to have been among the first to settle in the district. Together, the Snake and Horn people control the Antelope and Snake fraternities and possess the fetishes and other paraphernalia of the famous Snake dance. The palladium of this people is kept at Walpi. The Flute people, once very numerous, are now nearly extinct in the Hopi villages of the Eastern Tableland. The chief of the Flute priesthood controls the Flute ceremony, which occurs biennially, alternating with the Snake dance. There are two divisions of the Flute fraternity, one known as the Drab Flute and the other as the Blue Flute. There are Horn people in most of the Hopi villages, and clans belonging to this phratry are generally named after horned animals. They now join the Snake priest in the Antelope rites of the Snake dance. The Water-house or Cloud (*Patki*) phratry includes a number of clans which came to the Hopi country from the south, bringing with them a high form of sun and serpent worship, which is still prominent at the Winter Solstice ceremony. The Sun priests, who are found in most Hopi villages and are especially strong at Walpi, accompanied the Cloud people.¹ The Snake clan at Walpi is said to be descended from a Snake-woman, who had the power of changing from a snake into a woman. She married a man and gave birth first to snakes but afterwards to human beings, from whom the Snake clan is descended. They established the Snake worship at Walpi, from which it spread to the other Hopi villages.²

Distribution of the Hopi clans in other villages.

The Flute people.

The Horn people.

The Cloud people.

The Snake clan is descended from a Snake-woman, who gave birth to snakes.

¹ J. W. Fewkes, in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 562 sq.

² J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884),

p. 177; H. R. Voth, *The Traditions of the Hopi* (Chicago, 1905), pp. 30-35 (Field Columbian Museum, Publication 96). A considerable number of other traditions relating to the Hopi clans

The clans
of the
village of
Hano.

The village of Hano, though it ranks with the Hopi Pueblos, is inhabited, as we have seen, by Indians of a different stock. In 1893 the native population of the village of Hano, exclusive of twenty-three husbands of Hano women, numbered one hundred and forty persons. These were divided into eight clans, namely, the Bear, Corn, Tobacco, Pine, Cloud, Earth, Sacred Dancer (*Kachina*), and Sun. Formerly, they included also the Crane, Timber, Pink Conch, Herb, Turquoise Ear Pendant, Stone, and Grass clans; but these have died out since the Hano people settled in Tusayan.¹

The Hopi
phratries
seem to
have arisen
by sub-
division of
the original
clans.

From the table of the Hopi phratries and clans given above² it will be seen that each phratry bears a name which is also that of a clan included within it. This points to the subdivision of an original clan of that name into a number of new clans, all but one of which took new names for the sake of distinction. On this subject the remarks of Mr. Cosmos Mindeleff deserve to be quoted. Speaking of the Hopi clans he says that under the rule of female descent, by which children belonged to their mother's clan, not to their father's, "a clan in which there were many girls would grow

have been recorded; but as they appear to relate mainly to the migrations of the people and to throw little or no light on totemism, that is, on the relation of the people to their totems, they need not be considered in this work. See Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 16 sqq.; J. W. Fewkes, "Tusayan Migration Legends," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) pp. 577 sqq.; H. R. Voth, *The Traditions of the Hopi* (Chicago, 1905), pp. 16-48. From Mr. Voth's book we gather that the clans at the village of Oraibi include the Bear, Spider, Lizard, Sand, Rattlesnake, Badger, Butterfly, and Divided Spring (*Batki*) clans; and that the clans in the village of Mishongnovi include the Divided Spring (*Batki*), Sand, Bear, Parrot, Crow, Crane, Eagle, Corn-Ear, and Sacred Dancer (*Kachina*) clans. For a list of clans in these and the other

Hopi villages, as they existed about 1883, see Cosmos Mindeleff, "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) p. 651.

¹ *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 531. Captain J. G. Bourke, writing in 1884, says that the Tegua (Tewa) Indians of Hano were divided into nine clans named as follows: Sun, Corn, Snake, Tobacco, Cottonwood, Pine, Cloud, Bear, and Parrot. See J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), p. 335. According to Mr. Cosmos Mindeleff, about the year 1883 there were at Hano families belonging to the following clans: Bear, Eagle, Sun, Cottonwood, Tansy Mustard (*Asa*), Water (Corn), Water (Cloud), Lizard, Tobacco, and Coyote. See Cosmos Mindeleff, "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) p. 651.

² See pp. 211 sq.

and increase in importance, while one in which the children were all boys would become extinct. There was thus a constant ebb and flow of population within each clan and consequently in the home or houses of each clan. The clans themselves were not fixed units; new ones were born and old ones died, as children of one sex or the other predominated. The creation of clans was a continuous process. Thus, in the Corn clan of Tusayan, under favourable conditions there grew up subclans claiming connection with the root, stem, leaves, blossom, pollen, etc."¹ Thus, we can understand why lists of totemic clans drawn up at different times among the same people may differ from each other considerably, and yet all of them be correct for the time to which they refer.

The Pueblo Indians of the Zuñian stock are comprised within the single large village of Zuñi, which in 1896 was reported to contain 1621 inhabitants.² Their country lies between Tusayan, the land of the Hopi Indians, on the west and the Rio Grande valley, the home of the Eastern group of Pueblo Indians. It appears to correspond to the ancient province of Cibola.³ The present village of Zuñi, which is the largest of all modern Pueblo villages, stands on a knoll beside the Zuñi River. The position is not naturally a strong one, and appears to have been chosen merely because it is conveniently near to a large stretch of arable land watered by what is rare in the land of the Pueblos, a perennial stream. Three miles to the east of it rises the conspicuous and beautiful tableland of red and white sandstone known as Thunder Mountain, on the summit of which lie the ruins of

The Zuñi
Indians.

The
present
village of
Zuñi.

The ruins
of the old
village of
Zuñi.

¹ Cosmos Mindeleff, "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) p. 647. Similarly, speaking of the old Hopi gentes (clans), Mr. Victor Mindeleff observes: "There are, moreover, in addition to these, many other gentes and sub-gentes of more recent origin. The subdivision, or rather the multiplication of gentes may be said to be a continuous process; as, for example, in 'corn' can be found families claiming to be of the root, stem, leaf, ear, blossom, etc., all be-

longing to corn; but there may be several families of each of these components constituting district sub-gentes." See Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891) p. 38.

² F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) pp. 346, 348.

³ Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), p. 80.

old Zuñi. Its situation, unlike that of the modern village, is impregnable; for the tableland is a thousand feet above the plain and almost inaccessible, the sides being for the most part too precipitous to be scaled. Two foot-paths traversing abrupt slopes, where holds for hands and feet have been chipped out of the rock, furnish a precarious approach to the summit. Many legends and superstitions of the Zuñi cluster round these airy ruins; and amongst the crags, hidden away in secluded nooks or perched on nearly unapproachable pinnacles and slopes, are many shrines and sacred objects to which the Indians go on pilgrimage.¹

Totemic
clans of
the Zuñi.

The Indians of Zuñi are or were till lately divided into twenty-four totemic clans, of which the names are as follows:—²

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. Crane or Pelican. | 2. Grouse or Sagecock (Chaparral Cock). |
| 3. Yellow-wood or Evergreen-oak. | 4. Bear. |
| 5. Coyote. | 6. Red-top plant or Spring-herb. |
| 7. Tobacco. | 8. Maize-plant. |
| 9. Badger. | 10. Deer. |
| 11. Antelope. | 12. Turkey. |
| 13. Sun. | 14. Sky. |
| 15. Eagle. | 16. Toad or Frog. |
| 17. Water. | 18. Rattlesnake. |
| 19. Parrot-Macaw. | 20. Wood. |
| 21. Cotton-tail rabbit. | 22. Black Corn. |
| 23. Tortoise. | 24. Sun Flower. |

¹ Mrs. Tilly E. Stevenson, "The Religious Life of the Zuñi Child," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1887), pp. 539 sq.; Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 80, 89 sq., 97 sq.

² F. H. Cushing, "Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths," *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1896), p. 368; Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), p. 292; J. G. Bourke, "Notes upon the Gentile Organization of the Apaches of Arizona," *Journal of American*

Folk-lore, iii. (1890) p. 116. Mrs. Stevenson gives a list of sixteen existing and four extinct clans, which agrees with that of Mr. Cushing except that (1) she omits the Water and Rattlesnake clan; (2) she adds the Wood, Cotton-tail rabbit, and Black corn clans; (3) she translates the native word *Pichikwe* as "Dogwood," whereas Cushing translates it "Parrot-Macaw." Elsewhere Mrs. Stevenson records a tradition that the *Pichikwe* (Dogwood clan) was divided into a Macaw (*Mula*) section and a Raven (*Kăkă*) section (*op. cit.* p. 40). Captain Bourke gives a list of fourteen clans. In the text the first nineteen clans are taken from Mr. Cushing's list, the next three from Mrs. Stevenson's, and the last two from Captain Bourke's.

With regard to the rules of marriage in Zuñi we have unfortunately no information ; but we may presume that the Zuñi clans, like those of other Pueblo Indians, are or once were exogamous, that is, that no man was allowed to marry a woman of his own clan. We are told that descent and inheritance are in the female line,¹ which implies that children belong to the clan of their mother, not to that of their father. But "while descent is through the maternal side, the offspring is also closely allied to the father's clan. The child is always referred to as belonging to the mother's clan and as being 'the child' of the father's clan."² Further, the Zuñi clans, says Mr. Cushing, are "totemic ; that is, they bear the names and are supposed to have intimate relationship with various animals, plants, and objects or elements."³ But what precisely the relationship is supposed to be between a person and his or her totem, Mr. Cushing omits to say, nor is the omission, so far as I know, supplied by any other writer. Here, as in the case of most of the tribes within the area of the United States, we are left without exact information as to the essence of totemism, that is, the nature of the relation which is supposed to exist between a totemic clan and its totem.

The Eastern group of Pueblo Indians occupy, as we have seen,⁴ a considerable number of villages scattered about in the valley of the Rio Grande, and they belong to two linguistic stocks, the Tanoan and the Keresan. Like their western brethren in Zuñi and Tusayan, they are divided into totemic clans, of which the names, if little else, have been recorded. One of the villages inhabited by Indians of the Keresan stock is Acoma, strongly situated on a high rock in New Mexico, about sixty miles west of the Rio Grande. It is said to enjoy the distinction of being the oldest inhabited settlement within the United States. The Spaniards, who visited it in 1583, and estimated its

Descent
is in the
female
line.

The
Eastern
group of
Pueblo
Indians in
the valley
of the Rio
Grande.

The
totemic
clans of
Acoma.

¹ F. H. Cushing, "Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths," *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), p. 368 ; Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of*

American Ethnology (Washington, 1904), p. 291.

² Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, *l.c.* The statement is obscure, but I have no means of elucidating it.

³ F. H. Cushing, *l.c.*

⁴ Above, pp. 206 sq.

population at six thousand persons, speak of the dizzy path that leads up to the town and mention the cultivated fields two leagues away. The number of inhabitants in 1902 had dwindled to five hundred and sixty-six. They were divided into twenty clans named as follows:—

- | | | | |
|----------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|
| 1. Water. | 2. Yellow corn. | 3. Red corn. | 4. Blue corn. |
| 5. Brown corn. | 6. White corn. | 7. Eagle. | 8. Parrot. |
| 9. Sun. | 10. Road-runner. | 11. Oak. | 12. Rattlesnake. |
| 13. Bear. | 14. Turkey. | 15. Calabash. | 16. Antelope. |
| 17. Sky. | 18. Buffalo. | 19. Fire. | 20. Ant. |

Four of these clans (namely, Blue corn, Brown corn, Buffalo, and Fire) were extinct in 1902. Nothing is said as to the rules of marriage and descent, and nothing as to the relation of people to their totems.¹ On the analogy of those Pueblo Indians as to whose social system we are better informed, we may perhaps assume that the Acoma clans are or were once exogamous, and that the children belong to their mother's clan.

Totemic
clans
of the
Laguna,
a Pueblo
people
of the
Keresan
stock.

Laguna is the name of another tribe of Pueblo Indians speaking the Keresan language. They have their principal village on the bank of the San José River in New Mexico, about forty-five miles west of Albuquerque. In 1851 the population of the village was estimated at nine hundred persons;² in 1905 the whole tribe numbered 1384 souls, divided into twenty clans, which were named as follows:—

- | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Bear. | 2. Sun. | 3. Badger. |
| 4. Eagle. | 5. Watersnake. | 6. Rattlesnake. |
| 7. Coyote. | 8. Corn (divided into | 10. Water. |
| | 8. Yellow corn and | |
| | 9. Red corn). | |
| 11. Turkey. | 12. Wolf. | 13. Earth. |
| 14. Mountain lion. | 15. Parrot. | 16. Turquoise. |
| 17. Chapparral-cock. | 18. Antelope. | 19. Lizard. |
| 20. Oak. | | |

Two of these clans (namely, Earth and Mountain lion) were extinct in 1905. Most of the clans were grouped

¹ F. W. Hodge, in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 10 sq.

² Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 75 sq.

together in phratries, of which the following have been recorded :—

Grouping
of the
Laguna
clans in
phratries.

Phratries.	Clans.	Phratries.	Clans.
I. Phratry	1. Bear. 2. Badger. 3. Coyote. 4. Wolf.	III. Phratry	1. Water-snake. 2. Rattlesnake. 3. Lizard. 4. Earth.
II. Phratry	1. Mountain-lion. 2. Oak.	IV. Phratry	1. Antelope. 2. Water.

The writer who gives us this information says nothing as to the rules of marriage and descent in the tribe.¹ Fortunately in the case of the Laguna people we are not left merely to conjecture. An older writer, the Rev. Samuel Gorman, has supplied the requisite information. Writing of the Pueblo Indians in 1860, he says: "Each town is classed into tribes or families, and each of these groups is named after some animal, bird, herb, timber, planet, or one of the four elements. In the pueblo of Laguna, which is one of above one thousand inhabitants, there are seventeen of these tribes; some are called bear, some deer, some rattlesnake, some corn, some wolf, some water, etc. etc. The children are of the same tribe as their mother. And, according to ancient custom, two persons of the same tribe are forbidden to marry; but, recently, this custom begins to be less rigorously observed than anciently."² Thus the totemic clans of the Laguna Indians are or were exogamous, with descent in the female line; which agrees with the few statements on that subject which have been vouchsafed with reference to the other Pueblo Indians.

Rules of
marriage
and
descent
among the
Laguna.

The Sia are another Pueblo people of the Keresan stock.³ Their village stands on high ground beside the Jemez River, a western tributary of the Rio Grande. The people are poor and shrunken in numbers, inhabiting only a small group of houses among the extensive ruins of what

The Sia,
a Pueblo
people
of the
Keresan
stock.

¹ F. W. Hodge, in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 752 sq. of New Mexico, quoted by L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 180.

² The Rev. Samuel Gorman, in an address to the Historical Society ³ F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) p. 346.

was formerly one of the largest towns of this region. According to the census of 1890 they numbered only one hundred and six persons. So scanty is the supply of water that the Sia cannot grow enough grain to supply their needs; but the women labour industriously at the manufacture of pottery, and the men barter their wares for corn and wheat with their neighbours.¹ The Sia were formerly divided into at least twenty-three totemic and exogamous clans, of which the names have been recorded as follows:—²

- | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Corn. | 2. Coyote. | 3. Squash. |
| 4. Tobacco. | 5. Bear. | 6. Eagle. |
| 7. Star. | 8. Moon. | 9. Sun. |
| 10. Deer. | 11. Antelope. | 12. Cougar. |
| 13. Cloud. | 14. Crane. | 15. Oak. |
| 16. Fire. | 17. Parrot. | 18. White shell bead. |
| 19. Ant. | 20. Granite. | 21. Cactus. |
| 22. Turtle Dove. | 23. Sage Brush. | |

However, by 1890 all but the first six of these clans were extinct, and even of the first six the Eagle, Bear, and Squash clans were almost extinct, being represented only by one old man each, though the Squash clan had in addition a second man from Tusayan. The Tobacco clan was represented by a single family. The only two clans numerically well represented were the Corn and the Coyote.³ The old custom of the tribe forbade a man to marry a woman either of his father's or of his mother's clan; but in 1890, when

Totemic
clans of
the Sia.

Marriage
customs of
the Sia.

¹ Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "The Sia," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), pp. 9-11.

² Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, *op. cit.* p. 19; J. G. Bourke, "Notes upon the Gentile Organization of the Apaches of Arizona," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, iii. (1890) p. 117. Captain Bourke, who visited Zia (Sia) in 1881, gives a list of eight clans (Turtle Dove, Native Tobacco, Bear, Corn, Eagle, Coyote, Sage Brush, Pumpkin). Mrs. Stevenson, who visited Sia in 1890, gives a list of twenty-one, of which, however, all but six (Corn, Coyote, Squash, Tobacco, Bear, Eagle) were extinct.

At the time of Captain Bourke's visit there were only fifteen families living at Sia, so that the number of members of each clan must have been very small.

³ Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "The Sia," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 19. Mrs. Coxé left Washington in March 1890 to study the Sia and continued her researches among them to the end of the fiscal year (*op. cit.* p. xxx.). Six years later, in 1895, Mr. F. W. Hodge reported a somewhat different state of things at Sia. According to him there were then sixteen clans in existence, while twenty-one had become extinct. As the

the remnant of the tribe was investigated, the numbers were so shrunken that the Sia had to break through the old exogamous rules or perish. Accordingly marriages with the forbidden clans were looked upon with disfavour but tolerated. The older men watched jealously over the younger men, lest they should seek brides among other tribes; and beautiful as the Sia maidens are esteemed, few suitors came awooing them from other villages; for according to tribal custom a husband takes up his abode in his wife's home, and there is little to attract well-to-do Indians to the ruinous, poverty-stricken village of Sia. "Though the Sia are monogamists, it is common for the married, as well as the unmarried, to live promiscuously with one another; the husband being as fond of his wife's children as if he were sure of the paternal parentage. That these people, however, have their share of latent jealousy is evident from the secrecy observed on the part of a married man or woman to prevent the anger of the spouse. Parents are quite as fond of their daughter's illegitimate offspring, and as proud of them, as if they had been born in wedlock; and the man who marries a woman having one or more illegitimate children apparently feels the same attachment for these children as for those his wife bears him. . . . These loose marriage customs doubtless arise from the fact that the Sia are now numerically few and their increase is desired, and that, as many of the clans are now extinct, it is impossible to intermarry in obedience to ancient rule."¹

Loose
relations of
the sexes
among the
Sia.

Another Pueblo tribe of the Keresan stock are the Cochiti. Their village of the same name stands on the

average number of members in each of the existing clans was 6.62, the population of the village had practically remained stationary since Mrs. Stevenson's visit, though there had been apparently a curious revival of extinct clans, due perhaps to the importation of fresh blood from other villages. At the time of Mr. Hodge's visit the existing clans were the Antelope, Badger, Bear, Calabash, Chapparal Cock, Corn, Coyote, Deer, Eagle, Fire, Parrot, Rattlesnake, Sun, Tobacco, Turkey, and Water; and the extinct clans were Ant, Arrow, Buffalo,

Cloud, Crane, Crow, Dance-Kilt, Dove, Hawk, Ivy, Lizard, Moon, Mountain Lion, Oak, Pegwood (?), Piñon, Salt, Shell bead, Star, Stone, Turquoise. Mr. Hodge visited the Pueblo villages of New Mexico in the summer and autumn of 1895. See F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) pp. 345, 347, 348 *sqq.*, with the table.

¹ Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "The Sia," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), pp. 19-21.

The clans of the Cochiti, a Pueblo people of the Keresan stock.

west bank of the Rio Grande in New Mexico, twenty-seven miles south-west of Santa Fe. In 1907 they numbered three hundred persons and were divided into clans, of which the following nineteen names have been recorded :—

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 1. Sun. | 2. Water. | 3. Cottonwood. |
| 4. Turquoise. | 5. Mountain Lion. | 6. Bear. |
| 7. Calabash. | 8. Coyote. | 9. Oak. |
| 10. Corn. | 11. Fire. | 12. Eagle. |
| 13. Turkey. | 14. Antelope. | 15. Rattlesnake. |
| 16. Dance-Kilt. | 17. Reindeer (?). | 18. Ivy. |
| 19. Mexican Sage. | | |

The last eight of these clans were extinct in 1907. Nothing is said as to the rules of marriage and descent in the tribe.¹ We may conjecture that the clans are or were exogamous, and that descent was in the female line.

Clans of Santa Domingo, a Pueblo village of the Keresan stock.

Another Pueblo village inhabited by Indians speaking the Keresan language is Santo Domingo² on the Rio Grande in New Mexico. It was visited in 1881 by Captain J. G. Bourke, who found the inhabitants divided into eighteen clans, bearing the following names :—

- | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1. Eagle. | 2. Water. | 3. Toad. |
| 4. Macaw-Parrot. | 5. Snake. | 6. Sun. |
| 7. Bear. | 8. Mountain Lion. | 9. Crane. |
| 10. Yucca or Soap-weed. | 11. Sage Brush. | 12. Badger. |
| 13. Buffalo. | 14. Coyote. | 15. Antelope. |
| 16. Tortoise. | 17. Evergreen Oak. | 18. Maiz (Corn). |

Some of these clans were represented by only two or three survivors. Though he does not expressly record the rules of marriage and descent among these Indians, Captain Bourke makes a statement from which we may infer that the clans are, as appears to be usual with the Pueblo Indians, exogamous, with descent in the female line. He says that

¹ F. W. Hodge, in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 317 sq. Captain J. G. Bourke visited Cochiti in 1881 or 1882 and has recorded the names of twelve clans as follows : 1. Macaw ; 2. Melon ; 3. Eagle ; 4. Sun ; 5. Water ; 6. Evergreen Oak ; 7. Antelope ; 8. Badger ; 9. Corn ; 10. Bear ; 11. Turkey ; 12.

Coyote. See J. G. Bourke, "Notes upon the Gentile Organization of the Apaches of Arizona," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, iii. (1890) p. 117.

² F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) p. 346; *id.* in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 675.

an Indian of Santo Domingo "asserted that he was a member of the *Chamisa* or Sage Brush clan, his father was of the Maize or Corn clan, his wife and children of the Coyote, and his wife's father of the *Aguila* or Eagle."¹

The remaining two Pueblo villages of Indians speaking the Keresan languages are Santa Ana and San Felipe, the latter situated on the Rio Grande and the former on its western tributary the Jemez River.² In 1881 or 1882 the Indians of Santa Ana were divided into ten clans, of which the names were these :—³

Clans of
Santa Ana.

- | | | |
|------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Turkey. | 2. <i>Chalchihuitl</i> . | 3. Turtle Dove. |
| 4. Coyote. | 5. Macaw. | 6. Corn. |
| 7. Eagle. | 8. Snake. | 9. Badger. |
| 10. Bear. | | |

In the year 1895 the Indians of San Felipe were divided into twenty-one clans, of which three were nearly extinct; and they remembered nine more clans which had become extinct. The names of these clans are as follows :—⁴

Clans of
San Felipe.

- | | | |
|------------|--------------|---------------------|
| 1. Ant. | 2. Antelope. | 3. Arrow.* |
| 4. Bear. | 5. Calabash. | 6. Chapparal Cock.* |
| 7. Coral. | 8. Corn. | 9. Coyote. |
| 10. Crow.* | 11. Deer.* | 12. Dove. |

¹ J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), pp. 49 sq.

² F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) p. 346, with the map of the Pueblo country, in *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), Plate I., facing p. 13.

³ J. G. Bourke, "Notes upon the Gentile Organization of the Apaches of Arizona," *Journal of American Folklore*, iii. (1890) p. 116. In 1895 Mr. F. W. Hodge recorded only seven clans at Santa Ana, as follows: 1. Corn; 2. Coyote; 3. Dove; 4. Eagle; 5. Fire; 6. Parrot; 7. Turkey. See F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) pp. 348 sqq., with the table, Plate VII.

⁴ F. W. Hodge, *op. cit.* pp. 348 sqq., with the table, Plate VII. The clans

whose names are distinguished by an asterisk were extinct at the time when Mr. Hodge wrote. Captain Bourke visited San Felipe in 1881 or 1882 and has recorded sixteen clans as follows: 1. Eagle; 2. Sun (almost extinct); 3. Water; 4. Antelope; 5. Corn; 6. Frog; 7. Turkey; 8. Coyote; 9. Turtle Dove; 10. *Bunchi* (native tobacco); 11. *Chalchihuitl*; 12. Snake (extinct); 13. Evergreen Oak (extinct); 14. Badger (extinct); 15. Macaw (extinct); 16. Bear (extinct). See J. G. Bourke, "Notes upon the Gentile Organization of the Apaches of Arizona," *Journal of American Folklore*, iii. (1890) p. 116. In regard to these and other discrepancies between lists of totem clans recorded at different times we must always bear in mind the more or less constant flux to which totem clans are subject. See above, pp. 214 sq.

- | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| 13. Duck. | 14. Eagle. | 15. Earth.* |
| 16. Fire. | 17. Flower (red and white). | 18. Frog or Toad. |
| 19. Humming-bird. | 20. Ivy. | 21. Moon.* |
| 22. Mountain Lion.* | 23. Oak. | 24. Parrot. |
| 25. Salt.* | 26. Sun. | 27. Swallow. |
| 28. Tobacco. | 29. Turkey. | 30. Turquoise.* |
| 31. Water. | | |

The writer who has recorded the names of these clans says nothing as to the rules of marriage and descent. But on the analogy of the other Pueblo Indians, about whom these particulars have been given, we may conjecture that the clans of Santa Ana and San Felipe are or were at one time exogamous, and that children belong to their mother's clan.

Clans of
the Pueblo
Indians
of the
Tanoan
stock.

Lastly, the Pueblo Indians who speak dialects of the Tanoan language, and occupy a considerable number of villages in the valley of the Rio Grande,¹ are or have been divided into many clans, of which not a few are now extinct. The following names of their clans, existing or extinct, have been recorded by Mr. F. W. Hodge :—²

- | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Ant. | 2. Antelope. | 3. Axe. |
| 4. Badger. | 5. Bear. | 6. Bluebird. |
| 7. Buffalo. | 8. Calabash. | 9. Cloud. |
| 10. Coral. | 11. Corn. | 12. Corn (black). |
| 13. Corn (blue). | 14. Corn (red). | 15. Corn (sweet). |
| 16. Corn (white). | 17. Corn (Yellow). | 18. Cottonwood. |
| 19. Coyote. | 20. Crane or Heron. | 21. Crow. |
| 22. Deer. | 23. Eagle. | 24. Eagle (painted). |
| 25. Earth. | 26. Feather. | 27. Fire. |

¹ For the names of their villages, see above, p. 207.

² F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) pp. 348 *sqq.*, with the table, Plate VII. Two of these villages, namely, Jemez on the Jemez River in New Mexico and Isleta in Texas, were visited by Captain Bourke in 1881, and he has recorded the names of their clans. In Jemez, of which the population was 401 in 1881, Captain Bourke recorded the names of ten clans as follows: 1. *Chalchihuítl*; 2. Coyote; 3. Corn; 4. Pine; 5. Evergreen Oak; 6. Sun;

7. Eagle; 8. Badger; 9. Pumpkin; 10. Crow (only one man left). In Isleta, which in 1881 was almost completely Mexicanised and contained thirty-six families and four widows, Captain Bourke recorded the names of twelve clans, as follows: 1. Corn; 2. Eagle; 3. Sun; 4. Water; 5. *Chalchihuítl*; 6. Bear; 7. Turtle Dove; 8. Rabbit; 9. Watermelon, or Pumpkin; 10. Goose, or Turkey; 11. Coyote (extinct); 12. Snake (extinct). See J. G. Bourke, "Notes upon the Gentile Organization of the Apaches of Arizona," *Journal of American Folklore*, iii. (1890) p. 117.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 28. Firewood or Timber. | 29. Flower (genus Dandelion). | 30. Goose. |
| 31. Gopher. | 32. Grass. | 33. Hawk. |
| 34. Herb (species unknown). | 35. Knife. | 36. Lizard. |
| 37. Marten. | 38. Mole. | 39. Moon. |
| 40. Mountain Lion. | 41. Oak. | 42. Parrot. |
| 43. Pine. | 44. Sacred Dancer. | 45. Shell (pink conch). |
| 46. Shell Bead. | 47. Stone. | 48. Sun. |
| 49. Tobacco. | 50. Tree (probably birch). | 51. Tree (probably spruce). |
| 52. Turkey. | 53. Turquoise. | 54. Water. |
| 55. Water Pebble (boulder). | 56. Willow. | 57. Wolf. |

These clans are variously distributed among the villages of the Tanoan-speaking Indians. Some of them are represented only in a single village, others in two, three, four, and so on. The total population of the Tanoan-speaking villages, including the village of Hano, was reported in 1896 to number three thousand two hundred and sixty-six.¹ The writer who has recorded the names of the Tanoan clans says nothing as to their rules of marriage and descent. But on the analogy of other Pueblo Indians we may conjecture that the clans are or were at one time exogamous, and that children belong to their mother's clan.

Amongst the Hopis, and perhaps among the other Pueblo Indians, though as to them we have no information, personal names regularly refer to the clan totem of the giver, not the bearer, of the name. When a child is twenty days old, it receives its first names from the grandmother or, if she be not living, from some aunt or other near relative on the mother's side, and from other women. All these women must belong to the clan of the mother and child. Of the names thus bestowed one usually sticks and is called the "child-name." It is retained until the child is initiated into some order or society, when it receives a new name from the godfather or godmother who presents it for initiation. Sometimes a new name is also given at these initiations by

Among the Hopi Indians personal names refer to the totem of the giver, not the bearer, of the name.

¹ F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Indian Clans," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) p. 346, with the table, Plate VII. As to the village of Hano,

which is situated among the Hopis (Moquis) Indians in Tusayan, see above, p. 207 note².

the leaders of the ceremony. Such initiations, however, are by no means confined to the age of childhood, but may take place at any time. A few specimens will illustrate the relation of Hopi personal names to the clan totems of the persons who bestow them. Thus a member of the Bow clan may bestow the personal name of "Arrow." A member of the Crane clan may give the name of "Crane." A member of the Squash clan may give the name of "The one that figures a Blossom"; a member of the Bluebird clan may give the names of "Bluebird," "Little Bluebird," "Follow the Bluebird," "Bluebird Walk," "Bluebird Hunt," and so forth. A member of the Bear clan may give the names of "Bear," "Little Bear," "Bear Maiden," "Bear Claw." A member of the Parrot or Macaw clan may give the names of "Parrot Maiden," "Parrot Tail," "Parrots Alighted," "Parrots Flown Away," and so on. A member of the Spider clan may give the name of "Spider Web." A member of the Eagle clan may give the names of "Eagle Man," "Eagle Sits," "Eagles Stand," and so on. And similarly with other clans.¹

Members of each clan and phratry seem formerly to have dwelt together in the villages.

In old days apparently each clan and each group of clans, which we call a phratry, dwelt by itself in its own cluster or row of houses in the common Pueblo village; and to some extent this local grouping of kins may still be traced in the villages and towns of these Indians. "Related clans," we are told, "commonly built together, the newcomers seeking and usually obtaining permission to build with their kindred; thus clusters of rooms were formed, each inhabited by a clan or a phratry. As occupancy continued over long periods, these clusters became more or less joined together, and the lines of division on the ground became more or less obliterated in cases, but the actual division of the people remained the same and the quarters were just as much separated and divided to those who knew where the lines fell. But as a rule the separation of the clusters is apparent to every one; it can nearly always be traced in the ground plans of ruins, and even in the great valley pueblos, which were probably inhabited continuously for several centuries, the principal divisions

¹ H. R. Voth, *Hopi Proper Names* 80 sq., 81 sqq., 88, 91 sq. (Field (Chicago, 1905), pp. 67 sq., 74, 76 sq., Columbian Museum, Publication 100).

may still be made out. In the simpler plans the clusters are usually well separated."¹ "At the present time the house of the priestess of the clan is considered the home of that clan, and she has much to say about proposed marriages and other social functions."²

Each Pueblo clan has its totemic badge, which consists of a conventional representation or symbol of the clan totem. Such badges or crests serve members of the clan as signatures, and they are worn by persons who represent the clan at foot-races and other ceremonies. For example, if a dancer is of the Eagle clan, he will be decorated on his breast or back with an eagle or with some conventional mark which everybody knows to be the badge of the Eagles. Similarly with representatives of the Corn, Tobacco, Bear, Badger, and other clans.³

Totemic badges of the Pueblo Indians.

The Pueblo Indians are an eminently religious people, and devote much time, especially in winter, to the performance of complicated rites intended to ensure an adequate supply of rain, the growth of corn, and other blessings. Many of these ceremonies are dramas in which the parts of gods and goddesses or other supernatural beings are played by masked men and women, or by men disguised as women. Such mystery plays are acted in the piazza or square of the village and are watched with enthusiasm by the inhabitants of both sexes seated on the terraced roofs of the houses, as on the tiers of a great theatre or amphitheatre. If any doubt existed as to the essentially religious or rather perhaps magical origin of the drama, the elaborate ritual of the Pueblo Indians, with its personation of gods and goddesses by masked men, might help to dissipate the doubt. Such maskers and masquerades are known among the Hopis as

Religious or magical dramas of the Pueblo Indians, in which masked actors personate gods.

¹ Cosmos Mindeleff, "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) p. 648; compare the same writer's whole discussion of the subject, pp. 646-653. Captain Bourke also observes that each clan lives in its own section or ward of the village (*The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, p. 229).

² Cosmos Mindeleff, "Localization of Tusayan Clans," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) p. 653.

³ J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), p. 229; J. W. Fewkes, "Tusayan Totemic Signatures," *American Anthropologist*, x. (1897) pp. 1-11.

The masks are thought to transform the actors into the gods whom they personate.

kachinas, and the same name is applied by them to the supernatural beings themselves who are personated. "By the use of these masks or helmets," we are told, "the participant is supposed to be transformed into the deity represented." But when we speak of gods, deities, and worship in this connection it should be borne in mind that "we undoubtedly endow the subject with conceptions which do not exist in the Indian mind, but spring from philosophic ideas resulting from our higher culture. For the first two the more cumbersome term 'supernatural beings' is more expressive, and the word 'spirit' is perhaps more convenient, except from the fact that it likewise has come to have a definite meaning unknown to the primitive mind. Worship, as we understand it, is not a proper term to use in the description of the Indian's methods of approaching his supernal beings. It involves much which is unknown to him, and implies the existence of that which is foreign to his conceptions. Still, until some better nomenclature, more exactly defining his methods, is suggested, these terms from their convenience will still continue in common use."¹

The Hopi rites are based in the main on sympathetic magic.

"The Hopi ritual is extraordinarily complex and time-consuming, and the paraphernalia required is extensive. Although the Hopi cultus has become highly modified by a semi-arid environment, it consisted originally of ancestor-worship, embracing worship of the great powers of nature—sky, sun, moon, fire, rain, and earth. A confusion of effect and cause and an elaboration of the doctrine of signatures pervade all their rites, which in the main may be regarded as sympathetic magic."²

¹ Jesse Walter Fewkes, "The Group of Tusayan Ceremonials called *Katcinas*," *Fifteenth Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 251-263, etc.; the quotations in the text are taken from pp. 263 and 253 respectively. Elsewhere Mr. Fewkes has argued that the maskers called *Kachinas* (*Katcinas*) "represent the dead or the totemic ancestors of clans; or, in other words, the spirits of deceased members of the clan with totemic symbolic paraphernalia characteristic of the ancients." See his article, "An Interpretation of *Katcina* Worship,"

Journal of American Folk-lore, xiv. (1901) pp. 81-94. As to the Hopi religion in general and the *Kachinas* (or *Katcinas*) in particular see also J. W. Fewkes, in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 566 sq. The masked dances of the Pueblo Indians were first described by Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck in 1852. See H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 83-85.

² J. W. Fewkes, in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 567.

At the present day the religious or rather perhaps magical rites of the Pueblo Indians appear to be performed for the most part by religious fraternities, the members of which are not restricted to any particular totemic clan. Accordingly a full consideration of the elaborate ritual of these people does not fall within the scope of a treatise on totemism, and I shall not attempt it. But it may be remarked that many of these rites, though now no longer totemic, may have been so originally; in other words, they may in former times have been performed only by members of a particular totemic clan and the intention of the ceremonies may have been to multiply or otherwise influence the totem for the common good. There is a certain amount of evidence that this was so. For example, in regard to the most famous of all the Pueblo ceremonies, the Snake Dance, we are told by the chief authority on the subject, Mr. Jesse Walter Fewkes, that "no one can now doubt that the Snake dance was primarily a part of the ritual of the Snake clan, and that ancestor worship is very prominent in it. We need only look to the clan relation of the majority of priests in the celebration to show its intimate connection with the Snake clan, for the Snake chief, the Antelope chief, and all the adult men of the Snake family participate in it. The reverence with which the ancestor, and particularly the ancestress, of the Snake clan, viz., Tcūamana, is regarded, and the personation of these beings in *kiva* rites, certainly gives strong support to a theory of totemistic ancestor worship."¹

The Snake Dance was witnessed by Captain J. G. Bourke of the United States Army at the Hopi village of Hualpi (Walpi) on the twelfth of August 1881; and his description was the first to attract general attention to the rite. The ceremony, which is not confined to the Hopis or Moquis, though perhaps it originated with them, has since been often described. Its main feature is a dance performed by men, each of whom holds a live serpent between his teeth. It is

¹ Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Notes on Tusayan Snake and Flute Ceremonies," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part

ii. (Washington, 1900) p. 965; compare *id.* "The Growth of the Hopi Ritual," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, xi. (1898) pp. 190 sq.

These religious or magical dramas are now performed by fraternities, the members of which are not confined to any one totemic clan. But perhaps originally the ceremonies may have been totemic; that is, they may have been celebrated by members of a totemic clan for the multiplication or control of their totem. Thus the Snake dance may once have been a ceremony of the Snake clan.

Captain Bourke's description of the Snake Dance at Walpi in August 1881.

said that most of the serpents used in the rite are venomous, and that nothing is done to render them innocuous, though men distract the attention of the reptiles from the dancers by tickling them with sacred wands, which have incised on them the figure of a long green snake and are tipped with eagle feathers. The weird procession of the dancers marches round and round a sacred rock which rises from the ground in the piazza at Walpi. Women, both maidens and matrons, scatter sacred corn-meal on the serpents and on the dancers from beautifully decorated baskets which they carry in their hands, till the air is misty with the flour and the ground is white as driven snow. This scattering of the corn-meal has a sacred significance; and the lips of the women engaged in it may be seen moving in prayer. After the serpents have been spat out on the ground by the dancers and sprinkled with meal by the women, most of them are placed for a moment or two in the hands of little boys, who handle them apparently without fear. Finally, the serpents are carried by runners at full speed down the precipitous path which leads from the village to the plain, where the reptiles are set at liberty. All the time the men are racing down the steep slope with their wriggling burdens, an old man whirls a bull-roarer so as to produce a humming, whirring sound like that of rain driven by the wind. The same sound is made in the same way when the head of the sacred procession first emerges to view on the piazza.¹ A medicine-man informed Captain Bourke that by making this sound they compelled the wind and rain to come to the aid of the crops. At a later time the same officer found the bull-roarer

The
scattering
of the
sacred
meal.

The
serpents
placed
in the
hands of
boys and
then set
free.

Bull-roarers
whirled to
make wind
and rain.

¹ J. G. Bourke; *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), pp. 122, 151-169, with Plate II. at the end. For other accounts of the Snake Dance and other ceremonies with snakes among the Pueblo Indians, see Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "The Sia," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), pp. 86 *sqq.*; J. Walter Fewkes, "A Comparison of Sia and Tusayan Snake Ceremonials," *American Anthropologist*, viii. (1895) pp. 137 *sqq.*; *id.* "The Oraibi Flute Altar,"

Journal of American Folk-lore, viii. (1895) pp. 273-282; *id.* "Tusayan Snake Ceremonies," *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), pp. 273-312; *id.* "Notes on Tusayan Flute and Snake Ceremonies," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1900) pp. 963-986; F. W. Hodge, "Pueblo Snake Ceremonials," *American Anthropologist*, ix. (1896) pp. 133-136.

used by the Apaches for the same purpose.¹ The time occupied by the whole ceremony was not more than half or three-quarters of an hour. More than a hundred snakes were used in it.² The ceremony appears to take place regularly in August, but the days on which it is held are known to have varied at the village of Walpi in different years from the 12th to the 21st of the month.³ The meaning of the Snake Dance is very uncertain. Mr. J. W. Fewkes, who has studied it carefully, inclines to believe that the dance "has two main purposes, the making of rain and the growth of corn, and renewed research confirms my belief, elsewhere expressed, that ophiolatry has little or nothing to do with it."⁴ In this connection it deserves to be noted that a part of the Snake Dance, as it was witnessed by Captain Bourke, who had no such theory of its meaning, consisted in an imitation of corn-planting performed by the dancers as they slowly pranced by twos, arm in arm, round the sacred rock.⁵

Theory that the Snake Dance is intended to make the rain fall and the corn grow.

The theory that the Snake Dance was originally a totemic ceremony performed by persons of the Snake clan and by them alone is confirmed by a statement of Nanahe, a Hopi (Moqui) Indian, an intelligent, quiet, and well-behaved man, whose evidence was interpreted to Captain Bourke by Mr. Frank Cushing. This man said that he was a member of the Maize or Corn clan of the Moquis, but also a member of the Snake Order, a secret society to which is entrusted the preparation and care of the dance. By a rule of the Moquis none but a member of the Snake clan may belong to the Snake Order; only when a member of the Snake clan dies,

Statement of a Hopi Indian that only

¹ J. G. Bourke, "The Medicine-men of the Apache," *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1892), pp. 476 sq.

² J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, p. 169.

³ Captain Bourke witnessed it on the 12th of August 1881 (*The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, p. 156); in 1891 the dance took place on August 21st, in 1893 on August 14th, and in 1895 on August 18th. See J. W. Fewkes, "The Oraibi Flute Altar," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, viii.

(1895) p. 277. At other Pueblo villages the snake ceremonies of 1896, spread over nine days, lasted variously from the 11th to the 24th of August. See J. W. Fewkes, "Tusayan Snake Ceremonies," *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), p. 275.

⁴ J. W. Fewkes, "Tusayan Snake Ceremonies," *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), p. 307.

⁵ J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, p. 161.

members
of the
Rattle-
snake clan
or their
sons may
belong to
the Snake
Order,
the secret
society
which
manages
the Snake
dance.

his son is allowed to participate in the sacred drama. On the subject of the Snake Order and its relation to the Snake clan the Indian's evidence ran thus: "You must not ask me to give you any information about that order. I am a member of it. It is a secret order, and under no circumstances can any of its secrets be made known. Very few people, even among the Moquis, know anything about it, and its members would be more careful to keep its affairs from the knowledge of the Moquis, not members, than they would from you. This order was first organised in the Grand Cañon of the Rattlesnakes, the Grand Cañon of the Cohoninos, the Cañon of the Ava-Supais, and our people in their migration from that point eastward brought the secret with them. At first all members of the order were members of the Rattlesnake gens [clan], but as time passed the descendants of that clan became too numerous and were mixed up with all the other gentes [clans] of our people. To keep the order from getting too big, no members were taken in unless they were members of the Rattlesnake gens, or sons of the members of that gens, as in my case. But if a man had no other claim than by inheritance, and did not possess the qualifications demanded of aspirants, he would surely be rejected; while I think that a man of brave heart and good character, willing to comply with all the rules imposed, would be likely to be admitted without consideration of his father's or his mother's want of connection with the Rattlesnake gens. From the Moqui villages the order spread to other villages; the headquarters, however, always remained among the Moquis."¹ This account of the manner in which the rites of the Snake clan gradually passed out of the exclusive possession of the clan and were transferred to a secret society known as the Snake Order may very well apply, with the necessary modifications, to the development of many secret societies out of totem clans.

Ceremony
performed
by the
Frog clan

Again, the Frog clan of the Zuñi Indians performs an annual ceremony, which reminds us of the *intichiuma* or magical rites performed by totem clans in Central Australia

¹ J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), pp. 180 *sq.*

for the multiplication of their totems. In the arid land inhabited by the Pueblo Indians the great want is water; accordingly rain is the prime object of their prayers and ceremonies, the constant preoccupation of their minds.¹ Now the frog is an animal associated with water; hence the Frog clan is naturally charged with the performance of ceremonies for the procuring of rain. About five miles to the east of the present village of Zuñi there is a spring of water which flows into a rocky basin some twenty feet long. Terraced ledges, whether natural or artificial is uncertain, run round the basin under the surface of the water. This spring is cleaned out by members of the Frog clan after the installation of a new Sun Priest (*pekwin*) and at such other times as may be deemed necessary. On the day appointed the Sun Priest, accompanied by men and women of the Frog clan, repairs to the pool. There the Frog men, descending into the pool, scoop up the water in bowls and pass it to the women, who pour it out. When the basin has thus been nearly emptied, feathers are attached to the bowls, and the Sun Priest then deposits them on the ledges of rock. These ledges are literally covered with bowls which have been thus deposited from time immemorial. After that the Sun Priest takes a bunch of feathers or prayer-plumes (*telikinawe*), weights them with a stone, and throws the feathers and stone together into the water of the spring, now only a few inches deep. As he does so, he utters the following prayer: "We pray that the Rain-makers (*uwannami*) will work for us, that our crops and the crops of all the world may be watered and be plentiful, that our people and all people may be happy, that our people may not die but sleep to awake in Kothluwalawa."² The

of the Zuñi
Indians for
the making
of rain.

Prayer to
the Rain-
makers.

¹ Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), pp. 21, 175. Compare the observations of Mr. Walter Hough: "The aridity of the climate has had a profound effect on the religious beliefs and practices of the Hopi. To the traveler going for the first time among the white people experiencing the severe probation of this region, water

would seem to be the chief good. One might think that no conversation was ever carried on in Arizona in which the subject of the lack of water was not a primary topic" ("The Hopi in relation to their Plant Environment," *American Anthropologist*, x. (1897) pp. 33 sq.).

² Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), pp. 58-60. Kothluwalawa is

prayer-plumes (*telikinawe*) are supposed to waft the prayers to the supernatural beings to whom they are addressed. Such plumes play a great part in Zuñi myth and ritual. Thousands of them are offered every year to the various gods and goddesses of the Zuñi pantheon.¹ The Rain-makers thus invoked by the Sun Priest are the spirits of the dead Zuñi men and women and children, who are supposed to pass to and fro in the upper air, hidden from the sight of the living by cloud masks, but carrying vases and gourds full of water, which they pour down on earth in the form of rain. The clouds are produced by the breath of the gods and by smoke; hence smoking as a means of producing clouds and rain is a conspicuous feature in Zuñi ritual. There is a time at the summer solstice when torch-bearers set fire to grass, trees, or whatever comes in their way in order to make a great cloud of smoke, while two men whirl bull-roarers with a booming sound like rain or thunder, imploring the Rain-makers to water the earth.² This attempt to produce rain-clouds by smoke is clearly a case of sympathetic or imitative magic: the desired effect is supposed to be produced by imitating it. Taken with the prayers, which are purely religious, this smoke-making ceremony shews that the Zuñis, like so many other peoples who have risen above the lowest level of savagery, seek to compass their ends by combining magic with religion.

But while the Frog clan of the Zuñis performs a ceremony of which the intention seems to be to ensure rain for the crops, the function of procuring the necessary showers is committed by the Zuñis mainly to a body of Rain Priests (*Ashiwanni*), whose business it is to fast and pray for rain, but who are not drawn from any one totem clan. It is possible that just as the Snake Order among the Hopis appears to have been developed out of the Snake clan, so the Rain Priests of the Zuñis have been developed out of

The Rain-makers are thought to be dead Zuñi people who pour water from vessels on the earth. Raising a smoke is resorted to as a means of producing clouds and rain on the principle of sympathetic magic.

The Rain Priests of the Zuñis.

a salt lake at some distance from Zuñi, to which the souls of the dead are supposed to go immediately after their decease. A solemn pilgrimage is made to the lake by some of the Zuñis every year about the summer solstice. See Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians,"

Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1904), pp. 20, 153 sqq.

¹ Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, *op. cit.* pp. 171 sq.

² Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, *op. cit.* pp. 20 sq., 158.

the Rain or the Cloud clan ; but this is merely a conjecture, I know of no evidence in support of it. The Rain priesthood is indeed confined to certain families, but these families belong to several clans, among which the Rain and Cloud clans appear not to be included. The methods adopted by the Rain Priests to procure rain for the people combine the principles of magic and religion. No secular work is done by these men ; they are set apart for the discharge of their solemn duties, and their daily life must be such as not to offend the Council of the Gods, who control and direct the Rain-makers. Each of these priests possesses certain fetishes or sacred instruments (*štoně*) which he uses in his professional business. They are hollow reeds, some filled with water and others with edible seeds of all the kinds known to the Zuñis. In one of the water-filled reeds there is kept a small toad (*Bufo punctatus*), which seems to thrive in its cramped quarters. These fetishes are said to symbolise the Earth Mother, rain, vegetation, and everything that nourishes mankind. At a rain-making ceremony in winter the priest draws a picture of a cloud with pollen and meal on the ground and places the water-filled and seed-filled reeds on the picture. This is the most solemn part of the ceremony ; the hearts and minds of all concerned are now filled with adoring wonder at these holiest of fetishes and with a trembling hope that the gods will thus be moved to water the earth. It is a supreme moment with the Zuñis and has been compared by an eyewitness to the administration of the Holy Eucharist in the Catholic Church. Afterwards the priest with the assistance of a female associate consecrates a mixture of water, meal, and a powdered root in a bowl, and standing up whirls a bull-roarer, while the associate whips the contents of the bowl into frothy suds symbolic of clouds, and another associate plays the flute. "All this," we are told, "is an invocation to the gods for rain—the one great and perpetual prayer of the people of this arid land." Next the priest, laying aside the bull-roarer, dips two eagle feathers in the holy water and with it sprinkles the offerings. All night long the appeal to the gods is crooned in low, weird, yet musical tones. It runs in a set form, of which the following is part :—

Fetishes
employed
by the Rain
Priests.

Prayer to
the gods
for rain.

- "All come out and give us your showers and great rains ; all come
 "That the seeds may be strong and come up, that all seed plants may
 come up and be strong.
 "Come you that all trees and seeds may come up and be strong.
 "Come you hither ; all come.
 "Cover my Earth Mother four times with many flowers.
 "Let the heavens be covered with the banked-up clouds.
 "Let the earth be covered with fog ; cover the earth with rains.
 "Great waters, rains, cover the earth. Lightning cover the earth.
 "Let thunder be heard over the earth ; let thunder be heard ;
 "Let thunder be heard over the six regions of the earth.
 "Rain-makers, come out from all roads that great rivers may cover the
 earth ;
 "That stones may be moved by the torrents ;
 "That trees may be uprooted and moved by the torrents.
 "Great rain-makers, come out from all roads, carry the sands of our
 Earth Mother of the place.
 "Cover the earth with her heart, that all seeds may develop,
 "That my children may have all things to eat and be happy ;
 "That the people of the outlying villages may all laugh and be happy ;
 "That the growing children may all have things to eat and be happy."

Mimic
thunder
made as a
means of
producing
rain.

In a summer ceremony for the making of rain the Rain Priest and his associates roll thunder-stones along the ground from a cloud-picture made of meal to a disk of corn pollen, which is called the house of the thunder-stones. At the same time the invocation to the Rain-makers is chanted. The stones called thunder-stones are amongst the most sacred possessions of the Zuñis, who believe that they were dropped to earth by the Rain-makers at their sports in the upper air.¹ The rolling of these stones is clearly an imitation of thunder, and the ceremony thus partakes of the nature of imitative or homeopathic magic, the performers mimicking the result which they wish to produce. It is not unreasonable to conjecture that such magical rites were once the special function of a Rain or Water clan, like the similar rites called *intichiuma* by the Arunta in Central Australia.

The Zuñi
dance of
the Corn
Maidens,

Every four years in August, when the corn is a foot high, two bands of Zuñi maidens, ten in each band, personate the mythical Corn Maidens, carrying baskets of corn and

¹ Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, *American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), pp. 21, 163-177, 416.
 "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of*

other seeds on their heads, and dancing to the music of two choirs in order that the rains may fall and the corn may grow. They are assisted in this solemn rite by various youths and maidens, including water-sprinklers, a man of the Frog clan, and another who personates the Great Father of Corn and dances in order that the ears of corn may be perfect. In his dance this man wears a perfect ear of corn (not a grain of it may be missing) in the back of his belt. While the dancers are dancing, the choirs sing songs to the Great Mother Corn imploring her to give many of her children in the coming year, and also entreating the Sun Father to embrace the Earth Mother that she may bestow the fruits of her being. The man of the Frog clan smokes a cigarette of native tobacco over vessels of water and stalks of green corn, while both choirs sing that the earth may be abundantly watered. After that the water-sprinklers sprinkle water over a symbolic cloud, baskets of corn, and all persons present. The corn from the baskets is finally put away, kept separate from all the other corn in the house and planted as seed the following year. The whole ritual is elaborate and aims at ensuring a supply of rain and the growth of corn by a combination of religion and magic.¹ We may surmise that originally such rites were the exclusive property of the Corn clan, though there is now no such restriction. Here, as in the case of the Snake Order and the Rain Priests, the magical rites of one totemic clan have perhaps broadened out into a religion of the whole tribe.

The Indians of Zuñi celebrate elaborate rites at both the solstices, which the Sun Priest determines by observing the points of the mountains where the sun rises on the shortest and sets on the longest day. The ceremonies include at both seasons the kindling of new fire by the friction of wood. At the winter solstice the chosen fire-maker collects a faggot of cedar-wood from every house in the village, and each person, as he gives the fire-maker the wood, prays that the crops may be bountiful in the coming year. For several days before the fire is kindled, no ashes or sweepings may

a ceremony intended to ensure rain and an abundant crop of corn.

The Zuñi ceremonies of making new fire by the friction of wood at the summer and winter solstices.

¹ Mrs. Matilda Coxé Stevenson, *American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), pp. 31 sq., 48 sq., 51-57, *Annual Report of the Bureau of* 180-204.

be removed from the houses and no artificial light may appear outside of them, not even a burning cigarette or the flash of fire-arms. It is the belief of these Indians that no rain will fall on the fields of the man outside of whose house a light has been seen at this season. The exact moment for the kindling of the new fire is fixed by the rising of the Morning Star. The flame is produced by twirling an upright stick between the hands on a horizontal stick laid upon the floor of a sacred chamber, the sparks being caught by a tinder of cedar-dust. It is forbidden to blow up the smouldering tinder with the breath, for that would offend the gods. After the fire has been thus ceremonially kindled, the women and girls of all the families in the village clean out their houses. They carry the sweepings and ashes in baskets or bowls to the fields and there deposit them. To the sweepings the woman says: "I now deposit you as sweepings, but in one year you will return to me as corn." To the ashes she says: "I now deposit you as ashes, but in one year you will return to me as meal." At the summer solstice the sacred fire which has been obtained by the friction of wood is used to kindle the grass and trees, that there may be a great cloud of smoke, while bull-roarers are swung and prayers are uttered that the Rain-makers will water the earth.¹

The makers
of the new
fire.

We might be disposed to conjecture that the duty of kindling the sacred new fire at the solstices had been originally discharged by members of the Sun clan; but the facts do not seem to support this conjecture. For we learn that "the office of fire-maker is filled alternately by a member of the Badger clan and a child of that clan,"² that is, by a man whose father is a member of the Badger clan,

¹ Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), pp. 108-141, 148-162, especially pp. 108, 109, 114 sq., 120 sq., 130 sq., 132, 148 sq., 157 sq. Among the Hopi Indians of Walpi new fire is ceremonially kindled by friction in November. See J. W. Fewkes, "The Tusayan New Fire Ceremony," *Proceedings of the Boston*

Society of Natural History, xxvi. 422-458.

² Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), p. 114. The writer is here speaking of the new fire at the winter solstice. It does not appear whether the same man kindles the fire also at the summer solstice.

but who is not himself a member of that clan, since children take their clans from their mothers, not from their fathers. Formerly each Pueblo village seems to have regularly maintained a sacred fire, which was tended by old men and never allowed to go out.¹ But no such perpetual fire has been kept up by these Indians since they procured matches and could gather fuel in the neighbourhood without the risk of being surprised and cut off by prowling enemies. In former times the scarcity of wood near home and the necessity of carrying it on their backs for long distances (for they had no beasts of burden till they got them from the Spaniards), compelled them to husband their fuel with the strictest economy, and led to the institution of a central fire in every village, from which the householders might obtain a light when they needed it. But with changed conditions the need, and with it the custom, of keeping up a perpetual fire has passed away.²

In considering the elaborate religious ritual of the Pueblo Indians we must not forget that they have been subject for centuries to Christian and especially to Catholic influence; for the Spaniards established missions among them early in the seventeenth century. It is therefore by no means impossible that the native beliefs and customs of these Indians have been modified by missionary teaching.³ For example, the Indians of Laguna, we are told, "believe that on a certain day (in August, I think) the dead rise from their graves, and flit about the neighboring hills, and on

¹ In 1851 and 1852 Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck reported this for the villages of the Laguna and the Moquis (Hopis). See H. R. Schoolcraft, *The Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 76, 86.

² Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), p. 121.

³ H. L. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 256; A. F. Bandelier, "An Outline of the Documentary History of the Zuñi Tribe," *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, iii. (Boston and New York, 1892) pp. 79, 80, 94, 95 sq.,

102; Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 21 sqq.; J. W. Fewkes, "The Group of Tusayan Ceremonials called Katcinas," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1897), p. 306; *id.* "Tusayan Migration Traditions," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1904) pp. 581 sq. The missionaries made themselves very unpopular, not only by their attempts to uproot the native religion, but by imposing a system of forced labour on the Indians, who in their exasperation rose on the monks and massacred them.

The custom of maintaining a perpetual fire has died out with the need of it.

The elaborate religious ritual of the Pueblo Indians may perhaps have been influenced by the teaching of the old Spanish missionaries.

that day, all who have lost friends, carry out quantities of corn, bread, meat, and such other good things of this life as they can obtain, and place them in the haunts frequented by the dead, in order that the departed spirits may once more enjoy the comforts of this nether world. They have been encouraged in this belief by the priests, who were in the habit of sending out and appropriating to themselves all these things, and then making the poor simple Indians believe that the dead had eaten them."¹ At first sight we might think that this Indian custom of entertaining the spirits of their dead once a year was nothing but an adaptation of the Catholic feast of All Souls on the second of November; but such festivals have been held by so many purely pagan peoples² that we need not suppose the Pueblo Indians to have learned the custom from the priests.

But on the whole it seems to be a genuine aboriginal product. On the whole, the religious ritual of the Pueblo Indians, so far as it has been described by eye-witnesses, appears to be in the main a genuine product of the aboriginal American mind hardly affected by foreign influence.

Morgan's attempts to ascertain the system of relationship of the Pueblo Indians.

With regard to the system of relationship recognised by the Pueblo Indians we have unfortunately almost no information. Many years ago L. H. Morgan made strenuous efforts to ascertain it and exhausted every available resource in the prosecution of the enquiry, but with extremely little success; and he complained with justice that "although the New Mexican Village Indians are now under the supervision of the national government, through superintendents and agents, their country seems, notwithstanding, to be hermetically sealed, so far as ethnological investigations are concerned, unless they are made in person. India and China are both much more accessible."³ Forty years and more have passed since the greatest of American ethnologists wrote thus. In the interval a national Bureau of Ethnology has been established in the United States, and its agents have spent years in investigating the customs of the Pueblo Indians, yet nothing

¹ Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 78.

² For examples of similar festivals of the dead in other parts of the world

see my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition (London, 1907), pp. 301-318.

³ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 260.

more appears to be now known as to the systems of relationship of this people than was known in Morgan's time. It is to be hoped that Morgan's successors in America, who have given us many minute and valuable descriptions of the elaborate Pueblo ceremonies, may yet turn their attention to the Pueblo systems of consanguinity and affinity and supply us with the necessary information before the opportunity of obtaining it shall have passed away for ever.

In regard to the Pueblo Indians of Laguna it was ascertained by L. H. Morgan that they have separate terms for elder and younger brother (*Sât-tum-si-jă* and *Tăm-mă-hă-măsh*) and for elder and younger sister (*Să-gwets-si-jă* and *Să-guc-să-ha-măsh*); that a man calls his father's brother "my father" (*Nish-te-ă*), but his mother's brother "my uncle" (*Să-nou-wa*); that he calls his father's (not his mother's) sister "my mother" (*Ni-ja*); and that he calls his cousin, the son of his father's brother, "my brother" (*Tăm-mă*).¹ So far as they go, these terms point to the existence of the classificatory system of relationship among the Pueblo Indians.

Traces of the classificatory system of relationship among the Pueblo Indians.

§ 13. Exogamy among the Navahoes and Apaches

Bordering on the peaceful agricultural Pueblo Indians are two Indian tribes of a different stock and a different character. These are the once fierce and warlike Apaches and Navahoes or Navajoes. The two tribes are closely akin in blood and language; both belong to what is called the Athapascan or Athabaskan family, of whom by far the greater part inhabit the distant territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, British Columbia, and Alaska. This family is indeed the most widely distributed of all Indian families in North America. All the tribes of this stock call themselves by a name which means "men" or "people" and is more or less similar in all the dialects. It has been variously represented as Tinnch, Dené, Dindje, and so forth. The Navahoes call themselves Tinnch or Diné, and the Apaches call themselves Ndé. These two tribes are the most southerly representatives of the stock, forming as it were an isolated vanguard

The Apaches and Navahoes, two tribes of the widespread Athapascan family.

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 262.

The Athapascans have been for the most part hunters and fishers.

Cultivation of maize by the Navahoes.

which has straggled far away from the main army. With the exception of the Navahoes no tribe of this great family originally tilled the ground. In the bleak regions of north-west America bordering on Hudson's Bay and the Arctic Ocean agriculture was impossible on account of the cold ; and in the southern division, the home of the Apaches and Navahoes, it was at least very difficult, without artificial irrigation, on account of the aridity and heat of the climate. Accordingly the Athapaskan tribes have been for the most part hunters and fishers. Even from fishing both the Apaches and the Navahoes were excluded by a strong prejudice against eating fish ; and though bears are numerous in their country and their forests abound with wild turkeys, the Navahoes would not touch the flesh of these creatures. The mainstay of the nomadic Apaches was the American aloe, the so-called mescal or agave, which was cut down by the women and baked in pits. The Navahoes seem always to have been acquainted with maize, but so long as they remained a hunting tribe they detested the labour of planting. It was only when their numbers increased and game grew scarce that necessity compelled them to cultivate corn somewhat more systematically. Having obtained sheep and goats from the whites they have become mainly a pastoral people ; their country is indeed better fitted for raising sheep than for anything else. Their reservation occupies an area of over 12,000 square miles in the extreme north-eastern corner of Arizona and the north-western corner of New Mexico. According to the latest census the Navahoes now number more than 27,000 ; but it is said that this estimate is too high, and that the actual number is about 20,000.¹

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 230 sq., 241 ; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 63 sqq., 108 sqq. ; Jona. Letherman, "Sketch of the Navajo Tribe of Indians," *Tenth Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington, 1856), pp. 290 sq. ; A. M. Stephen, "The Navajo," *American Anthropologist*, vi. (1893) pp. 345, 347 sq., 349, 357 ; J. G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (New York, 1891), pp. 125, 129 sq. ;

Father A. G. Morice, "Notes on the Western Dénés," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, iv. (1892-93) pp. 8 sqq. ; Cosmos Mindeleff, "Navaho Houses," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1898) pp. 481 sq. ; Washington Matthews, *Navaho Legends* (Boston and New York, 1897), pp. 1, 5, 9 sq., 12 sq. ; Father Leopold Ostermann, "The Navajo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona," *Anthropos*, iii. (1908) pp. 857 sqq. As to the

Both the Apaches and the Navahoes are divided into a large number of exogamous clans with descent in the female line, but the names of the clans appear to be local, not totemic; with the single exception of the Navaho name, "Many Goats," which must be a modern designation, no clan bears the name of an animal. Lists of the Apache clans were obtained by Captain J. G. Bourke,¹ and of the Navaho clans by Dr. Washington Matthews.² The list given by the latter includes fifty-one names of Navaho clans. They are such as "House of the Black Cliffs," "Bend in a Canyon," "Encircled Mountain," "Among the Waters," "Sage-brush Hill," "Willows," "Red Flat," "Lone Tree," "Overhanging Rocks," "Salt," "Beads," and so forth. The Navaho clans are further grouped together in phratries, but as to the number of the phratries our authorities differ, varying in their statements from eight to twelve. Captain Bourke obtained a list of eleven Navaho phratries with three independent clans. According to tradition the Navaho phratries have been produced both by segmentation and by aggregation of the clans, but oftener apparently by aggregation than by segmentation. In Navaho legend there are frequent allusions to ties of friendship formed between clans of such a nature that marriage between members of these clans was precluded. At the present day no Navaho may marry a woman of his own clan or phratry; neither may he marry a woman of his father's clan or phratry. They believe that if they married women of their own clan, "their bones would dry up and they would die." Every Navaho belongs to his or her mother's clan and bears its name.³ It is very noticeable that according to Dr. Washington Matthews, our

The Apaches and Navahoes are divided into a large number of exogamous clans with descent in the female line.

The Navaho clans are grouped in phratries.

Navaho rules of marriage.

wide diffusion of the Athapascan or Tinnah stock in North America compare H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, iii. (London, 1875) pp. 583 sq.

¹ J. G. Bourke, "Notes upon the Gentile Organization of the Apaches of Arizona," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, iii. (1890) pp. 111 sqq.

² Washington Matthews, "The Gentile System of the Navajo Indians," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, iii. (1890) pp. 103 sq.; *id.*, *Navaho*

Legends (Boston and New York, 1897), pp. 29 sqq.

³ Washington Matthews, "The Gentile System of the Navajo Indians," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, iii. (1890) pp. 103-110; *id.*, *Navaho Legends*, pp. 29-33; J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), p. 279; Father Leopold Ostermann, "The Navajo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona," *Anthropos*, iii. (1908) p. 861.

There are no special names for the Navaho phratries.

best authority on the subject, the Navahoes give no formal names to their phratries. When a man is speaking of his phratry he will often refer to it by naming some one clan in it, usually the most ancient or the most numerous clan. It is easy to suppose, as Dr. Washington Matthews justly observes, that this tendency to name a phratry after one of its clans might end in the permanent and universal use of such a name for a phratry.¹ Thus when we find, as we have often found among the Indian tribes of America, a phratry named after the same animal as one or more of its component clans, it is not necessary to infer, as following Morgan I have commonly done, that the phratry represents an original totemic clan which has been subdivided into the existing clans. It may have been so, but the other possibility, indicated by the Navaho practice, must also be borne in mind. In any case the existence of phratries or exogamous classes without names for them is significant, and, supported as it is by the analogy of the Melanesians,² it confirms the view which I have taken that the absence of names for some of the Australian exogamous classes is no proof that these classes once had names but have lost them.³ Polygamy is general among the Navahoes. The custom is to have two wives, but many men have three, and a few have four or five. Girls are betrothed very young.⁴ By common consent the house and all of the domestic gear belong entirely to the wife; the husband owns a few blankets, his saddle and horse trappings, his weapons, ornaments, and a few odds and ends; but all else that the house covers is his wife's property. If she does not already possess a cornfield by inheritance or purchase, the husband must plant one for her. She has her own sheep and horses, and her husband has no claim on them. The children belong to her wholly, and she has entire control of the domestic life. The father has nothing or very little to say with regard to his children, even by way of correction or discipline, and his property does not descend

Among the Navahoes the house and the domestic gear belong to the wife, and the father has little or nothing to do with his own children.

¹ Washington Matthews, "The Gentile System of the Navajo Indians," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, iii. (1890) p. 110.

² See vol. ii. p. 70.

³ See vol. i. pp. 264 sq.

⁴ A. M. Stephen, "The Navajo," *American Anthropologist*, vi. (1893) p. 356; compare Father L. Ostermann, "The Navajo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona," *Anthropos*, iii. (1908) p. 862.

to them at his death, it goes to his nephews or nieces, no doubt the children of his sisters. But if he chooses to distribute his property to his own children in his lifetime, the disposition will be recognised.¹ Among the Navahoes brother and sister may not touch one another nor receive anything directly from each other's hands. Thus, if a sister wishes to give anything to her brother, she places it on the ground and he picks it up.² Similarly among the Arapahos, an Algonkin tribe of the plains, a brother and sister may not speak to each other more than is necessary, and a sister is supposed to sit at some distance from her brother.³ A like custom of avoidance between brothers and sisters has met us elsewhere and an explanation of it has been suggested.⁴

Navaho custom of avoidance between brother and sister.

Dr. Washington Matthews, who spoke with authority on the subject, was of opinion that the Navaho clans were originally and indeed till quite recently local exogamous groups and not true clans. At the same time he found evidence in legend that some of them had once been totemic; for it is said that when they set out on their journey each clan was provided with a different pet, such as a bear, a puma, a deer, a snake, and a porcupine, and that when the clans received their local names, these pets were set free.⁵ The Navahoes observe certain taboos in regard to animals, but apparently these taboos are not totemic, since they are not limited to any one clan but are shared by the whole Navaho tribe or nation. On this subject Mr. A. M. Stephen, who knew the Navahoes well, writes as follows: "Several other taboos are also rigidly observed; they must never touch fish, and nothing will induce them to taste one; their forests abound with wild turkey, but they are strictly forbidden to eat them: bears are quite numerous, but as they are also

Evidence that the Navaho clans were once totemic.

Navaho taboos in respect of animals.

¹ Jona. Letherman, "Sketch of the Navajo Tribe of Indians, Territory of New Mexico," *Tenth Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington, 1856), pp. 294 sq.; A. M. Stephen, "The Navajo," *American Anthropologist*, vi. (1893) p. 354; Father Leopold Ostermann, in *Anthropos*, iii. (1908) p. 862.

² A. M. Stephen, "The Navajo," *American Anthropologist*, vi. (1893) p. 358.

³ A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, p. 11 (*Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. xviii. Part i. 1902).

⁴ See above, vol. i. p. 542, vol. ii. pp. 77 sqq., 124, 131, 147, 188 sq., 343, 344.

⁵ Washington Matthews, "The Gentile System of the Navajo Indians," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, iii. (1890) pp. 104 sqq.; *id.*, *Navaho Legends*, p. 31.

taboo they will not even touch a bearskin robe ; nor must any one plant a tree ; and the flesh of swine they abominate as if they were the devoutest of Hebrews. The wood of the hunting corral in which they trap the antelope is also tabooed. They observe many curious ceremonies before and during a hunt, and all of the tree limbs forming the hunt corral are held as having been sacrificed to the hunting deities. Not only do they abhor food cooked on a fire of wood obtained from these enclosures, but they also keep at a distance from such a fire, dreading to feel its warmth or inhale its smoke."¹

Names of
Apache
clans.

Among the names of Apache clans collected by Captain Bourke are "Red Rock," "Red Paint," "The Fallen Cottonwood," "Salt Springs," "White Mountain," "Acorn," "Sunflower," "Pine," "People of the Canyon," "Grassy Hill People," "Water Tanks," "Walnut," "Juniper," "Rush," "Willow," "Broad River," and so forth.² The names appear to be local or topographical ; yet the clans are true exogamous clans ; for no man may marry a woman of his own clan. The children belong to the clan of their mother, who has more authority than the father over them. Polygamy is the custom.

Female
descent ;
power of
the mother.

Marriage
with a wife's
younger
sisters.

The
levirate.

Order of
battle.

A man will marry his wife's younger sisters as fast as they grow to maturity. If his wife has no sisters, he will try to obtain another wife from the same clan as his first wife. A man marries his deceased brother's widow ; but he must exercise this right within a year of his brother's death, otherwise the widow is free to marry whom she pleases. On the war-path Apache clans camp together, and go into battle side by side, as my gallant correspondent, the late Captain Bourke, of the United States cavalry, had good opportunity for observing on his campaigns against these truculent Indians.³

¹ A. M. Stephen, "The Navajo," *American Anthropologist*, vi. (1893) pp. 357 sq. As to fish Dr. Washington Matthews writes : "The Navahoes do not eat fish and fear fish in many ways. A white woman, for mischief, emptied over a young Navaho man a pan of water in which fish had been soaked. He changed all his clothes and purified himself by bathing. Navahoes have been known to refuse candies which were shaped like fish" (*Navaho Legends*, p. 239). The Apaches and Zuñis also refuse to eat fish. See

J. G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (New York, 1891), p. 125 ; Washington Matthews, "Ichthyophobia," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, xi. (1898) pp. 105-112. The same curious aversion to eating fish is entertained by many savage tribes, especially in Africa, and must to some extent restrict their dietary. See above, vol. ii. p. 382.

² J. G. Bourke, "Notes upon the Gentile Organization of the Apaches of Arizona," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, iii. (1890) pp. 111 sqq.

³ J. G. Bourke, *op. cit.* p. 118 sq.

Among both Navahoes and Apaches a man avoids his wife's mother. From the time that a Navaho is married, he and his mother-in-law may never look each other in the face again; otherwise they fear they will go blind. Hence they carefully shun each other; they will not sit in the same room and if they meet by accident, they abruptly turn away and get out of each other's sight as fast as they can. Their word for mother-in-law is therefore *Doyishini*, that is, "Whom I do (or may) not see." Yet it is the Navaho custom for the husband to live with his wife's people, and the commonest sounds in a Navaho camp are the friendly shouts warning men and their mothers-in-law to keep apart. To avoid these embarrassments a man will sometimes marry the mother first and then the daughter so as to make the mother-in-law also a wife, thus disarming her of her terrors.¹ A similar custom of marrying, or at least lying with, the mother-in-law before marriage is practised, as we saw,² by the Wahehe of East Africa, and probably for the same reason. Among the Apaches also no man will speak to his wife's mother, nor will she speak to him; and they avoid meeting each other. Rather than face his mother-in-law a desperate Apache, the bravest of the brave, has been seen clinging to rocks, from which had he fallen he must inevitably have been dashed to pieces or at least broken several of his limbs.³

Avoidance of wife's mother among the Navahoes.

Marriage with mother-in-law.

Avoidance of wife's mother among the Apaches.

After repeated and persevering efforts continued through several years L. H. Morgan failed to ascertain the Apache system of relationship,⁴ nor has anything, so far as I know, been done since his time to supply this blank in our knowledge.

§ 14. *Traces of Totemism among the Mohaves*

While the tribes of California, so far as is known, had neither totemism nor a system of exogamous clans, some traces of totemic clans have been detected among the

The Mohaves of the Colorado River.

¹ J. G. Bourke, *Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (London, 1884), p. 247; A. M. Stephen, "The Navajo," *American Anthropologist*, vi. (1893) pp. 357, 358; Father Leopold Ostermann, "The Navajo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona,"

Anthropos, iii. (1908) p. 862.

² See above, p. 113.

³ J. G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (New York, 1891), p. 132.

⁴ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 241.

Their
country.

Their mode
of life.

Exogamous
clans of the
Mohaves.

Mohaves, a tribe whose narrow strip of country lies half in Arizona and half in California, so that the Mohaves are situated midway between the totemic and exogamous tribes of Arizona and New Mexico on the one hand and the non-totemic and non-exogamous tribes of California on the other hand. Their territory lies along both banks of the Colorado River, where that stream forms the boundary between Arizona and California, for about two days' journey southward from the southernmost part of Nevada. The scenery is sullen but impressive. The swift current of the turbid river sweeps along betwixt islets of bleak sand; and lofty, rugged, naked mountains shut in the valley on either side. The surrounding country is a desert; but stretches of land along the river are rendered arable by being annually flooded. Like the other agricultural tribes of this arid region, the Mohaves raised crops of maize, pumpkins, melons and beans. They hunted little, but fished more. Their dwellings were scattered. They had no large villages and no sacred chambers like the *kivas* of the Pueblo Indians. Their houses were low four-sided structures, slightly rounded, with the door to the south.¹

Captain J. G. Bourke visited the Mohaves in February 1886, and reported that they were divided into fourteen exogamous families or clans bearing the following names:—²

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Moon (<i>Hual-ga</i>). | 2. Rain-cloud (<i>O-cha</i>). |
| 3. Caterpillar (<i>Ma-ha</i>). | 4. Sun (<i>Nol-cha</i>). |
| 5. Coyote (<i>Hi-pa</i>). | 6. Ocatilla or Iron Cactus
(<i>Ku-mad-ha</i>). |
| 7. Tobacco (<i>Va-had-ha</i>). | 8. Beaver (<i>Shul-ya</i>). |
| 9. Mescal or Tobacco (<i>Kot-ta</i>). | 10. Mescal (<i>Ti-hil-ya</i>). |
| 11. A green plant, not identified
(<i>Vi-ma-ga</i>). | 12. Coyote (<i>Ma-si-pa</i>). |
| 13. <i>Ma-li-ka</i> (not identified). | 14. Mesquite (<i>Mus</i>). |

¹ A. L. Kroeber, "Preliminary Sketch of the Mohave Indians," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, iv. (1902) pp. 276 sq. As to the scenery of the river see J. G. Bourke, "Notes on the Cosmogony and Theogony of the Mojave Indians of the Rio Colorado, Arizona," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, ii. (1889) p.

172. As to the Mohaves, see also *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 919 sq.

² J. G. Bourke, "Notes on the Cosmogony and Theogony of the Mohave Indians of the Rio Colorado, Arizona," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, ii. (1889) pp. 180 sq.

Men and women of the same clan may not marry under any circumstances. A man marries but one wife at a time; he marries his deceased brother's widow, if he happens to be single at the time of the death. Children belong to their father's clan.¹ According to Mohave tradition their clans were instituted by the water-god Mustam-ho, who created men and women. The legend of the institution of the clans, as related to Captain Bourke by a Mohave Indian of the Tobacco clan, runs thus: "Mustam-ho divided our people up. He said: 'You remain together and take this name for distinction, and you others take that name'; and so on. Now, he said, 'When you want to marry, you *Va-ha-dha* [Tobacco] men cannot marry *Va-ha-dha* [Tobacco] women, because they are your sisters; you must marry some one else, of another name. You must have but one wife at a time, but, if you don't like her, send her away and get another one.'"²

Marriage
and
descent.
The
levirate.

Tradition
of the
institution
of the
Mohave
clans.

Captain Bourke's account of the clan system of the Mohaves was obtained from a single Mohave Indian, a man of the Tobacco clan; but there seems to be no reason to question its substantial accuracy. If it is correct, it would seem that the Mohaves have, or formerly had, exogamous and totemic clans of the ordinary pattern with descent in the male line. But the tribe has since been more carefully investigated by Mr. A. L. Kroeber in 1900 and 1902, and he reports a somewhat different state of things. It will be best to subjoin his report in his own words. He says: "The Californian tribes, so far as known, all lack any gentile or totemic system. Among the tribes of the Southwest it is a marked feature of the social organization. Among the Mohave there is no full gentile system, but something closely akin to it, which may be called either an incipient or a decadent clan system. Certain men, and all their ancestors and descendants in the male line, have only one name for all their female relatives. Thus, if the female name hereditary in my family be Maha, my father's sister,

Mr. A. L.
Kroeber's
account of
the social
system
of the
Mohaves.

¹ J. G. Bourke, "Notes on the Cosmogony and Theogony of the Mohave Indians of the Rio Colorado, Arizona," *Journal of American Folk-*

lore, ii. (1889) pp. 181, 185, 188.

² J. G. Bourke, *op. cit.* pp. 173, 174, 182.

Common
names for
female
relatives in
the male
line.

my own sisters, my daughters (no matter how great their number), and my son's daughters, will all be called Maha. There are about twenty such women's names, or virtual gentes [clans], among the Mohave. None of these names seems to have any signification. But according to the myths of the tribe, certain numbers of men originally had, or were given, such names as Sun, Moon, Tobacco, Fire, Cloud, Coyote, Deer, Wind, Beaver, Owl, and others, which correspond exactly to totemic clan names; then these men were instructed by Mastamho, the chief mythological being, to call all their daughters and female descendants in the male line by certain names corresponding to these clan names. Thus the male ancestors of all the women who at present bear the name Hipa, are believed to have been originally named Coyote. It is also said that all those with one name formerly lived in one area, and were all considered related. This, however, is not the case now, nor does it seem to have been so within recent historic times. It should also be added that many members of the tribe are not aware of the connection between the present women's names and the totemic names of the myth."¹ It must be left for future enquiry to unravel this curious system, and to determine how far it tallies with the social state of the Mohaves as described some sixteen or eighteen years previously by Captain Bourke.

¹ A. L. Kroeber, "Preliminary Sketch of the Mohave Indians," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, iv. (1902) p. 278.

CHAPTER XVII

TOTEMISM IN NORTH-WEST AMERICA

§ 1. *The Races of North-West America*

THE north-western parts of North America, including British Columbia, Alaska, and the region of British America which adjoins Alaska on the east, are inhabited by two entirely distinct races of men, the Eskimo and the Indians, of whom the Eskimo occupy the extreme northern and north-western portions, while the Indians extend eastward and southward from them to the borders of the United States. The vast region occupied by these two races is drained by three great rivers, the Mackenzie River flowing into the Arctic Ocean and the Yukon and Fraser Rivers flowing into the Pacific. The Eskimo or Innuít, as they call themselves, are a peaceful race of fishers and hunters, without chiefs and happily ignorant of war. As a rule, they dwell on or near the sea-coast, seldom wandering inland more than thirty miles; though formerly they extended two hundred miles up the Mackenzie River, till they were driven out by the Indians. The people known as Aleuts, who inhabit the Aleutian Islands stretching westward from Alaska, are a branch of the Eskimo or Innuít stock and speak a language of the same type. Physically as well as in respect of language and customs the Eskimo differ from the Indians; their complexion is a light fresh yellow, their faces broad and round, their eyes straight and black, their cheek-bones high, their noses prominent, and their mouths somewhat thick-lipped.¹ They

The two
races of
North-
West
America,
the Eskimo
and the
Indians.

The
Eskimo or
Innuít.

The
Aleuts.

¹ W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources* (London, 1870), pp. 373 *sqq.*; *id.* "On the Distribution and Nomenclature of the Native Tribes of Alaska

have no regular system of totemism, though some traces of it are reported to have been detected among them.¹

Principal
Indian
stocks of
North-
West
America.
The
Tinnehs
or Dénés.

The Indian tribes of North-West America fall into several distinct groups or stocks, of which the principal, to enumerate them from north to south, are as follows:—

1. The Tinnehs or Dénés, a branch of the widespread Athapascan family, of which the Navahoes and Apaches in Arizona and New Mexico are the most southerly members. These Tinnehs or Dénés are the most northerly of all the Indians of America; on the north and west they are conterminous with the Eskimo. For the most part they inhabit the interior of Alaska and the adjacent British territory; but they extend westward nearly to the delta of the Yukon River and they actually reach the sea-coast at Cook's Inlet and the mouth of the Copper River. Eastward they stretch over a vast area to the watershed which divides the Mackenzie River and Lake Athabasca from the streams which flow into Hudson's Bay. The name Tinneh (*tinneh*, *tana*, or *tena*) is a native word meaning "men," "people."²

The
Tlingits or
Tlinkits.

2. The Tlingits, Tlinkits, Thlinkets, or Thlinkeets, as the name is variously spelled, otherwise called the Koloshes, inhabiting southern Alaska.

The
Haidas.

3. The Haidas, occupying the Queen Charlotte Islands and the southern part of the Prince of Wales Archipelago. Their name, like that of the Tinneh, signifies "people."

The
Tsimshians.

4. The Tsimshians, inhabiting the valleys of the Nass and Skeena Rivers and the adjacent islands of British Columbia.

The
Kwakiutl.

5. The Kwakiutl, inhabiting the coast of British

and the Adjacent Territory," *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, i. (Washington, 1877) pp. 7 sqq.; H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. (London, 1875) pp. 40 sqq.; J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 519 sqq.; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 36 sq., 433 sqq.

¹ See below, pp. 368 sq.

² E. Petitot, *Monographie des Dènd-Dindjé* (Paris, 1876), pp. 23 sqq.; W. H. Dall, in *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, i. 24 sq.;

Father A. G. Morice, "The Western Dénés, their Manners and Customs," *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, Toronto, Third Series, vii. Fasciculus No. 1 (October, 1889), pp. 109 sqq.; *id.* "Notes, Archaeological, Industrial and Sociological, on the Western Dénés," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, iv. (1892-93) pp. 8 sqq.; *id.* "The Canadian Dénés," in *Annual Archaeological Report*, 1905 (Toronto), pp. 187 sqq.; J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 524 sqq.; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 108 sq.

Columbia from Gardiner Channel to Cape Mudge, except the country about Dean Inlet and the west coast of Vancouver Island.

6. The Nootkas, inhabiting the west coast of Vancouver Island. The Nootkas.

7. The Salish, inhabiting the coast and the eastern part of Vancouver Island south of Cape Mudge, and the southern part of the interior of British Columbia as far as the crest of the Selkirk Range and the northern parts of Washington, Idaho, and Montana. On the coast of British Columbia this important and widespread stock is represented by two groups of tribes, one being the Bella Coola or Bilqula of Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arm, the other the Coast Salish. The Salish.

8. The Kootenay, Kutenai, or Kutonaqa, inhabiting the valley of the Upper Columbia River, Kootenay Lake and River, and the adjoining parts of the United States.¹ The Kootenay.

Of these eight Indian stocks the Tlingits, the Haidas, and the Tsimshians may be grouped together on the ground of their physical resemblance and similarity of culture; while language and social organization indicate a still closer affinity between the Tlingits and the Haidas. On the other hand the language of the Tsimshians is strikingly different and must be placed by itself among the Indian tongues of North-West America.² Again, the Kwakiutl and Nootka stocks are grouped together by ethnologists under the name of Wakashan or Wakashes on account of the affinity of their language.³ Group of the Tlingits, Haidas, and Tsimshians.

Group of the Kwakiutl and Nootkas.

¹ F. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 8 sqq. (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 320 sq. Compare W. H. Dall, in *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, i. 25 sqq.; J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 531 sq.; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 141, 740.

² *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 270, 520 sq. Compare F. Boas, in *Twelfth Report on the*

North-Western Tribes of Canada, pp. 667 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898). Among the peculiarities of the Tsimshian language is a very complex system of numerals, different sets of numbers being used for various classes of objects. Further, words are formed almost exclusively by means of prefixes, but the pronouns are suffixed to the verb.

³ F. Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), p. 320; J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 532; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 745.

Natural
features
and climate
of the
interior of
North-
West
America.

In respect of natural features and climate the interior of North-Western America differs widely from the coast. The difference is due mainly to the disposition of the mountains, which run in a series of high and rugged chains parallel to the sea and at short distances from it, often indeed plunging into its waters abruptly in lofty cliffs. By this mighty mountain barrier, the peaks of which rise above the level of perpetual snow, the moisture-laden winds from the sea are arrested and their watery burden discharged in the shape of snow and rain. East of the mountains the land slopes gently away in one continuous and almost level plain to the far-distant waters of Hudson's Bay. It is for the most part a dreary region of rocks and marshes, of shallow lakes and treacherous rivers, which form an intricate network so linked together that it is almost possible to boat from Hudson's Bay without a break to the mouth of the Mackenzie River on the Arctic Sea. This whole vast region is bleak and barren except along the valley of the Mackenzie, which in some places is well wooded. The climate is extremely severe, varying from intense cold in winter to great heat in summer. Winter sets in early and lasts till May or even June. The thermometer falls to 40° or 50° below zero: snow lies deep on the ground for months; and the waters of the Mackenzie River freeze to a depth of five and a half feet. However, the fur-bearing animals which roam over these immense solitudes attract the hunter and afford the wandering tribes of Indians a precarious subsistence. Myriads of water-fowl swarm about the lakes and rivers in spring and autumn, and the waters yield a fair supply of fish. But the rigorous climate forbids the growth of cereals. Such is the land of the Tinné Indians.¹

Natural
features
and climate
of the coast
of North-
West
America.

Very different is the face of nature when we cross the mountains westward by one of the high passes where the snow lies till late in summer and the declivities on either hand are lined with glaciers. Descending the pass to the

¹ C. Hill-Tout, *The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Déné* (London, 1907), pp. 2, 6, 13 sq.; A. G. Morice, *Au Pays de l'Ours Noir, chez les Sauvages de la Colombie Britannique*

(Paris and Lyons, 1897), pp. 61 sq.; *id.* "Notes, Archaeological, Industrial and Sociological, on the Western Dénés," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, iv. (1892-93) p. 11.

sea we shall probably find ourselves on the shore of one of those long winding inlets which cut deep into the land, and might fancy ourselves standing at the head of a Norwegian fjord. There are the same high misty mountains, the same sombre pine-forests, the same dark water lapping softly on the cliffs, the same waterfalls dissolving into spray as they seem to drop from the same grey clouds. Here and there a white scar in the prevailing mantle of gloomy green shews where an avalanche has torn its way from the mountain top through the pine forest to the water's edge; and occasionally, at the head of some profound ravine, the eye is caught by the shining front of a glacier contrasting sharply with the dense foliage on either side. With the scenery, too, the climate has changed. From the clear dry cold or clear dry heat of the interior we have passed into a softer air, a mild moist atmosphere, like that of the West of Scotland or even of Devonshire. The chances are that the weather is rainy and the sea veiled in mist; for on this wild coast, rent by deep fjords and studded with innumerable islands, the rainfall is one of the heaviest and most constant in the world. These steady rains and pervading mists are an effect of the warm Japan current, as it is called, the Gulf Stream of the Pacific, which sweeps along the coast, tempering the summer heat and winter cold, but wrapping land and sea in clouds and fog. The warm waters of this current keep the straits and channels open for navigation throughout the year; even in the coldest winters a sheet of ice forms only at the heads of the fjords and at the mouths of the rivers. Few rivers, however, force their way at long intervals through narrow and profound canyons to the Pacific. For the most part the mountains fall so steeply into the sea that no room is left for the course of considerable streams. And for the same reason communication along this iron-bound coast is chiefly maintained by boat or canoe, the countless inlets, sounds, and narrows, sheltered from the open sea by capes and islands, offering to the natives a natural highway which the rugged nature of the country denies them by land. Yet the navigation has its perils even for large vessels; for in these tortuous channels the tides run fast and high, forming eddies and

The Japan current and its effect on the climate.

whirlpools, and sunken reefs abound, on which, before he is aware, the mariner may run in the fog, the ominous grating of the keel and the vibration of the ship first announcing to him that he is on the rocks.¹ But, in the long summer days, when the weather is fine, the atmosphere is sometimes clear as crystal and the scenery fairly sparkles in the brilliant light. It is then that the landscape wears its most pleasing aspect. The snowy peaks glitter in the sunshine against the blue; the glaciers gleam like fire in their clefts and ravines; the huge landslides stand out conspicuous on the sides of the mountains; and everywhere the soft green foliage meets and refreshes the eye of the traveller sailing along this grand and beautiful coast.

The chief natural wealth of the country consists of the forests of fir and cedar and the shoals of fish.

On the whole, the coasts of Southern Alaska and British Columbia are so mountainous and the climate so wet that the cultivation of cereals is generally impracticable.² The chief natural wealth of the country consists, first, of the dense forests, mostly of fir and cedar, which clothe its rugged fastnesses; and, second, of the shoals of fish which swarm in its seas or ascend its rivers in almost incredible numbers. Through the excessive rainfall the vegetation of the coast is astonishingly luxuriant. Up to a height of about two thousand feet the pine-woods reign almost unbroken, only yielding here and there in more than usually damp spots to alders, poplars, and willows, or on very steep slopes to birch.³ No better district for lumbering,

¹ W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, pp. 270, 285, 444-446, 450 sq.; Commander R. C. Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island* (London, 1862), pp. 370 sq.; Fr. Whympier, *Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska* (London, 1868), pp. 18 sqq.; G. M. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* (London, 1868), pp. 13 sqq.; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer* (Jena, 1885), pp. 75-84; A. P. Niblack, "The Coast Indians of Southern Alaska and Northern British Columbia," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1888* (Washington), pp. 231, 235; Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 6 sq. (*Report*

of the British Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); *id.*, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 235 sq.; C. Hill-Tout, *The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Déné*, pp. 2-6.

² W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 452; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 88, 93; R. C. Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island*, pp. 390 sq.; G. M. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 16.

³ A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 84.

as it is called, can be imagined, for the means of transport by water are everywhere to hand, and the mountain-sides are so steep that you have only to make a slide out of the less valuable timber and to shoot the logs down it to the sea.¹ Some of the firs which clothe the land to the water's edge are enormous, measuring twenty-five feet in girth and three hundred feet in height, the trunks hardly tapering at all for half that altitude. Especially notable in the dense woods is the American white cedar, the *Thuja gigantea* of the botanists. These giants of the forest not uncommonly attain a diameter of fifteen or twenty feet at the butt. The tree was invaluable to the Indians in their native state. It served them as the coco-nut palm served the South-Sea Islanders. With its wood the men built their houses and carved their domestic utensils, their treasure-chests, canoes, totem posts, and heraldic emblems. Its outer bark they made into ropes and slow matches for carrying fire on journeys; while the women wove its inner bark into garments and its split roots into beautiful water-tight baskets. Indeed there was hardly any part of the tree which they did not apply to some useful purpose. In time of famine its cones even provided them with a food sufficient to stay the pangs of hunger. Flowering shrubs abound in the more open glades of the forest, in the upper valleys, and on the slopes of the mountains; and many of them yield edible berries, which are gathered and preserved by the women and girls in autumn days. Ferns and mosses of many kinds flourish in rank luxuriance; among them are the magnificent stag and fern mosses, the exquisite tree and maiden-hair ferns, and the tall fronds of the common bracken, which grows so high in many places as to overtop a man's head riding on horse-back. It is not only over the fallen and mouldering tree-trunks that the mosses spread a mantle of beautiful but treacherous verdure; they clasp the great boles of the living trees with wreaths and cushions of emerald green. So dense is the underwood of these forests that it is often practically impenetrable. To shoot birds here is for the most part labour in vain, for if they drop in the thicket even a few

The
American
white cedar
(*Thuja
gigantea*).

The
mosses.

The dense
underwood.

¹ W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 456.

The woods
in early
summer.

paces from the path they are lost. Only the axe can cleave the matted undergrowth ; fire is powerless to spread a conflagration among woods saturated with moisture. Perhaps the sylvan scene is viewed to most advantage from a boat gliding down between the wooded banks of a broad river in early summer. The eye then never tires of ranging over the varied tints of the fresh green foliage, the maple, the white and black thorn, the tall shivering rustling poplar, mingled with the clustering white flowers of the wild apple-tree in full bloom and perfuming the air with its delicious fragrance. Above all tower the pines and prodigious firs, dark, stately, and solemn. When the current sweeps the boat from sunshine into the dappled shade of a leafy canopy of overhanging boughs, the effect is enchanting.¹

The game
in the
woods.

In these wild woods game abounds ; indeed the country is a paradise for the hunter. Among the larger animals are the American elk, the cariboo, the moose, several species of deer, the mountain goat, the big-horn sheep, the puma or mountain lion, the wolf, and the black, the brown, and the grizzly bear. Among the smaller animals are the beaver, martin, otter, raccoon, and squirrel.² But the main dependence of the coast Indians in the old days was on the sea: such is the abundance of animal life in it that the natives lived almost solely on the food which it supplied. They were therefore essentially fishermen, all other pursuits being of secondary importance. They hunted the sea-otter, the fur-seal, the hair-seal, and the sea-lion both for their flesh and their fur. But the characteristic product of the waters of British Columbia is the salmon. Nowhere in the world is this fish found in such numbers and varieties as on the North Pacific coast of America. The swarms that pass up the rivers and streams to spawn are prodigious. In the narrows of the Fraser River or at any point where the progress of the fish is impeded by natural or artificial

The coast
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¹ C. Hill-Tout, *The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Déné*, pp. 6-9, 103 sqq. ; W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, pp. 452 sqq. ; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 84 sqq. ; R. C. Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island*, pp. 390 sqq.

² Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee of the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 7 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint) ; C. Hill-Tout, *The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Déné*, pp. 9 sq. ; W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, pp. 498 sqq.

obstacles such as a waterfall or a weir, the salmon are said to congregate below in such quantities that it is almost possible to cross the river on their backs. Hence, before the Indians came into contact with traders they subsisted chiefly on salmon, that fish taking the same place with them that bread does with us or rice with the Hindoos. The salmon and the cedar, it has been said, are the foundations of the Indian culture on the north-west coast of America. The sturgeon, which grows to an enormous size, the cod, the halibut, and the oolachen or candle-fish (*Thaleichthys pacificus*), also figure largely in the dietary of the coastal tribes. The oolachen is a small silvery fish of a delicious flavour, and so full of fat or oil that the dried fish are used as torches, burning with a bright flame; the oil is also extracted and kept in bottles. In such prodigious swarms do these little fish ascend the rivers that they literally choke the waters and can be scooped up in bucketfuls; even wild beasts draw them out of the stream with their paws. Another product of the sea of which the Indians made great use was the clam. This shell-fish is found in large quantities on all the tidal flats. The coastal Indians not only ate these shell-fish, but also dried, cured, and bartered them with the inland tribes. Vast heaps of their shells testify to the extent to which the clam was eaten by the Indians of old. Among some tribes of the interior who live far from salmon rivers the flesh of deer or cariboo takes the place of salmon as the staple food.¹

Part of the year the coast Indians dwell in permanent villages. These villages consist of large wooden houses solidly built of heavy cedar planks, beams, and posts. The houses stand in a row facing the sea, and the canoes are drawn up on the beach before the village. In olden times the dwellings of the northern tribes were of moderate size, about thirty feet square, and partly excavated out of the

¹ C. Hill-Tout, *The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Déné*, pp. 11-13, 89 sqq., 99 sq.; W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, pp. 481 sqq.; Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 7, 19 sqq. (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne,

1889, separate reprint); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1905* (Washington, 1907), p. 318; C. Hill-Tout and Fr. Boas, in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 234, 235 sq.

Great
communal
houses of
the coast
Salish.

Carved
decorations
of wood-
work.

Pottery
unknown.

Clothing.

Spinning
and
weaving.

ground, with the fire in the centre, and a hole in the roof above it to let the smoke escape. A house is generally inhabited by four families, each of them occupying one corner. The houses of the coast Salish are of a different type, consisting of great communal dwellings, stretching under a single roof in an unbroken line for two, four, six, eight, or even ten hundred feet in length. Each of these huge houses is subdivided by temporary hangings or permanent walls into compartments, which are occupied by separate families. The building of these houses was laborious, and required considerable skill in carpentry at a time when the Indians were ignorant of metal tools and could only work with implements of stone, horn, or wood. They felled trees with stone axes, split them into planks by means of wooden or horn wedges, and carved them with stone knives. Stone hammers are still in use among the tribes. The carved decorations of their household utensils, canoes, and of nearly all wooden objects employed by them are elaborate and characteristic. The patterns regularly consist of representations of those animals, or of parts of those animals, which play a part in their mythical tales and tribal legends. Geometrical designs are almost wholly absent, except in Southern Alaska, where they are employed to decorate baskets. The art of pottery was unknown to these Indians in their native state; but they supplied the want of earthenware with vessels of wood and baskets.¹ The principal part of the native clothing is the blanket, which is either made of tanned skins or more frequently woven of mountain sheep's wool, dog's hair, or of a mixture of both. The thread is spun on the bare leg by means of a stone spindle, and is then woven into blankets on a solid frame. Another kind of blanket is woven of soft cedar-bark. Weaving is the work of the women.²

¹ Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 21 sqq., 36 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); C. Hill-Tout and Fr. Boas, in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 232 sq., 236 sqq.; C.

Hill-Tout, *The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Déné*, pp. 51 sqq., 109 sqq.

² Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 20 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint);

Society among the Indians of the North Pacific coast was divided into four classes: chiefs, nobility, common people, and slaves. The children of nobles were born common people, and remained so until they either became members of a secret society or gave a great feast and took a new name. All along the coast the giving of presents is employed as a means of attaining social distinction. There are very few common people, for whoever can afford to do so lets his child enter a secret society immediately after birth by proxy. The child thus becomes a noble. The more feasts he gives, the higher grows his rank; but no noble can ever become a member of the chiefly class. When a chief dies, his office devolves upon his younger brother, then upon his nephew, and, if he had none, then upon his niece. The chief has many prerogatives, but exercises comparatively little influence over the members of his tribe. He has to carry out the decrees of the council of nobles, which decides all important questions concerning the tribe and acts as a criminal court. Nobody who has not taken a name, or who is not a member of a secret society, may share in the deliberations of the council. The mother's brother represents his nephews. A woman is only admitted if she is the head of a family.¹ However, the social organisation differs somewhat from tribe to tribe. For example, among the Salish tribes of the coast and the lower delta of the Fraser River the chieftainship, which is elective among the interior tribes, is strictly hereditary, passing automatically from fathers to sons. On the whole the rigidity of the system of ranks increases greatly as we pass from the roving tribes of the interior to the settled tribes of the coast and islands, among whom the barriers between the various classes are said to be almost as inflexible as between the castes of the Hindoos.² The existence of social ranks distinguishes the Indians of North-West America from the

The four classes of society: chiefs, nobles, commoners, and slaves.

The rigidity of the system of social ranks increases as we pass from the roving tribes of

C. Hill-Tout, in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 234 sq.; *id.*, *The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Déné*, pp. 63 sqq.

¹ Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 34-36 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-

upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); *id.* in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 242.

² C. Hill-Tout, in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 226-228; *id.*, *The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Déné*, pp. 158-160.

the interior
to the
settled
tribes of
the coast.

Highly
developed
system of
barter and
credit.
Currencies
of various
kinds,
shells,
blankets,
copper
plates, etc.

The
potlatch,
a festival
for the dis-
tribution of
property.

tribes in the United States to the east of the Rocky Mountains, and may be regarded as marking a relative advance in civilisation, though the material base of life remains at a lower level; for whereas many of the democratic tribes of eastern North America subsisted to a large extent by agriculture, the more aristocratic tribes of the North-West depended purely on fishing, hunting, and the search for berries and roots. Another sign of progress among the North-Western Indians was a highly developed system of barter and credit. For these tribes have always been great traders and had currencies of various sorts. In olden times dentalia-shells, elk-skin blankets, canoes, and slaves served as standards of value; while marmot-skins sewed together were used as a smaller currency. Certain large copper plates of a peculiar shape but of no practical use are highly valued by these Indians, sometimes indeed at fabulous prices; and among the Kwakiutl small copies of these plates, each about an inch long, are used as a form of money. The Tsimshians used to exchange oolachen oil and carvings of mountain-goat horn for canoes. At the present time the blanket is the unit of value, prices being calculated in blankets. A vast system of credit has grown up among all the tribes of the North Pacific coast. It seems to have been based originally on the custom of lending property before the assembled tribe as a means of ensuring a public record of the transaction. This apparently was the fundamental idea of the so-called *potlatch*, which at the present day is simply a great festival at which the host distributes the whole of his property among his friends either to obtain social distinction or in the expectation of being repaid with interest at a future time. The distribution of property at a *potlatch* may therefore be regarded as an investment by which the distributor or his family after him hopes to benefit; for all who receive anything at a *potlatch* must repay double the value at a future day. At every *potlatch* which he gives a man acquires a new and more honourable name.¹

¹ Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 36, 38 sq. (*Report of the British Association*,

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); *id.* in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 681 sq. (*Report*

Many but not all of the Indian tribes of North-West America are organised in totemic and exogamous clans. This social system is found among the Tinnehs or Dénés of the interior as well as among the tribes of various stocks on the coast. On the other hand totemism appears to be wholly wanting among the Kootenay and most, if not all, of the inland tribes of the Salish stock, such as the Thompson Indians.¹ In the opinion of the experienced missionary, Father A. G. Morice, who has given us much valuable information on the Tinnehs or Dénés, these Indians have unquestionably derived their clan totems from the tribes on the coast;² and among the coastal tribes, according to Dr. Franz Boas, the Tlingits and the Haidas have exerted a very strong influence over the social system of their neighbours.³ We shall therefore begin our survey of totemism in North-West America with the Tlingits and the Haidas; we shall then, moving southward, deal with the other tribes of the coast; and afterwards, retracing our steps northward, we shall examine the totemic system of the Tinnehs or Dénés of the interior.

Totemism and exogamy practised by some, but not all, of the Indians of North-West America.

of the *British Association*, Bristol, 1898); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 341 *sqq.*; *id.* in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 242 *sq.* As to the *pollatch* see further G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1878* (Montreal, 1880), pp. 125 B-127 B (*Geological Survey of Canada*). As to the copper plates, see G. M. Dawson, *op. cit.* p. 135 B; Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 344 *sqq.* An early account of these coppers, as they are commonly called, is given by John Dunn, in his *History of the Oregon Territory* (London, 1844), p. 288. He says: "A little to the northward of this there is a tribe called the Chilkasts. In their country great quantities of virgin copper are found. Some of it is worked by the natives into a kind of shield, about two feet

and a half long, and one foot broad, with figures of men and animals engraved upon it. The labour and ingenuity expended in working one of these shields give them great value. One of them is estimated as worth nine slaves, and is transmitted as a precious heirloom from father to son."

¹ Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 23 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); J. Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, p. 290 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, April 1900); *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 741. As to the Salish tribes, see below, pp. 338 *sqq.*

² Rev. A. G. Morice, "The Canadian Dénés," in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 203.

³ Fr. Boas, "The Tribes of the North Pacific Coast," in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 240.

§ 2. Totemism among the Tlingits

The
Tlingits or
Thlinkeets,
called
Koloshes
by the
Russians.

The
country
of the
Tlingits.

The Tlingit
villages.

The Tlingits or Thlinkeets inhabit the mountainous, densely wooded, and rainy coast of Southern Alaska from latitude 60° to latitude 55°, that is, nearly from Mount St. Elias, the highest mountain in North America, southward to the boundary of British Columbia.¹ The name of the tribe, which is spelled in many different ways by different writers, means "men" or "people." By the Russians these Indians were called Koloshes.² Their country is so mountainous that farming is possible only in a few limited areas; and the severe climate, with its long winters, wet summers, late springs, and early autumnal frosts, greatly restricts the number of plants which can be cultivated. There are no large pasture-lands where cattle could be kept, and the heavy rains make it difficult to procure sufficient fodder to feed the beasts through the long months of winter. Even the chase could only support a scanty population; for the game in the woods is not very plentiful, and persistent hunting on a great scale would rapidly reduce, if not exterminate, the supply of sea-mammals, as has happened with the sea-otters. Hence the catch of fish, which abound in these waters, remains the chief source of subsistence for the inhabitants; and accordingly in choosing the site of a settlement the first consideration with the Tlingits is to find a spot near good fishing-grounds and a beach where the canoes can land. Accordingly their villages are commonly built on the flat sandy shore of some sheltered bay or strait or at the mouth of a river; and with their rows of regularly and solidly built wooden houses, and their canoes and fishing-tackle drawn up on the beach, they present a pleasant picture in the wilderness, which calls up memories of home in the mind of a European, till the sight of the tall

¹ A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer* (Jena, 1885), p. 75.

² H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. (Helsingfors, 1856) pp. 289 sq.; T. de Pauly, *Description ethno-*

graphique des peuples de la Russie (St. Petersburg, 1862), *Peuples de l'Amérique russe*, p. 11; Ivan Petroff, *Report on the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska*, p. 165; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 95 sq.

totem-poles and Indians muffled in blankets remind him that he is in a foreign land.¹

The Tlingits are divided into two exogamous classes or phratries, which bear the name of the Raven and the Wolf respectively, though in the northern part of the Tlingit territory the Wolf class is also known as the Eagle. The rule of exogamy is, or was, strictly observed : no man may marry a woman of his own class ; a Raven man must marry a Wolf woman, and a Wolf man must marry a Raven woman. Descent is in the female line : children belong to their mother's, not their father's class. If she is a Raven, the children are Ravens ; if she is a Wolf, they are Wolves. The two classes trace their descent from two mythical heroes or gods who in the beginning of time by their deeds and supernatural power conferred on mankind various benefits which they still enjoy. These two heroes were Yehl or Yeshl, the ancestor of the Raven class, and Kanook, the ancestor of the Wolf class. Yet those ancestors are not thought of as having been a raven and a wolf respectively ; Yehl is indeed said to have had the power of transforming himself into a raven ; but there is no tradition of Kanook ever assuming the shape of a wolf.

Further, both the Raven class and the Wolf class are subdivided into a number of clans which are named after various animals, and which are no doubt exogamous since the classes which include them are so. Thus, the Raven class is subdivided into the Raven, Frog, Goose, Sea-lion, Owl, Salmon, Beaver, Codfish, and Skate clans ; the Wolf class is subdivided into the Wolf, Bear, Eagle, Whale, Shark, Auk, Gull, Sparrow-hawk, and Thunder-bird clans. The Tlingit classes and clans may be exhibited in the following table, which, however, does not claim to be complete :—

The Tlingits are divided into two exogamous classes or phratries, namely, the Raven class and the Wolf (or Eagle) class with descent in the maternal line.

Each class is subdivided into a number of exogamous clans, which are named after animals.

¹ A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 93, 123 sq.

SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE TLINGITS

Class.	Clans.	Class.	Clans.
Raven	Raven Frog Goose Sea-lion Owl Salmon Beaver Codfish Skate	Wolf (Eagle)	Wolf Bear Eagle Killer - Whale (<i>Delphinus orca</i>) Shark Auk Gull Sparrow-hawk Thunder-bird

The classes and clans live mixed up together.

The clans are subdivided into families.

The classes and clans do not live separately, each by itself; on the contrary they are mixed up together. The members of each class and clan are distributed among many villages, and each village contains members of both classes and of several clans. Finally, the clans are in turn subdivided into families or households, which may occupy one or more houses. The families generally take their names from places. Members of the same class speak of each other as *Achchani*, that is, "compatriots," or *Achgakau*, that is, "friends." They speak of the members of the other class as *Kunyetkanagi*, that is, "not here" or "strangers." But in their presence they address members of the other class as *Achssani*, that is, "uncles," or *Achkani*, that is, "sons-in-law" or "brothers-in-law," because they are always related to them by marriage. Though the Raven class perhaps ranks higher in virtue of their descent from Yehl, the great benefactor of mankind, yet the Wolf class also enjoys distinction by reason of its numbers, superior courage, and deeds of valour.¹

¹ H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. (Helsingfors, 1856) pp. 292 sq., 338, 342; T. de Pauly, *Description ethnographique des peuples de la Russie* (St. Petersburg, 1862), *Peuples de l'Amérique russe*, pp. 11, 12; Ivan Petroff, *Report on the Population,*

Industries, and Resources of Alaska, pp. 165, 166; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 112 sq., 122, 220; Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 25 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); John R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs,

Besides the two great classes or phratries of the Raven and the Eagle, there is or used to be among the Tlingits a small group, the Nexadi of Sanya, which stood outside of both the principal classes and could marry into either of them. This group is characterised principally by the possession of the Eagle crest and Eagle personal names.¹

The Nexadi group, outside of both the classes.

Each Tlingit clan has its badge or crest, which commonly consists of some easily-recognised part of its totemic animal or bird. Such crests are or were carved or painted on houses, canoes, paddles, household utensils, blankets, shields, and wooden hats or helmets; and on solemn occasions such as dances, memorial feasts, and funeral ceremonies men often appeared completely disguised in the shape of their totemic animals.² Theoretically, the crests used by members of the Raven class differ from those used by members of the Wolf or Eagle class; all Raven clans are supposed to have a right to the Raven crest, and most Wolf clans use the Wolf crest. But a man of high rank might temporarily borrow a crest from his brother-in-law, who in virtue of the law of exogamy necessarily belonged to a different clan with a

Crests or badges of the Tlingit clans.

and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), pp. 398, 423 sq. The list of clans in the text is given on the authority of Mr. F. Boas. The list given by Holmberg ("Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. (Helsingfors, 1856) p. 293) agrees, so far as it goes, with that of Mr. Boas, but it omits the last three of the clans in each class. Most of these writers refer to the exogamy of the two classes or phratries (the Raven and the Wolf) without saying whether the clans into which these two classes are subdivided are also exogamous or not. However, Petroff observes: "The curious totemic system is more fully developed here than it has been found with any other tribe. The ties of the totem or clanship are considered far stronger than those of blood relationship. The principal clans are those of the Raven, the Bear, the Wolf, and

the Whale. Men may not marry in their own clan, children belong to the clan of their mother" (*Report on the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska*, p. 165). This seems clearly to imply that the rule of exogamy is not limited to the two classes or phratries, but extends also to the clans; and indeed if the rule of exogamy applies strictly to the two classes, it necessarily applies to all the clans included under them.

¹ J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), pp. 398, 409.

² H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. (Helsingfors, 1856) pp. 293 sq.; I. Petroff, *Report on the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska*, p. 166 (where "horses" is a misprint for "houses"); W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 414.

Myths told
to explain
the origin
of the
crests.
Grizzly
bear crest
and story
of a woman
who
married a
grizzly
bear.

different crest. Some families are too poor to have a crest ; but on the other hand it is said of some great ones that they are rich enough to use any crest whatever. The possession of a particular crest by a clan is often explained by a myth about the ancestor of the clan. Thus a wooden hat or helmet shaped like a grizzly bear is used as a crest by a clan who say that a man of their clan once married a female grizzly bear. Members of the Kagwantan clan, who tell the same story, go about with the ears of bears fastened to the sides of their heads as their crest, and some members of this clan wear shirts made out of grizzly bear hides. Yet the Kagwantans are members of the Wolf class and highly value the Wolf crest. Members of another clan tell how at the time of the Great Flood a grizzly bear and a mountain goat climbed a mountain in company to escape from the rising tide of water ; and in memory of that event the clan still uses as its crest the skin of a grizzly bear combined with the head of a mountain goat, but it is prouder of the bearskin than of the goat's head. The Nexadi of Sanya base their claim to the possession of the eagle crest on the belief that one of their people was once helped by an eagle and finally turned into the bird. The Eagle crest is now generally employed by the northern Tlingits of the Wolf class ; hence they have come to be called Eagles instead of Wolves. It is to be observed that the same crest may be and is used by different clans, and further that any one clan may have several crests, though it generally holds only one or two of them in particular esteem. For example, the Petrel crest is explained by a myth that the hero Raven obtained fresh water from the petrel ; yet the crest is said to be used by the Wolves as well as by the Ravens. Again, some members of the Wolf class claim the right to use the Raven crest on the ground that the hero Raven dragged a house full of fishes ashore at their village. The Luqaxadi of Chilkat make so much of the Raven crest that they are often called Real Ravens. Members of another clan have a hair ornament shaped like the beak of a raven, which hangs down the back of a dancer at the *potlatch*. The Frog crest was a special possession of the Kiksadi, who claimed it because persons of their clan had had special dealings with

Eagle
crest and
story of
trans-
formation
into an
eagle.

The same
crest may
be used
by several
clans, and
any one
clan may
have
several
crests.

Frog crest
and story of
a woman
who

frogs. The Ganaxadi of Tongas tell a story of a woman of their clan who married a frog; probably they also claim the Frog crest by right of marriage. At Sitka another clan recently attempted to adopt the Frog crest, but the claim was deemed groundless by other people and led to a riot. The Ganaxadi, who say that one of their women married a frog, also allege that another of their women suckled a monster woodworm, and for that reason the Woodworm crest is a special possession of the clan. The common whale hat is worn by several Raven clans. Two clans wear hats representing king-salmon, and one of them wears a swan hat also. The Kikasadi, who pique themselves on their Frog crest, also wear hats shaped like geese: further, they use the cry of the sea-lion because they once heard that cry at Cape Ommaney when the sea-lions were fighting with the killer-whales. And in former days, when members of this clan charged down on their enemies they used to hoot like owls, because one of their women was once turned into an owl. Thus it appears that one clan may claim affinity with several animals. Such claims are perhaps to be explained by marriages of members of the clan with members of other clans who had these animals for their crests. But while the Tlingit crests are generally in the shape of animals, they are not all so. Thus, the Nastedi use as a crest a big rock called Fort-Far-Out, where Petrel, from whom Raven stole the fresh water, had his spring. All kinds of birds build their nests on the rock, and when members of the Nastedi clan dance they imitate the birds. Two clans lay claim to the hero Blackskin and carve his figure on posts with the guts of sea-lions wrapped about his head. Two clans set up as their heraldic device posts carved to resemble the Spirit of Sleep. Another clan took as their crest a mountain at Cape Fairweather and also a rock; the mountain was represented on their hats.¹

Besides being carved or painted on posts, houses, hats, and so forth the crests are also painted on the faces of the clanspeople, though these facial paintings are often so purely

¹ J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-*

Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1908), pp. 415-418.

married a frog.
Woodworm crest and story of a woman who suckled a woodworm.

Hats representing the crest-animals.

Transformation of a woman into an owl.

Dance in imitation of birds.

The crests are also painted on the faces of the clanspeople.

conventional that their meaning could hardly be understood without verbal explanations. They consist of bands, spots, or daubs of various colours, red, blue, yellow, and green, which stand for a raven's wings, raven's tracks, a goose's head, a whale's jaw, a whale's tail, a wolf's mouth, a mouse's feet, bear's feet, bear's tracks, bear's blood, sea-lions, slugs, the sun, stars, mountains, rocks, clouds, waves, glacial ice, canoes with people in them, and so forth. Sometimes, however, animals, fish, or birds are painted on the face in full and with a fair attempt at realism; such, for example, are figures of the killer-whale, porpoise, salmon, black sea-bass, goose, swan, and puffin. These facial paintings are often used along with hats which also exhibit the crest of the clan.¹

Totem-
poles or
totem-
posts.

Totemic
house-
poles.

Totemic
grave-
poles.

The most conspicuous and best-known representations of Indian totems in North-West America are the figures carved and painted on great wooden poles. These totem-poles, or totem-posts, however, are not so common among the Tlingits as among their southern neighbours the Haidas and Tsimshians. There seem to be two sorts of them, namely, house-poles and grave-poles. House-poles are set up by rich chiefs beside the doors of their houses and sometimes measure as much as fifty feet in height. Each is made of a single tree-trunk and displays various figures of men and animals, the successive ancestral totems, carved and painted in bright colours and grouped together in the most diverse fashions. The pole is usually capped by the totem of the man who set it up. Sometimes the pole is placed directly in front of the house with the doorway of the house cut through the block, which is often of enormous size.² The grave-poles either support boxes containing the ashes of the dead, or they contain cavities in which the ashes are deposited. Sometimes the ashes are placed in a mortuary house in one part of the village, while a memorial pole is set up elsewhere. These grave-poles are also decorated with the carved and painted crests of the clan. The crests are commonly carved one above the other. For example, a large pole erected at Wrangell

¹ J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington,

1908), pp. 418 sq., with Plates XLVIII.-LVI.

² W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 414; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 130 sq.

shews at the top the Raven-at-the-head-of-Nass-river (*Nascaki-yel*), the highest being in Tlingit mythology, with Raven (*Yel*) on his breast; below him appears another being "wearing a hat and the red snapper coat with which he used to murder his children"; underneath this unnatural parent again is the frog, and at the bottom the thunder-bird.¹

The totem-poles of the Tlingits, together with their totemic system, were described at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the Russian explorer, Lisiansky, who circumnavigated the world in the years 1803-1806 by command of the Czar Alexander the First. His account refers especially to the Tlingits or Koloshes of the island of Sitka. As it possesses an historical interest, it may be quoted. "The manners and customs of the Sitka people, in general," he says, "so nearly resemble those of the island of Cadiack, that a description would be a repetition. The Sitkans appear, however, to be fonder of amusements; for they sing and dance continually. There is also a great difference in their treatment of the dead. The bodies here are burned, and the ashes, together with the bones that remain unconsumed, deposited in wooden boxes, which are placed on pillars, that have different figures painted and carved on them, according to the wealth of the deceased. On taking possession of our new settlement, we destroyed a hundred at least of these, and I examined many of the boxes."² "What I have said of the Sitkans applies alike to all the inhabitants residing between Jacootat, or Behring's Bay, to the fifty-seventh degree of north latitude, who call themselves Colloshes or Collushes. These people live in different settlements, independent of one another; though they speak the same language, and are almost all related. They amount to about ten thousand, and are divided into tribes; the principal of which assume to themselves titles of distinction, from the names of the animal which they prefer; as, the

Lisiansky's account of the totemic poles and totemic system of the Tlingits.

¹ J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), pp. 431-434. What a "red snapper coat" may be, I have not the

advantage of knowing, nor am I aware how the garment in question was used as a lethal weapon.

² U. Lisiansky, *A Voyage round the World in the Years 1803, 4, 5, and 6* (London, 1814), pp. 240 sq.

tribe of the bear, of the eagle, the crow, the porpoise, and the wolf. The tribe of the wolf are called Coquontans, and have many privileges over the other tribes. They are considered as the best warriors, and are said to be scarcely sensible to pain, and to have no fear of death. If in war a person of this tribe is taken prisoner, he is always treated well, and in general is set at liberty. These tribes so greatly intermix, that families of each are found in the same settlement. These families, however, always live apart; and, to distinguish the cast (*sic*) to which they belong, they place on the top of their houses, carved in wood or painted, the bird or beast that represents it."¹

Personal
names
derived
from the
totems.

Each clan has not only its crest or crests but also its personal names, which, like the crests, are derived from the totem of the clan. The connexion between the name and the totem is sometimes not very clear, but it always exists. Here, for example, are some personal names used by members of Tlingit clans in the Stikin tribe:—

In the *Nanaari*, a Bear clan of the Wolf class or phratry, we find as names of men *Thucke* "Ugly" (Danger Face), in reference to the bear; *Gague*, "Crying Man," with reference to the howling wolf; *Sektutlqetl*, "Scared of his Voice" (to wit, the wolfs); *Ankaquts*, "Bear in Snow."

In the *Detlkoede*, a Raven clan of the Raven class or phratry, we find the personal names *Yetl rede*, "Little Raven"; *Tlenegk*, "One Alone" (the raven on the beach); *Higt tlen*, "Great Frog"; *Yetl ku djat*, "Raven's Wife."² Other Tlingit personal names are Silver Eyes, with reference to the eyes of the raven; Shaggy, with reference to the thick hair of the grizzly bear; Frog-sitting-in-the-road; and Lively-frog-in-lake. In the Wolf class or phratry the personal names are mostly derived from the wolf, grizzly bear, killer-whale, petrel, and, among the northern Tlingit, from the eagle. In the Raven class or phratry the personal

¹ U. Lisiansky, *A Voyage round the World in the Years 1803 4, 5, and 6* (London, 1814), pp. 243 sq. For some illustrated descriptions of totem-poles among the Tlingits and Haidas, see E. P. Pond, in *The Alaskan Monthly*, May, June, and July 1906,

pp. 31-34, 67 sq., 95.

² Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 25 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint).

names have mostly reference to the raven, frog, hawk, black whale, and eagle among the Southern Tlingits.¹

With regard to the relationship which is supposed to exist between a man and his totem, we are told that the Tlingits do not believe themselves to be descended from their totems, nor do they imagine that at death their souls will transmigrate into their totem animals, birds, or fish. They certainly believe in the transmigration of souls, but they think that in their transmigrations the souls of men and animals are restricted to their proper species. Thus they affirm clearly and plainly that a man will be born again as a man, a wolf as a wolf, and a raven as a raven. Nevertheless they consider the members of a clan to be related in some way to their totemic animal. For example, members of the Wolf clan will pray to the wolves, "We are your relations; pray don't hurt us." But though they ask the wolves not to hurt them, they do not themselves scruple to hurt the wolves, for they will hunt them without hesitation. They appear always to explain their relation to their totem by a legend that a mythical ancestor of their clan had an encounter with an animal of the totemic species.²

According to Dr. Boas, the Tlingits do not believe in their descent from the totemic animals.

Such is the account which Dr. Franz Boas, a high authority, gives of the relationship which is supposed to exist between people and their totems. He may be right in saying that the Tlingits do not now believe in their descent from the totemic animals; yet the myths told to explain some of the totems or crests seem to indicate the prevalence of that belief in former times. Such myths are the stories of the two women who married a grizzly bear and a frog respectively, of the woman who suckled a woodworm, and of the member of the Eagle clan who was turned into an eagle.³ These tales have the true totemic ring about them; they point clearly to the former identification of the clanspeople with their totems, which is only another way of

But the stories told to explain some of the totems point to a belief in descent from the totemic animals.

¹ J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), pp. 421 sq.

² Fr. Boas in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 23-25 (*Report of the British Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889*, separate reprint).

³ See above, pp. 268, 269.

saying that the present people are supposed to be descended from the totemic animals.

Belief of
the Tlingits
in the re-
incarnation
of the dead.

When a pregnant woman dreams of a dead relation, the Tlingits think that the soul of the deceased has entered into her and will be born again. And when a new-born child resembles a dead kinsman or kinswoman, they conclude that it is the dead person come to life again, and accordingly they give it his or her name. And a Tlingit may often be heard to say, "When I die, I should like to be born again in such and such a family"; or, "If only I were killed, I might return to the world in happier circumstances."¹ Not only do the Tlingits believe that the dead are reborn as men and women, but they used to take steps to facilitate their rebirth. Thus, when a beloved person died, the relations often took the nail from the little finger of his right hand and a lock of hair from the right side of his head and put them into the belt of a young girl of his clan, who was just reaching maturity. Afterwards she had to lead a very quiet life for eight months and fast for as many days, unless she were delicate, when half as many days sufficed. In the former case she fasted steadily for four days, rested two days, and then fasted for the remaining four. After her fast was over, and just before she ate, she prayed that the dead person might be born again from her.² In this custom the placing of the finger-nail and hair in the belt of a girl who has just attained the power of becoming a mother appears to be a mode of impregnating her by inserting the soul of the dead in her womb. Substantially, therefore, this custom and the belief which it implies agree with the Central Australian theory of conception.³ Again, at a Tlingit funeral measures were taken to secure the rebirth of the soul of the dead. The corpse was generally burned, and before it was placed on the pyre, they used to turn it round four times in the direction which they conceive the sun to follow; then they laid the body down with the head to the sunrise. This was

Measures
taken by
the Tlingits
to ensure
the rebirth
of the dead.

¹ H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. (1856) p. 345; W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 423.

² J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition,

Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), p. 429.

³ See vol. i. pp. 93 sq., 188 sqq.

done, we are told, to enable the soul of the deceased to be born again, for if he were laid with his head to the setting sun he would never come back.¹ Clearly the rising sun was thought to bring in his train the souls of the dead to be born again, while the setting sun carried them away with him for ever. This belief perhaps throws light on the burial customs of other totemic peoples, who inter their dead according to certain fixed rules with their heads turned to particular points of the compass.²

At funerals all the duties of an undertaker were performed by persons of the other class or phratry, and they alone were invited to the funeral feast. For example, if the deceased was of the Raven class, the invited guests would all be Wolves, not Ravens; and these Wolves would perform the last offices of respect to the dead Raven.³ Indeed, we are told that a Tlingit employed persons of the other class or phratry to do everything for him—to build his house, to set up his totem pole, to pierce the lips and ears of his children, to initiate them into the secret societies, and so on. For these services he paid them and thereby shewed his respect for them. "The idea of giving property to a member of one's own phratry or of employing him in putting up the house was altogether abhorrent to Tlingit notions of propriety."⁴ Yet "according to the unwritten Tlingit law it was incumbent upon every one belonging to a phratry to house and feed any other member of that phratry who should visit him, no matter from how great a distance he might come."⁵

At funerals the last offices to the dead are performed by persons of the other class or phratry.

In their dances the Tlingits made much use of their totemic badges or crests, the dancers appearing clad in dresses, masks, and so forth which represented the totemic animal or thing, while they also mimicked the totem by

Tlingit dances in which the dancers were masked

¹ J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), p. 430.

² See above, vol. i. pp. 454 *sqq.*, vol. ii. p. 190.

³ H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta*

Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, iv. (Helsingfors, 1856) p. 324; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 223; J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), p. 430.

⁴ J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 435.

⁵ J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 427.

and disguised to imitate their totems.

their gestures. Even such totems as mountains and rocks were imitated. For example, a dancer who represented a mountain would imitate the clouds which rested on its side in fine weather or completely covered it in bad.¹ When a monument was to be set up to the memory of a dead man, the Tlingits used to celebrate a great festival, to which guests were invited from far and near. However, such festivals were rare on account of their costliness. Sometimes the host would give away the whole of his property and that of his wife too, and would spend the rest of his days in abject poverty, living on the glorious memory of these few days of prodigal munificence. On the evening before the end of this great celebration, the host, who was generally a chief, retired with a slave to another apartment and there attired himself in a singular costume, which was often an heirloom, handed down with the greatest respect from many generations and never used but on such solemn occasions. It differed in different families, but always represented the totem either in part or complete, and was further adorned with scalps, human teeth, ribands, ermine skins, and so forth. The slave who helped to attire his master in this dress always received his freedom for the service. Thus disguised in the likeness of his totem the host came forth from his place of concealment and presented himself to his guests. At the same moment a cry was raised in imitation of the cry of the totemic animal. On the precise manner of the cry depended the life of several slaves; for if it was uttered in a peculiar way they were immediately put to death. Then the host and his family sang their ancestral songs, setting forth the origin of the family and the deeds of their fathers. After that the host sat down and distributed the presents among his guests. Having performed this rite he was entitled to assume the name of a deceased ancestor on the paternal side. The whole festival was called "elevating the dead."² We may conjecture that the meaning of the ceremony is

Sacrifice of slaves at funerals.

¹ J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), pp. 435 sq.

² H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. (1856) pp. 327-329; W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, pp. 418-420.

explained by the Tlingit theory of reincarnation; it was probably supposed that the dead ancestor came to life again in the person of the descendant who assumed his name. Similarly the Hurons, the Iroquois, and other Indian tribes of the United States used to raise up the dead, as they imagined, by bestowing the name of the deceased upon a living person.¹

Polygamy is or used to be common among the rich Tlingits; but the first wife enjoyed precedence and authority. A chief on the Nass River is reported to have had forty wives. According to the devoted Russian missionary, Father Innocentius Veniaminoff, who laboured among the natives of Alaska in the first half of the nineteenth century, Tlingit women had secondary husbands or legalised lovers, who were always either the brothers or near relations of the primary husband.² The custom perhaps points to a former practice of fraternal polyandry among the Tlingits.

Polygamy among the Tlingits.

Secondary husbands, who are generally brothers of the primary husband.

On the death of the husband, his brother or the son of his sister was bound to marry the widow. The failure to fulfil this obligation sometimes led to bloody feuds. But if there was neither a brother nor a sister's son alive, the widow might choose a husband from the other class or phratry to which her late husband belonged.³ A man's heir is his sister's son, or, if there is none such, his younger brother.⁴ A man and his wife's mother shewed respect by not addressing each other directly.⁵ Apparently the Tlingits thought

The levirate.

A man's heir is his sister's son. Avoidance of wife's mother.

¹ *Relations des Jésuites*, 1642, pp. 53, 85 sq.; *id.* 1644, pp. 66 sq. (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858); Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains* (Paris, 1724), ii. 434.

² H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. (1856) pp. 313, 315 sq.; W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, pp. 415, 416; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 220, 221. Father Veniaminoff, afterwards bishop of Kamchatka, "alone of the Greek missionaries to Alaska has left behind him an undying record of devotion and self-sacrifice, and love, both to God and man, combined with the true missionary fire. To him also we owe

the first detailed account of the modern Aleutian character and mode of life" (W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 385).

³ H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. (1856) pp. 316, 325; W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 416; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 221.

⁴ H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. (1856) p. 325; W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 417; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 122.

⁵ J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship

that this common rule of avoidance observed by a man and his wife's mother was a great law of nature which was recognised also by the lower animals ; for when they were digging for clams, which withdraw rapidly into the sand, they used to say, " Do not go down so fast or you will hit your mother-in-law in the face." ¹

§ 3. Totemism among the Haidas

The
Haidas of
the Queen
Charlotte
Islands.

Scenery
and climate
of the
Queen
Charlotte
Islands.

The neighbours of the Tlingits on the south are the Haidas, who inhabit the Queen Charlotte Islands of British Columbia. These islands, so far as tradition allows us to judge, appear to be their original home ; but to the north of them a branch of the Haidas, known as the Kaiganis, now occupies a portion of the coast of the Prince of Wales Archipelago in Alaska, from Clarence Strait westward, together with Forrester's Island.² The Queen Charlotte Islands form a chain nearly two hundred miles in length from north to south and are divided by wide channels both from the mainland on the east and from the islands of Alaska on the north. A great part of the islands is rugged and mountainous, with peaks where the snow lies all through the year. Dense forests chiefly of spruce cover the land even to the water's edge. The timber is often of magnificent growth, the straightness and height of the tree trunks being remarkable. Next to the spruce (*Abies Menziesii*), the western cedar (*Thuja gigantea*) and the western hemlock (*Abies Mertensiana*) are the commonest trees. The luxuriance of the vegetation is favoured by the mildness and humidity of the climate ; in winter the rains are very heavy, the sky persistently overcast with clouds, and gales frequent and violent. Snow sometimes falls, but seldom lies long except on the mountains. Hence in the moisture-laden atmosphere ferns and mosses grow abundantly, clothing the boles and

of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), p. 424.

¹ J. R. Swanton, "Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians," *Twenty-Sixth*

Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1908), p. 459.

² George M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1878* (Montreal, 1880), p. 104 B (*Geological Survey of Canada*).

branches of the trees in the forest with a mantle of vivid green. Great trunks, fallen and dead, become at once a garden of moss, saplings, and shrubs. As the trees in sheltered spots almost dip their pendent boughs in the water, locomotion in any other way than by boat or canoe along the shore is nearly impossible. The eastern coast of the islands is indented with many winding inlets and land-locked coves. On some of these deep and narrow fjords, where the mountains rise steeply from the shore to the height of thousands of feet, their upper gorges and shady hollows filled with snowdrifts, their lower slopes veiled in the sombre gloom of the pines, the scenery is of desolate and almost oppressive grandeur.¹

As the Haidas live almost exclusively on fish, the halibut and the salmon forming their staple diet, they pay little attention to the interior of the country and turn their eyes chiefly to the sea, choosing the sites of their villages with reference to the halibut banks and coast fisheries which engross most of their time. Hence the villages often stand on bleak wind-swept rocks or islands, though generally with a sandy or gravelly beach near them where the canoes can land even in stormy weather. The substantially built wooden houses are placed side by side facing seaward, a few feet above the high tide mark, and being unpainted soon assume a uniform grey colour or grow green and mossy in the damp climate. A cloud of blue smoke hovering over the village in calm weather reveals its presence from a distance; and a nearer view discloses a forest of carved posts in front of the houses, the stages for drying fish, and the canoes drawn up on the beach and covered, when not in use, with mats and boughs to prevent them from warping and cracking in the sun.² The Haidas are bold sailors, navigating the wide and stormy seas which surround their islands in their great canoes, which are hewn out of logs of cedar. Some of these canoes can hold a hundred men with all their equipments for a long voyage. They are excellent sea boats, and in them the Indians undertake

The Haidas live chiefly on fish and build their villages beside the sea.

The Haidas are bold and skilful sailors.

¹ G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1878* (Montreal, 1880), pp. 14 B-43 B.

² G. M. Dawson, *op. cit.* pp. 44 B, 109 B, 115 B sq.

trading voyages of hundreds of miles to Victoria in Vancouver's Island and thence to various towns in Puget Sound.¹

Character
of the
Haidas.
Their
corruption
by the
whites.

Physically and mentally the Haidas are reputed the finest Indians of the North-West coast. Their complexion is fairer and their features handsomer than those of the other tribes, and the intelligent expression of their faces is not belied by a closer acquaintance with them. Unfortunately intercourse with the whites has deeply demoralized this gifted race, and they are now wasted by vice and disease. Even thirty years ago their villages were falling into decay, some of them being completely abandoned, while in others many houses shut up and mouldering away in the damp weather, rotting totem-poles, and paths choked with a rank growth of weeds told the melancholy tale of a people blighted by contact with an alien race.²

The
Haidas
are divided
into two
exogamous
clans or
classes, the
Raven and
the Eagle,
with de-
scendant in the
maternal
line.

The whole Haida stock is divided into two clans or classes, which are named respectively the Raven (*Qoala* or *Hoya*) and the Eagle (*Gitina* or *Got*). These clans are strictly exogamous. A Raven man must marry an Eagle woman, and an Eagle man must marry a Raven woman. Descent is in the female line; that is to say, the child belongs to its mother's clan and inherits the rank and property of its maternal uncle. Thus if the mother is a Raven, the children are Ravens; if she is an Eagle, they are Eagles. So close is the relationship between persons of the same clan that marriage within it is, or used to be, viewed by the Haidas almost as incest. On the other hand, the members of the other clan were often considered downright enemies. Even husbands and wives did not hesitate to betray each other to death in the interests of their own families. "At times," says Mr. Swanton, "it almost appears as if each marriage were an alliance between opposite tribes; a man begetting offspring rather for his wife than for himself, and, being inclined to see his real descendants rather in his sister's children than in his own. They it was who succeeded to his position and

¹ James G. Swan, *The Haidah Indians of Queen Charlotte's Islands* (Washington, 1874), pp. 2 sq. (*Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, No. 267).

² G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1878*, pp. 104 B sq., 117 B; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 305 sq.

carried down his family line." The two clans or classes are each subdivided into an indefinite number of groups or families, which usually take their names from towns or camping-grounds and appear to be simply local groups. Each family or local group enjoys several prerogatives which it guards jealously : such are the right to bear certain personal names and the right to use certain badges or crests, which are generally representations of animals, though trees, shells, and objects of daily life also occur amongst them. These crests are tattooed on the bodies of their owners, painted on their faces, woven on their clothing, and carved on their houses and utensils. Each family as a rule has several crests, which are explained by traditions setting forth the adventures of an ancestor of the family. Most of these traditions tell of his encounter with an animal or a supernatural being, which from that time on became the crest of his family. Not all the members of the family use all its crests. At first the youth seems to possess the most general crest of the clan only ; thus if he is of the Eagle clan, he will have the eagle crest ; if he is of the Raven clan, he will have the bear and the killer-whale crests. As he attains higher rank by repeated distributions of property among members of the other clan, he becomes entitled to the privilege of using other crests ; but the use of the total number of crests belonging to the family seems to be restricted to its chief. With regard to these Haida crests Mr. J. R. Swanton, one of our chief authorities on the tribe, observes that " they were originally obtained from some supernatural being or by purchase from another family. Although referred to by most writers as totems, they have, however, no proper totemic significance, their use being similar to that of the quarterings in heraldry, to mark the social position of the wearers." Accordingly it would seem that these families or local groups cannot properly be described as totem clans ; that term among the Haidas should be restricted to the two great exogamous divisions of the Raven and the Eagle.¹

Each clan or class is subdivided into an indefinite number of families or local groups, and each of these families has its crests, which are generally representations of animals.

The crests are said not to be totemic.

¹ Fr. Boas, *Facial Paintings of the Indians of Northern British Columbia*, p. 14 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedi-*

tion, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, 1898); J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Eth-*

Dawson's
account of
the Haida
social
system.

Somewhat different from the above is the account of the Haida social system given by the late Dr. George M. Dawson, to whom we owe the first fairly full description of the Queen Charlotte Islands and their inhabitants. According to him "a single system of totems (Haida, *kwalla*) extends throughout the different tribes of the Haidas, Kaiganes, Tshimsians, and neighbouring peoples. The whole community is divided under the different totems, and the obligations attaching to totem are not confined by tribal or national limits. The totems found among these people are designated by the *eagle*, *wolf*, *crow*, *black bear* and *fin-whale* (or *killer*). The two last-named are united, so that but four clans are counted in all. The Haida names for these are, in order, *koot*, *koo-ji*, *kit-si-naka* and *sxa-nu-xā*. The members of the different totems are generally pretty equally distributed in each tribe. Those of the same totem are all counted as it were of one family, and the chief bearing of the system appears to be on marriage. No one may marry in his or her own totem, whether within or without their own tribe or nation. A person of any particular totem may, however, marry one of any other indifferently. The children follow the totem of the mother, save in some very exceptional cases, when a child newly born may be given to the father's sister to suckle. This is done to strengthen the totem of the father when its number has become reduced. The child is then spoken of as belonging to the aunt, but after it attains a certain age may be returned to the real mother to bring up."¹

nology of the Haida (Leyden and New York, 1905), pp. 11, 62; *id.* in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 522. Compare Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 26 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); *id.* in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the Tribes of North-Western Canada*, pp. 648 sqq. (*Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898). In these Reports Dr. Boas applies the term phratries to the two Haida divisions of the Raven and Eagle; but that term should be restricted to

such exogamous tribal divisions as are themselves subdivided into minor exogamous groups, which seems not to be the case with the Raven and the Eagle divisions among the Haidas. Accordingly in his memoir, *Facial Paintings of the Indians of Northern British Columbia* (l.c.), Dr. Boas has rightly designated the two exogamous divisions of the Haidas as clans, not phratries.

¹ G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1878* (Montreal, 1880), p. 134 B. Dr. Dawson's account is reproduced by Mr. A. Krause (*Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 312).

If the later accounts of the Haida system given by Messrs. Boas and Swanton are correct, as we may assume them to be, it would seem that Dr. Dawson confused some of the families or local groups with the two exogamous clans. The animal crests claimed by the families might easily give rise to such a confusion. With regard to these crests we are told that while theoretically the crests used by families of the Raven clan should be different from those used by families of the Eagle clan, this distinction is not maintained throughout in practice, since some crests, for example the dogfish and the skate, are claimed by families both of the Raven and of the Eagle clan. But as a general rule the two sets of crests do actually differ from each other.¹ A family is not restricted to one crest. It may have, and often has, several crests or emblems which are supposed to commemorate events in the early history of the family. For example, one family has for its crests the frog, beaver, raven, and eagle; another has the bear, moon, dogfish, killer-whale, wolf, and devilfish; another has the killer-whale, owl, bear, and woodpecker; another has the bear, killer-whale, and moon; another has the halibut, eagle, beaver, and land-otter; another has the frog, beaver, starfish, and evening sky; another has the land-otter, killer-whale, woodpecker, and cirrus cloud; another has the eagle, sculpin, and beaver; another has the eagle, humming-bird, beaver, sculpin, and skate; another has the bear, killer-whale, hawk, rainbow, and stratus-cloud; another has the killer-whale, grizzly bear, and black bear; another has the eagle, raven, sculpin, and frog; another has the bear, moon, mountain-goat, killer-whale, storm-cloud, cirrus-cloud, and rock-slide; another has the dogfish, eagle, frog, monster frog, and beaver. And so on.²

According to Dr. Boas's enquiries the commonest crests or totems, as he also calls them, in the Raven clan are the killer-whale and the black bear; and the commonest crests or totems in the Eagle clan are the eagle and beaver. Next

¹ J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 107. the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada, pp. 648 sqq. (*Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898).

² Fr. Boas, in *Twelfth Report of*

As a rule, the crests of the Raven and the Eagle clans differ from each other; but some crests are common to both clans. Each family may have several crests.

Some crests are much commoner than others.

to them in frequency, though at a long interval, come in the Raven clan the *tsamaos* (a fabulous sea-monster) and the moon; in the Eagle clan the sculpin, the frog, and the raven. In the Raven clan Dr. Boas found the woodpecker, *tsilialas* (killer-whale with raven wings), thunder-bird, hawk, wolf, and cirrus cloud, each respectively claimed as a crest by two families; and the dogfish, devilfish, owl, land-otter, grizzly bear, sea-lion, mountain-goat, *gyitgalya*, rainbow, stratus cloud, storm-cloud, and rock-slide each respectively claimed by one family only. In the Eagle clan Dr. Boas found the dogfish claimed as a crest by two families, and the halibut, land-otter, starfish, humming-bird, skate (?), monster-frog *watsat* (a fabulous personage), *wasq* (a fabulous whale with five dorsal fins), *sgango* (a monster), and evening sky, each respectively claimed by one family only. To put the result of Dr. Boas's enquiries in tabular form:—

Table of
the crests
of the
two Haida
clans.

RAVEN CLAN (22 distinct families)

Killer-whale crest in 21 families.			Devilfish crest in 1 family.		
Black bear	"	14 "	Owl	"	1 "
<i>Tsamaos</i>	"	7 "	Land-otter	"	1 "
Moon	"	4 "	Grizzly bear crest in 1 family.		
Woodpecker	"	2 "	Sea-lion	"	1 "
<i>Tsilialas</i>	"	2 "	Mountain-goat crest in 1 family.		
Thunder-bird	"	2 "	<i>Gyitgalya</i>	"	1 "
Hawk	"	2 "	Rainbow	"	1 "
Wolf	"	2 "	Stratus cloud	"	1 "
Cirrus cloud	"	2 "	Storm-cloud	"	1 "
Dogfish	"	1 family.	Rock slide	"	1 "

EAGLE CLAN (18 distinct families)

Eagle crest in 17 families.			Humming-bird crest in 1 family.		
Beaver	"	13 "	Skate (?)	"	1 "
Sculpin	"	9 "	Monster-frog	"	1 "
Frog	"	5 "	<i>Watsat</i> (a fabulous personage) crest in 1 family.		
Raven	"	3 "	<i>Wasq</i> crest in 1 family.		
Dogfish	"	2 "	<i>Sgango</i>	"	1 "
Halibut	"	1 family.	Evening sky crest in 1 family.		
Land-otter crest in 1 family.					
Starfish	"	1 "			

By a
curious
anomaly
the raven
is not a
crest of the
Raven clan.

Thus, while the two sets of crests mostly differ, the dogfish and the land-otter occur as crests both among the Ravens and the Eagles. It is remarkable that the raven should appear as a crest in the Eagle clan and not, where

we should expect to find it, in the Raven clan.¹ This anomaly is a puzzle to the Indians themselves.²

The results of more recent researches conducted among the Haidas by Mr. J. R. Swanton agree to a considerable extent with those of Dr. Boas. He finds that in the Raven clan the killer-whale and grizzly bear crests are the most frequent, and that next to them come the rainbow and the *tsamaos* (a fabulous sea-monster); while in the Eagle clan the eagle and beaver crests are the most frequent, and next to them come the sculpin and frog. The other crests are considerably less common, and many of them occur only in a single family. From this Mr. Swanton infers with some probability that the crests most frequently used are the oldest, and that those which occur only once or twice must have been acquired in comparatively recent times.³ He tells us that the killer-whale is considered the oldest crest of the Raven clan, and the eagle the oldest crest of the Eagle clan. "The killer-whale," he says further, "was owned by every Raven family without exception; and the eagle, by almost every Eagle family. Young men are said to have worn these first before assuming the more valued ones; but young men of high family, not yet entitled to wear the higher crests, might nevertheless have them carved upon their grave-posts, if they died in early years. The town and family chiefs were always endeavouring to reserve certain crests for their own exclusive use, but the house chiefs were generally too powerful for this to go very far. The moon, however, seems to have been used exclusively by four or five of the highest Haida chiefs. . . . Possession of a crest was jealously guarded; and if any chief learned that one of his crests had been adopted by a chief of a family that was considered of lower rank, he would put the latter to shame, and by giving away or destroying more property than the other chief could muster,

The common crests are probably the old crests; the rare crests are probably the new ones.

Possession of the crests was jealously guarded.

¹ Fr. Boas, in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 648-654 (*Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898). Compare *id.* in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 26 sq. (*Report*

of the British Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint).

² J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 107.

³ J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* pp. 107-117.

force him to abandon it. Thus a chief of the family of Those-born-at-Skidegate once adopted the mountain-goat; but when the chief of Skedans heard of it, he gave away a great many blankets, and compelled him to relinquish it.”¹

Descent of the family as well as of the clan seems to be in the female line.

Descent in the family, as well as in the clan, appears to be in the female line, so that children take both their family name and their crest from their mother, not from their father. This is not indeed directly affirmed, so far as I have observed, by our authorities, but it seems to follow from some of their statements. Thus Mr. Swanton says that “if a man were very fond of his children, he might give them the right to use some of his own crests; but these must be surrendered as soon as the children married. Occasionally a crest of this kind was kept through life; and, according to tradition, one or two crests were given by the man who first obtained them to his children, and thus to the other clan.”² This statement implies that the acquisition of a crest by a child from his father is unusual and abnormal; from which we may infer that normally the crest is inherited by children from their mother.

Legends told by the Haidas to account for the origin of their crests. The killer-whale crest.

As specimens of the legends told by the Haidas to account for the origin of their crests we may cite the following. The killer-whale crest has been used by people of the Raven clan from the time when they came from the mythical marine being called Foam-Woman. One of her daughters wore a blanket with the figure of a killer-whale's dorsal fin on it, and ever since then the women of the Raven family called People-of-Pebble-Town have worn similar blankets at *potlatches*.³ Again, the same Raven family is said to use the blue hawk crest because they saw the bird on a certain mountain where blue hawks live; the blue hawk and the thunder-bird are represented in carvings in almost exactly the same form, and both are employed as crests by the Raven family called People-of-Pebble-Town.⁴ Again, the same Raven family used wooden war-helmets carved in the shape of

The blue hawk crest.

The sea-lion crest.

¹ J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, pp. 107 sq.

² J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 107.

³ J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 108.

⁴ J. R. Swanton, *l.c.*

sea-lions, because a member of the clan is said to have found the first sea-lion and to have made a hat for himself out of the skin of its head.¹ Again, the Ravens adopted the rainbow as a crest, because the chief of all supernatural beings in the woods, called Supernatural-One-upon-whom-it-thunders, was a Raven power and used to appear as the rainbow when he was in full dress.² Again, the cumulus and cirrus clouds were the full dress costume of the supernatural being called The-One-in-the-Sea, and as he was a Raven, the Ravens adopted these clouds as their crests.³ Again, the Raven people use the flicker or golden-winged woodpecker as a crest, because a man of the People-of-Pebble-Town, a Raven family, killed the first flicker, stuffed its skin, and put it on his hat.⁴ The moon, mountain-goat, and *tsamaos* are crests imported by the Raven people from the Tsimshians. The *tsamaos* was a personification of driftwood or the "tide-walker"; it could assume several different shapes, such as that of a sea-lion and a black whale.⁵ The eagle crest was used by the Eagle people when their families "first came out" from their great mythical ancestress, who rejoices in the title of Property-making-a-Noise. The beaver crest of the Eagle people was brought back from the Tsimshian country by the children of Property-making-a-Noise. The dogfish, another crest of the Eagle people, was first used by a man of the Food-giving-Town-People or, as they were sometimes called, Those-born-at-Skidegate-Creek, who are a Raven family. He found a dogfish on the beach and adopted it as a crest, but gave it to one of his children, who was necessarily an Eagle. That is how the dogfish came to be a crest of the Eagle people. At the same time we are told that Property-making-a-Noise, the ancestress of the Eagles, had a dogfish tattooed on her back when she went to the Tsimshian country.⁶ Again, a man of the Gitins-of-Skidegate, an Eagle family, was unfortunately poisoned by eating clams while he lived in

The rainbow crest.

The cumulus and cirrus cloud crests.

The woodpecker crest.

The moon, mountain-goat, and *tsamaos* crests.

The eagle crest.

The beaver crest.

The dogfish crest.

The raven crest.

¹ J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 108.

² J. R. Swanton, *l.c.*

³ J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 109.

⁴ J. R. Swanton, *l.c.*

⁵ J. R. Swanton, *l.c.*

⁶ J. R. Swanton, *l.c.*

the Tsimshian country; and to console his friends for this domestic bereavement they were given a raven hat. That is how the Eagle people come to have the raven for a crest. The sculpin crest was also received by the Eagle people at the same time; it was first carved on the front of a grave-post.¹ Again, a child playing on the beach found the first starfish. He picked it up and dried it and played with it a long time. Indeed he liked it so much that he begged his friends to carve it on his grave-box. Since then his friends, who were Eagle people, have used the starfish as a crest. Again, two Eagle families, called respectively Those-born-at-Skedans and Sea-Lion-Town-People, tie humming-birds to their hair as a crest, because the great mythical ancestress of the Eagle people, Djilaqons, likewise wore a humming-bird fastened to her hair in a peculiar manner. Again, the Eagle people are said to have adopted the heron as a crest because once, when an Eagle man was returning empty-handed from the chase, a heron came out just at the stern of his canoe.²

The Haidas had a comparatively well-developed system of art, which they applied to the decoration of houses, canoes, paddles, horn-spoons, boxes, trays, dance-hats, masks, rattles, batons, and so forth; and among the patterns employed for this purpose the figures of their totemic or crest animals were by far the commonest.³ Indeed, so far did the artistic bent of the people carry them in this direction that in the opinion of Dr. Boas it even reacted on their social system and proved a most important factor in developing it.⁴

Formerly, every Haida had his crest tattooed on some part of his person, generally on the legs, arms, or breast, most commonly on the back of the hand and forearm. Apparently the Haidas never tattooed their faces. The patterns were carefully and symmetrically drawn by pricking the skin and rubbing in charcoal, so that they stood out in a bluish tint on the copper-coloured skin. While every member of a household had one of the family crests

¹ J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, pp. 109 sq.

² J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 110.

³ J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* pp. 122 sqq., 136 sqq., 143 sqq.

⁴ Fr. Boas, in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 676 (*Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898).

The sculpin crest.

The starfish crest.

The humming-bird crest.

The heron crest.

The art of the Haidas.

The Haidas used to have their totems tattooed on their bodies.

tattooed on his body, the head or chief of the house used to have every one of them tattooed on his person in order to shew his relation to them all. Among the crests so tattooed which have been observed and recorded are the halibut, cod-fish, *wasko* (a mythical monster), frog, humming-bird, crow, bear, moon, rainbow, dragon-fly, starfish, skate, thunder-bird, killer-whale, sculpin, and dogfish. Some of these creatures were represented with a fair attempt at realism.¹

While the Haidas appear not to have tattooed their faces, on the other hand they painted their crests on them, sometimes with a close resemblance to nature, laying on the patterns in black, red, blue, and green colours mixed with grease. Thus a man might paint a very natural halibut in red and black on his face, the head of the fish appearing on his brow and the tail on his cheek, and the rest of the fish occupying the intermediate portion of his countenance. Another would paint a killer-whale in black over his right eyebrow and a whale in red over his left eyebrow. A third would adorn the right side of his face with the likeness of a dog-salmon in red and black; while a fourth would decorate the front of his face with the figure of a devil-fish in red and black, the body with its goggle-eyes being plastered on his forehead, while the tentacles of the creature sprawled over his cheeks. Another would depict the sun as a disc with rays between his eyes, while another would display the crescent moon on his forehead or chin and lower jaws. Another would daub the upper part of his forehead with red to represent the red sky of evening; while another would encircle the whole of his face with red patches or cover it with red spots to imitate cirrus clouds either seen on the horizon across the sea or lit up by the warm rays of the rising or setting sun. In these last and in other cases the patterns are, however, so purely conventional that their meaning could not be understood without explanation.²

¹ G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands*, 1878, pp. 108 B, 134 B sq.; J. G. Swan, *The Haidah Indians* (Washington, 1874), pp. 3 sqq., with Plates 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 (*Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, No. 267); J. R. Swanton,

Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida, pp. 141 sq., with Plates XX., XXI.

² Franz Boas, *Facial Paintings of the Indians of Northern British Columbia*, pp. 13 sqq., with Plates I. - VI. (*The Jesup North Pacific*

The totem-
poles or
totem-
posts of
the Haidas.

Two kinds
of totem-
poles, viz.
the house-
poles
and the
mortuary-
poles.

Of the
house-
poles some
bore family
crests and
others
illustrated
myths.

House-
poles bear-
ing crests.

But the most elaborate and imposing representations of Haida crests are those which they carved and painted on the wooden pillars commonly known as totem-poles or totem-posts. Such monuments were set up by other Indian tribes of North-West America, but among none of them were the totem-poles so numerous, so large, and so elaborately carved as among the Haidas. These poles were from thirty to sixty feet high; and as there were on an average at least two of them for each house, a Haida village seen from a distance used to present the appearance of a patch of burnt forest with bare, bristling tree-trunks. The cost of erecting such monuments was very considerable, sometimes, it is said, even amounting to several thousand dollars, so that only very wealthy people could afford to set them up. The totem-poles were of several kinds, amongst which we may distinguish two principal classes, the house-poles (*kexen*) and the mortuary-poles (*χat*). The house-poles are pillars from thirty to fifty or sixty feet high, and three feet wide at the base, tapering slightly upwards. They are hewn each out of a single cedar tree, and are hollowed out behind like a trough to make them light enough to be set up without much difficulty. One such pole is, or used to be, planted firmly in the earth at the front of every house and abutting against it, and an oval hole cut through the pole serves as the doorway. These poles are generally covered with grotesque figures, carved and painted, and closely grouped together from base to summit.¹ "Speaking generally," says Mr. Swanton, "there were two varieties of house-poles: (1) those which merely bore crests, and (2) those which illustrated some story. In the former class, crests belonging to the family of the house-owner and to that of his wife were usually placed together upon the pole, although occasionally all the crests were taken from one family; but, as will be seen in what follows, there was no fixed rule for the order in which these should be arranged."² Thus, for

Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, 1898).

¹ J. G. Swan, *The Haidah Indians of Queen Charlotte's Islands* (Washington, 1874), p. 3; G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands*,

1878, pp. 115 B, 116 B, 148 B; A. Woldt, *Capitain Jacobsen's Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas* (Leipsic, 1884), pp. 40 sqq.

² J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 122.

example, a pole which formerly stood in front of a house of an Eagle family called Those-born-at-Saki, in the town of Ninstints, exhibits an eagle at the top and a bear at the bottom, both of which were crests of the husband's family ; while between them is carved the wolf, the crest of his wife, who was a Raven woman of the family called Xagi-Town-People. Again, a pole which stood at Skidegate shews a dogfish at the top and a raven immediately beneath it, while at the bottom is the killer-whale. Of these the dogfish and raven were the crests of the wife, who was of the Eagle clan ; while the killer-whale was the crest of her husband, who was of the Raven clan. Another pole which stood at Skidegate displays at the bottom the wife's crest, a grizzly bear, and above it two crests of the husband, a raven and a *wasgo*, a fabulous monster, part wolf and part killer-whale, who hunts for black whales at night and brings them away on his back. In this case the wife was a Raven woman of the family of Those-born-at-Rose-Spit, and her husband was an Eagle man of the family of the Big-House-People. Another pole exhibits at the top a grizzly bear, the crest of the wife, who was a Raven woman of the family of Those-born-at-Rose-Spit ; and below the bear are carved successively a dogfish, a raven, and an eagle, all crests of the husband, who was an Eagle man of the family of the Rotten-House-People. At the top the pole ends in a tall cylinder with circles cut round it, one above the other. This stands for a chief's cylindrical hat which was made in segments ; and the more segments it had, the more honourable was the hat. Another pole has a beaver and an eagle, the wife's crests, at the top, and below them the moon and a grizzly bear, both crests of the husband, who was a Raven, while his wife was an Eagle. Another pole displays, from bottom to top, the grizzly bear, the moon, and two figures intended to represent mountain-goats, all of them crests of the husband, who was a Raven, chief of the Sand-Town-People. Surmounting all are two watchmen, as they are called, figures of human beings wearing the usual tall flat-topped hats. Some families had two, others had three of these watchmen. In Haida myths similar figures are mentioned on the house-poles of the supernatural beings ;

The tall
cylindrical
hat of a
chief.

Figures of
watchmen.

and it is said that they always gave warning when an enemy approached or anything happened which the owner of the pole ought to know. They are not used as crests. Yet another pole exhibits at the bottom a killer-whale, and above it the moon, both crests of the husband, who was a Raven, and chief of the Pebble-Town-People; above the moon appears the raven, the crest of his wife, who was an Eagle woman; and surmounting all is a figure of the chief himself holding one of the much-prized copper plates under each arm. To put a portrait of the house-owner on his pole was not uncommon.¹

Story-
poles, that
is, poles
illustrating
tribal
myths and
legends.

These and similar house-poles are purely heraldic. Others are carved to illustrate the myths and legends of the tribe. These Mr. Swanton calls story-poles. They are clearly parallel to the monuments of ancient art, whether Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Greek, or Roman, which set forth the sacred traditions and religious beliefs of the people who erected them. For example, a pole, which stood at Kloo and belonged to an Eagle chief of the family of Those-born-at-Skedans, exhibits at the bottom a man squatting and wearing an immensely tall cylindrical hat which reaches from his head to the top of the pole. On either side of the hat is a series of three human beings, one above the other, clinging with their hands to the cylindrical hat, as if to support themselves by it. The pole illustrates a story that Raven caused a flood, whereupon a chief named Kenk, with great presence of mind, clapped his hat on his head, and as it grew longer and longer his people swarmed up it to escape from the rising tide of water.² Again, a pole which belonged to a Raven chief of the Eagle-House-People is illustrated and thus described by Mr. Swanton: "It

Pole
illustrating
the legend
of the
great flood
caused by
Raven.

¹ J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, pp. 122-124, with Plates I. and II. As to the cylindrical hats worn by chiefs Prof. E. B. Tylor observes that "the original form of this head-dress may be the native basketry hat, which passes into a wooden helmet surmounted by a cylindrical turret, the number of divisions (*skil*) indicating the wearer's rank or dignity, and being said to represent the number of potlatches or

feasts given by the wearer. It is now only worn in ceremonial dances, but its representation is frequent in paintings and carvings" (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1899) p. 134).

² J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, pp. 124 sq., with Plate V. 2; Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der nord-pazifischen Küste Amerikas* (Berlin, 1895), p. 308.

contains episodes from the Raven story. At the bottom is a figure of the beaver who owned the first house, salmon-lake, and salmon-trap, and who adopted Raven. The small human figure on the head of which this beaver has its front-legs is Raven himself. Above is another figure of Raven playing with the crescent moon which surrounds the head of Butterfly, Raven's companion. This refers to the theft of the moon by Raven. Butterfly is introduced only because he used to go about with Raven. The figure above this, with a frog in its mouth, is said to represent the grandfather of Raven at this time, the frog simply filling up space. Still higher Raven is seen in the act of stealing the beaver's salmon-lake. The lake is the cross-hatched surface curled round the two salmon. The frog on Raven's hat is said to be merely for ornament; and the segmented part rising above it is, as usual, a chief's dance-hat. On top of this dance-hat, finally, Raven appears again in the form of a bird holding the moon in his bill, as he flew with it through the smoke-hole."¹ Again, a pole which stood before the house of a Raven chief near Masset illustrates the story of the man who married a bear, a story which, like the theft of the moon by Raven, has its parallel among the Tlingits; for they tell how a woman, roaming the wood in search of berries, strayed into a bear's den, and how she was obliged not only to marry the bear, but to be herself changed into a she-bear.² On the Haida house-pole, which

Pole
illustrating
the story
how Raven
stole the
moon.

¹ J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Mythology of the Haida*, p. 125, with Plate III. 4. The Tlingits also tell how Raven (Yehl) contrived to steal the moon from a chief who kept it shut up in a box, and how on opening the box Raven allowed the moon to fly up into the sky, where it has since remained. In the same way he liberated the sun and stars, which the same chief had kept in two other boxes; for till then the world had been dark. Thus it was Raven who set the great lights in the sky to lighten the day and the night. See H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. (1856) pp. 336-339; and for a fuller and

somewhat different version of the legend, see Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der nord-pazifischen Küste Amerikas* (Berlin, 1895), pp. 311-313. The myth contains a good example of the widespread story of the Virgin Birth. In order to obtain access to the chief's house Raven turns himself into a blade of grass or a pine-cone, which is swallowed by the chief's daughter in a draught of water. Thereupon she becomes pregnant and gives birth to a child, who is no other than Raven himself.

² H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. (1856) pp. 310 sq. A similar story, except as to the transformation of the

Pole illustrating the story how a man married a Bear wife.

tells the tale of the man and his bear-wife, the principal figure is the Grizzly-Bear-Woman. She clasps in her hands what appears to be a long tongue lolling out of her mouth; however, we are told that this object is not her tongue but a labret, such as all Haida women used to wear in their lower lips. On her head the Bear-Woman wears the usual conical dance-hat, divided into segments by circles and surmounted in this case by a bear's cub, which thus sits on the top of the pole. In her arms the Bear-Woman clasps two more of her cubs, and a little lower down is a full-length figure of a bear representing her husband. At the bottom of the pole, above the oval opening which formed the doorway of the house, are carved a frog and a raven, which have apparently no reference to the story of the Bear-Woman.¹

Pole illustrating the story how a man made love to a bear's wife and was eaten by the bear.

Another Haida house-pole, which formerly stood in the village of Masset, also illustrates the legend of the man and the bear. The story ran that Toivats the hunter went to the house of Hoorts the bear, when the bear was not at home. In his absence the hunter made love to the bear's wife. Coming home the bear found his wife in confusion and accused her. She denied the charge, but the bear was still suspicious, and when she went out to draw water and fetch wood, he tied a magic thread to her dress, and following this clue he found her with her gallant, whom he killed. On the Haida post the injured bear is represented in the act of devouring the man who had injured him.² Another house-pole, whether Haida or Tsimshian is uncertain, exhibits a scene which has sometimes been taken for Jonah in the fish's belly. It certainly represents a man in the belly of a killer-whale, but the legend which it illustrates

Pole illustrating the story of the man in the fish's belly.

woman into a bear, is told by the Tsimshians. See Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der nord-pazifischen Küste Amerikas*, pp. 294 sq.

¹ J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 127, with Plate V. 1. As to the labrets which the Haida women used to wear in their lower lips, see G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands*, 1878, pp. 108 B sq. They were made

of wood or bone and projected at right angles to the plane of the face. One of them has been found to measure $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length by $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches in width.

² E. B. Tylor, "On the Totem-post from the Haida Village of Masset," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1899) pp. 133-135, with Plate XII. This fine totem-pole, which is more than forty feet high, now stands in the grounds of Fox Warren, near Weybridge.

appears to be of purely native origin.¹ In the British Museum there is a totem-pole from the Haida village of Kayang, near Masset, in Queen Charlotte Island. The carvings on the pole refer to a story which sets forth how Raven (*Yetl*), swimming in bird shape under water, was caught on the line of some fishermen; how they tried to haul him into the boat, how he clung for dear life to the bottom with his claws, how they tugged and better tugged, till at last the line suddenly slacking they all collapsed in the bottom of the boat. When they pulled themselves together and examined the hook, they found sticking on it a piece of Raven's beak, which had snapped clean off in the desperate tussle. They did not know what to make of it, but took it ashore with them, and while they were confabbing over it in the hut, who should walk in but Raven himself, looking just like a man, but hiding his broken nose. He cajoled the assembled sages into letting him have the piece of his beak in his hand to look at, but no sooner had he got it than he clapped it on his broken nose; the pieces joined together, and away he flew through the smoke-hole in the roof.² The story is of special interest for its references to the bird shape of Raven, who in the native mythology, despite his name, commonly appears as a man.

Besides the tall house-pole which stood in front of the house the greatest Haida chiefs had an inside pole, which stood in the middle of the rear part of the house, and the seat just in front of it was always reserved for persons of the highest rank. These inside poles were also carved with figures of the family crests, one above the other; for example, on one we see, from bottom to top, a frog, a hawk, a raven with two frogs in its mouth, and a grizzly bear; another represents an eagle above and a cormorant below; and so on.³

¹ E. B. Tylor, "On two British Columbian House-posts with Totemic Carvings, in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1899) pp. 136 sq., with Plate XIII. The Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford possesses another fine Haida house-pole from the village of Masset. It is over forty feet high and exhibits two "watchers" at the top, with figures of the raven, frog,

crayfish, and killer-whale beneath them. See E. B. Tylor, "Note on the Haida Totem-post," *Man*, ii. (1902) pp. 1 sq. with Plate A.

² T. A. Joyce, "A Totem Pole in the British Museum," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) pp. 90 sq., with Plate XIX.

³ J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Mythology of the Haida*, p. 128, with Plate V. 2.

Pole illustrating the story how Raven's beak was broken and mended again.

Inner house-poles.

Mortuary-poles are of two sorts, viz. those which support the remains of the dead and those which merely commemorate them.

Like the house-poles, the mortuary-poles (*χat*) may be divided into two classes, namely, grave-poles which contain or support the remains of the dead, and memorial-poles which are simply erected in honour of the departed, whether man or woman. To the Haidas, however, there is no essential distinction between the two. Both are called by them "grave-father," and both sorts were set up by the successor of a dead chief when he entered on office. The mortuary-poles, though sometimes as ponderous as the house-poles, were generally not so tall and not so elaborately decorated. They stood, as a rule, on the narrow strip of land between the houses and the beach, but in no determinate relation to the dwellings. The most elaborate form of these mortuary-poles was called "two grave-fathers," and consisted of a long box with a carved front, capable of holding several bodies, and raised upon two posts instead of one. The carving on the box might represent the crest of the deceased.¹ In other cases the grave-box was placed on the top of a single pole or let into the top of the pole itself. But whether any bodies were placed on the pole or not, it was sometimes carved in imitation of a true grave-pole, stout planks being nailed across it at the top to resemble the front of a grave-box. Both on the shaft and on the cross-piece might be carved the crests of the deceased. Other mortuary-poles are purely commemorative; they neither support nor pretend to support the remains of the dead. As a rule they consisted of a shaft either plain or slightly decorated with a figure carved at the bottom and another at the top; these figures often represented the crests of the person in whose memory the monument was erected. For example, a memorial pole set up in honour of a Raven man exhibits a long flattened quadrangular shaft with a grizzly bear at the bottom and a raven perched on the top. The shaft and the raven together stand for the mythical killer-whale called Raven-fin (*Tsili alas*). On the front of the fin were originally hung two of those copper plates, on which the Indians of this coast used to set an extravagant

¹ G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands*, 1878, pp. 133 B, 148 B; J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 129.

value. It was not uncommon thus to lay up a dead man's coppers, as they were called, on his monument.¹ Again, a memorial pole for a chief's wife, a Raven woman of the Sand-Town-People, consists of a plain cylindrical column with a figure of the mythical Cloud-Woman at the bottom and the long-billed figure of a flicker or golden-winged woodpecker perched on the top. Both the Cloud-Woman and the woodpecker were crests used by the woman's family.²

The possession of certain crests was not the only prerogative of a Haida family. Each family had in addition the use of certain names,—personal names, house-names, canoe-names, even names of salmon-traps and spoons. A first-born son might be called by the name of the mother's eldest brother, and the second-born by the name of the mother's second brother, or by one of the additional names of the first. But a large proportion of Haida personal names were based on the belief in the transmigration of souls. This belief was general among the Haidas: they thought that the soul of a dead ancestor was often reborn in the person of one of his descendants, and whenever this was supposed to have happened, the newborn child naturally received the name of the ancestor or ancestress who had come to life again in him or her. The medicine-men or shamans professed to learn in a dream or a vision the name of the person who had just been reincarnated, and the infant was named accordingly. To this imaginary power of detecting the dead among the living the Haida medicine-men owed a large part of the influence which they exercised over the people. It was believed that a man was always reborn into his own clan and generally into his own family. Thus a Raven man always came to life again as a Raven, never as an Eagle; and similarly, however often an Eagle man might die and be reborn, at each reincarnation he would still be an Eagle to the end of time. From this it follows that no man could be reborn in his own son, since

Family names of the Haidas.

Many personal names among the Haidas are based on the theory of transmigration: a person bears the name of the dead ancestor, often the paternal grandfather, of whom he is supposed to be a reincarnation.

¹ J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 130, with Plate V. 3; G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands*,

1878, p. 148 B.

² J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 131, with Plate VIII. 1.

in virtue of the laws of exogamy and female descent the son of a Raven man was never a Raven, but always an Eagle, and similarly the son of an Eagle man was never an Eagle, but always a Raven. But while a man could not be reborn in his son he might be reborn in his grandson, since the grandson always belonged to his paternal grandfather's clan, though not to his father's. For example, a Raven man had an Eagle son, and the Eagle son had a Raven son, so that on the Haida principles of descent and transmigration the Raven grandfather might be reborn in the person of his Raven grandson. This may explain why among the Haidas, whenever the name of the reborn ancestor was not revealed by the medicine-man, a newborn male child received the name of his paternal grandfather, provided that the grandfather belonged, as he often did, to the same family as his grandson. But if the grandfather was of a different family, his name could not ordinarily be employed; and in that case the grandson would have to receive a name from one of his great-uncles or from some other male member of the family. A girl also received her name from her paternal grandfather's kin.¹ Perhaps the Haida custom and belief in this matter may throw light on the practice of naming sons after their paternal grandfathers which has prevailed elsewhere. For example, among the ancient Greeks the custom was to name the first-born son after his paternal grandfather; it was rare to name him after his own father.² It is possible that this Greek practice points back to a theory of reincarnation combined with a system of exogamy and mother-kin, which ensured that a man should always belong to his grandfather's clan but never to that of his father. To say nothing of Pythagoras's doctrine of transmigration, there are some independent grounds for thinking that

The belief may explain a similar nomenclature of the ancient Greeks.

¹ J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, pp. 117 sq.; G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands*, 1878, pp. 122 B, 131 B.

² Demosthenes xxxix. 27, xliii. 74; Plato, *Laches*, p. 179 A; Isaeus, ii. 36. The passages of Demosthenes and Plato are quoted by my friend Mr. W.

Wyse in his learned commentary on Isaeus, ii. 36 and iii. 30. See further Hermann - Blümner, *Lehrbuch der griechischen Privatalterthümer*, p. 284; W. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Third Edition, ii. 233; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, s.v. 'Nomen,' vii. 88 sq.

the ancient Greeks believed in the reincarnation of the dead.¹

With regard to the social obligations which members of the same totemic clan lay under to each other Dr. Dawson tells us that "an Indian on arriving at a strange village, where he may apprehend hostility, would look for a house indicated by its carved post as belonging to his totem, and make for it. The master of the house coming out, may if he likes make a dance in honour of his visitor, but in any case protects him from all injury. In the same way, should an Indian be captured as a slave by some warlike expedition, and brought into the village of his captors, it behoves any one of his totem, either man or woman, to present themselves to the captors, and singing a certain sacred song, offer to redeem the captive. Blankets and other property are given for this purpose. Should the slave be given up, the redeemer sends him back to his tribe, and the relatives pay the redeemer for what he has expended. Should the captors refuse to give up the slave for the property offered, it is considered rather disgraceful to them. This at least is the custom pursued in regard to captives included in the same totem system as themselves by the Tsimshians, and it is doubtless identical or very similar among the Haidas, though no special information on this subject was obtained from them."²

As the Haidas intermarry with neighbouring Indian tribes who have similar, though not identical, systems of totemism and exogamy, it is necessary for the purpose of such intertribal marriages to determine the equivalence of the various totemic clans in the different tribes. On this subject we are told that "theoretically a man of the Raven clan was reckoned in that clan, wherever he might go; and the Ravens among whom he settled were his uncles, elder and younger brothers, sisters and nephews. This would be as true at Sitka or in the Chilkat country, or, for that matter, in Florida, as on the Queen Charlotte Islands; but

¹ See F. B. Jevons, "Greek Law and Folk Lore," *Classical Review*, ix. (1895) pp. 248 sq.; J. E. King, "Infant Burial," *ibid.* xvii. (1903) pp. 83 sq.

² G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands*, 1878, p. 134 D.

it so happens that the crests of the Raven clan agree with those of the Bear and Wolf clans among the Tsimshian, while the crests of the Eagle clan agree with those of the Raven and Eagle clans among the latter people; and, since crests are considered much more important than the mere name of the clan, each Haida clan considers the two Tsimshian clans bearing its crests its 'friends.' . . . The important point is, however, that a Haida marrying into another tribe always avoids a certain clan among them, the members of which, for one reason or another, he considers his 'friends.'"¹ Similarly, Dr. Boas tells us that "any Haida who has the raven among his emblems, when marrying a Tlingit, is considered a member of the Raven phratry, and *vice versa*, the emblems always deciding to which phratry an individual is to be reckoned."² The following table exhibits the equivalence of the exogamous divisions (clans or phratries) and crests among the Haidas, Tlingits, Tsimshians, and Bella Bellas, so far as that equivalence has been determined by Mr. J. R. Swanton:—³

Haida.	Tlingit.	Tsimshian.	Bella Bella.
Raven = Wolf (Eagle) = Eagle = Raven	Wolf and Bear	= Eagle and Killer-Whale	
	= Raven and Eagle = Raven		

It is curious that the Ravens of the Haidas should be equated to the Eagles of the Tlingits and Bella Bellas, while conversely the Eagles of the Haidas are equated to the Ravens of the Tlingits, Tsimshians, and Bella Bellas. The reason of the anomaly is apparently unknown.

Though each of the two Haida clans, the Raven and the Eagle, was subdivided into many families, yet all these subdivisions were considered to have had a common origin, and the distinction between the two clans is said to be absolute in every respect. The clans have no governmental functions: their significance is restricted to matters pertaining to marriage and descent. When a man died, the members of his wife's clan, not of his own, conducted the funeral; and when his successor made a *potlatch*, that is, a

¹ J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, pp. 65 sq.

² Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 27 (*Report of the British*

Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint).

³ J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, pp. 112 sq.

Equivalence of the totemic clans in the various tribes.

Relations of the Haida clans and families to each other.

feast accompanied by a distribution of property, to set up the grave-post, he invited them to it. At other *potlatches* he only gave property to members of his own clan. Families of the same clan were also more apt to go to war together than those of opposite clans. The fundamental unit of Haida society was the family, and the family chief was the highest functionary. Generally the chief of the family was also chief of the town, but the larger places were usually inhabited by several families belonging to both the clans. In such places the town chief ranked first socially among the family chiefs; he sat in the highest place, directly in front of the inside house-pole at feasts, and properly had his house in the middle of the town. His reputation was increased by the presence of other families, and his power in war generally rose correspondingly, especially if the families were related to his. Further, every family was subdivided into households, each of which was governed by its own chief. The house chief's power was almost absolute, being only limited by the other chiefs and the barriers raised by custom. He could call his nephews together to make war, and as he fitted out the expedition, nearly all the slaves and other booty acquired in the war went to him. His influence with the other house chiefs varied with the amount of his property; and the power of family chiefs living in a town belonging to another family depended largely on the number and wealth of their people. Success in amassing property generally governed the selection of a new chief of the town, of the family, and of the house. The successor might be the own brother, own nephew, or a more distant relation of his predecessor. So far as any choice was exercised, it appears to have rested, in the case of a family or town chief, with the house chiefs, while the sentiments of a household probably had weight in deciding between claimants to the position of house chief. A chief's household was made up of the persons of his own immediate family who had no places for themselves, his nephews, his retainers or servants, and his slaves. A man's sister's sons were his right-hand men. They, or at least one of them, came to live with him in their youth, were trained by him, and spoke or acted for him in all social matters. The one

Haida
chiefs of
families,
towns, and
households.

Their
mode of
succession
and
election.

who was expected to succeed him often married his daughter. And on succeeding to the chieftainship a man often wedded one of the wives of his predecessor, the other wives, if there were others, returning to their families with liberty to marry again.¹

Dawson on
the rules of
succession
to a Haida
chieftaincy.

Dr. Dawson's account of the rules of succession to a Haida chieftainship agrees substantially with the foregoing, though he does not distinguish between the three grades of chiefs—the town chief, the family chief, and the house chief. He says: "The chieftaincy is hereditary, and on the death of a chief devolves upon his next eldest brother, or should he have no brother, on his nephew, or lacking both of these his sister or niece may in rare cases inherit the chieftaincy, though when this occurs it is probably only nominal. It is possible—as occasionally happens in the matter of succession to property—that a distant male relative may, in want of near kinsmen, be adopted by the mother of the deceased as a new son, and may inherit the chieftaincy. I have not, however, heard of cases of this kind. Should all these means of filling the succession fail, a new chief is then either elevated by the consensus of public opinion, or the most opulent and ambitious native attains the position by making a *potlatch*, or giving away of property, greater than any of the rest can afford. Should one man distribute ten blankets, the next may dispose of twenty, the first tries to cap this by a second distribution, and so on till the means of all but one have been exhausted. This form may in reality become a species of election, for should there be a strong feeling in favour of any particular man, his friends may secretly reinforce his means till he carries his point. In no case, however, does the chieftaincy pass from the royal clan to any of the lesser men of the tribe."²

In these accounts of election to a chieftaincy it is

¹ J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, pp. 66, 68-70. "When he came to grow up, the boy ceased to stay with his mother. There he was thought to have too easy a time, and became an object of contempt. He was generally sent to live with the uncle to whose place he was to succeed. There he was put

through a rather severe discipline, being kept at work out in the cold, etc." (J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 50). This account applies to nephews (the sons of sisters) in general, not to the nephews of chiefs only.

² G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1878*, p. 119 B.

interesting to observe the importance of private property in determining political power. Within certain limits the richest man is elevated to the highest position in the social group, whether that group is the household, the family, or the town; the rank of chief is put up to something like auction. Democracy among the Haidas is, or rather was, developing into a plutocracy. Here as in other political institutions of the Indians we seem to detect the germs of the corresponding institutions which their successors in North America have either already set up or to which, for good or evil, they appear to be gravitating.¹ With the Red Man of the North-West the blanket, his unit of currency, appears to be as omnipotent as the dollar with his white brother: by blankets a man acquires the respect and admiration of his fellows; by blankets he rises in the social scale; by blankets he attains to the highest position of power and influence in the community. And if in the old days in addition to blankets he possessed scalps which he had personally abstracted from the heads of a number of his fellow creatures, his claims to nobility were placed beyond a shadow of dispute; he stood on a pedestal of glory from which nothing but the loss of his blankets and scalps could possibly deject him. Things are changed nowadays, scalps and homicide have ceased to furnish a clear title of nobility, which is now based on blankets alone; it is no longer necessary that a nobleman should be stronger and more bloodthirsty than his fellows, but it is absolutely essential that he should have more blankets. To the acquisition of blankets, accordingly, the minds of the rising generation are trained from the dawn of intelligence; and to the acquisition of blankets the mature energies of the adult are directed with a single-minded devotion worthy of a better cause. Nor is the rivalry in this great race for blankets confined to individuals only; it is shared by whole clans, which are perpetually pitted against each other in their endeavour to surpass their rivals in the degree of their nobility, to crush or, to use their own expression, to flatten them under the weight of blankets. "Formerly," we are told, "feats of bravery counted as well as distributions of property, but

Import-
ance of
private
property
in deter-
mining
political
power
among
these
Indians.

Power of
the blanket,
the Haida
unit of
currency.

The
race for
blankets.

¹ See above, p. 156.

nowadays, as the Indians say, 'rivals fight with property only.'"¹

¹ Lest I should be thought to exaggerate the plutocratic tendency of society among these Indians, I will quote some of my authorities. Speaking of the Indians of British Columbia and Vancouver Island more than forty years ago a writer tells us that "the natives judge of rank by two tests in particular—the number of scalps and slaves taken in battle, and the amount of property accumulated. The latter symbol of power is eagerly coveted by them; and as blankets have come generally to be the chief representation of wealth, these are accumulated against the recurrence of the feasts of the tribe, when an opportunity is afforded of displaying the extent of individual resources" (Matthew Macfie, *Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, London, 1865, p. 429). Speaking of the same Indians in later times Dr. Franz Boas, one of the best living authorities on the subject, says: "Before proceeding any further it will be necessary to describe the method of acquiring rank. This is done by means of the *potlatch*, or the distribution of property. This custom has been described often, but it has been thoroughly misunderstood by most observers. The underlying principle is that of the interest-bearing investment of property. . . . The unit of value is the single blanket, now-a-days a cheap white woolen blanket, which is valued at 50 cents. The double blanket is valued at three single blankets. These blankets form the means of exchange of the Indians, and everything is paid for in blankets or in objects the value of which is measured by blankets. . . . Possession of wealth is considered honorable, and it is the endeavour of each Indian to acquire a fortune. But it is not as much the possession of wealth as the ability to give great festivals which makes wealth a desirable object to the Indian. As the boy acquires his second name and man's estate by means of a distribution of property, which in course of time will revert to him with interest, the man's name acquires greater weight in

the councils of the tribe and greater renown among the whole people, as he is able to distribute more and more property at each subsequent festival. Therefore boys and men are vying with each other in the arrangement of great distributions of property. Boys of different clans are pitted against each other by their elders, and each is exhorted to do his utmost to outdo his rival. And as the boys strive against each other, so do the chiefs and the whole clans, and the one object of the Indian is to outdo his rival. Formerly feats of bravery counted as well as distributions of property, but nowadays, as the Indians say, 'rivals fight with property only.' The clans are thus perpetually pitted against each other according to their rank. . . . I referred several times to the distribution of blankets. The recipient in such a distribution is not at liberty to refuse the gift, although according to what I have said it is nothing but an interest-bearing loan that must be refunded at some future time with 100 per cent interest. This festival is called *pasa*, literally, flattening something (for instance, a basket). This means that by the amount of property given the name of the rival is flattened." Thus the appearance of generosity displayed by the lavish distribution of property on these occasions is deceptive: the transaction, if Dr. Boas is right, springs from the most sordid motives, it is nothing but the lending of money, or the equivalent of money, on the most usurious and exorbitant interest. See Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 341-343. Although Dr. Boas is here dealing with the Kwakiutl in particular, his remarks appear to be applicable generally to the coast tribes of British Columbia. In one respect these savages are, from the purely economic point of view, even more advanced than ourselves; for with us

The succession to property, like the succession to chieftainship, runs among the Haidas in the female line. "The brother of the deceased inherits his property, or should there be no brother, a nephew, or the sister, or, failing all these, the mother. Occasionally some distant male relative may be adopted as a new son by the mother, and be made heir to the property. The wife may in some cases get a small share. As soon as the body has been enclosed in the coffin-box, and not before, the brother or other heir takes possession. When it can be amicably arranged, he also inherits the wife of the dead man, but should he be already married, the nephew or other relative on whom the succession would next devolve is supposed to marry the relict. Should there be no relative to marry her, she may be married again to any other man."¹

Succession to property among the Haidas is in the female line.

The levirate.

A chief might marry as many women as he chose; three or four were not uncommon, and there is a tradition of a chief who had ten; but polygamy does not seem to have been very frequent.² The common rule of avoidance between a man and his wife's parents was observed also by the Haidas. A man was bashful before his father-in-law and mother-in-law, and they were bashful before him; that is, they never addressed each other directly, if they could avoid it.³

Polygamy.

Mutual bashfulness of a man and his wife's parents.

The Haidas, like so many other Indian tribes of North America, possess the classificatory system of relationship. In the generation above his own a man calls all the men of his father's clan "fathers," but all the men of his mother's clan he calls "uncles"; and he calls all the women of his mother's clan "mothers." In his own generation he calls all the men of his own clan who are older than himself "elder brothers"; and all the men of his own clan who are younger than himself he calls "younger brothers"; all the women of his own generation and clan he calls his "sisters," but all

The classificatory system of relationship among the Haidas.

no man is as yet obliged by law to swell the bloated fortune of a usurer by accepting his loan at ruinous interest whenever he chooses to offer it. On blankets as the means of paving, or rather carpeting, the way to political power among the Haidas, see also G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen*

Charlotte Islands, 1878, p. 126 B.

¹ G. M. Dawson, *op. cit.* pp. 133 B sq.

² G. M. Dawson, *op. cit.* p. 130 B; J. R. Swanton *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 50.

³ J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 51.

the women of his own generation of the other clan before marriage he calls "cousins." In the generation below his own a man calls all the men and women of the other clan "children," and the women he calls also "daughters." A woman uses corresponding terms in speaking of members of her own and of the other clan. All the men of her father's generation and clan are her "fathers"; all the women of her mother's generation and clan are her "mothers"; all the women of her own generation and clan who are older than herself are her "elder sisters," and all the women of her own generation and clan who are younger than herself are her "younger sisters"; all the men of her own generation and clan are her "brothers"; and all the men and women of the generation below her own and of her own clan are her "children."¹

§ 4. *Totemism among the Tsimshians*

The Tsimshians.

The Tsimshians or Chimmesyans are a small stock of Indians speaking a language of their own, who inhabit the coast of the mainland of British Columbia from the Nass River on the north to Millbank Sound on the south. The valley of the Skeena River is included in their territory. In their social system, habits, and art they are closely allied to their neighbours on the north and west, the Tlingits and the Haidas, with whom they live on terms of friendly intercourse.

Tsimshian fisheries.

Like the other coast tribes they subsist mainly on the produce of the sea and the rivers. The annual runs of salmon on the Skeena River and of oolachen or candle-fish on the Nass River furnish them with an abundance of provisions at certain seasons. Oolachen are a great source of revenue to the Niska, the subdivision of the Tsimshians who inhabit the valley of the Nass River; for the oil of this fish is in great demand all along the coast and is indispensable for the great winter *potlatches*. Bears, mountain goats, and other wild animals are hunted, especially by the tribes of the interior. The horns of mountain goats are carved into handles for spoons used at feasts and *potlatches*, and are sold to other tribes for the same purpose. Although they are

¹ J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, pp. 62 sqq.

good carvers and builders of canoes, the Tsimshians are surpassed in these arts by the Haidas, from whom they still purchase canoes. Their houses are large square structures, solidly built of heavy cedar beams and planks and capable of accommodating from twenty to thirty people. Each house is, or was, presided over by a house chief, while every family and every town had a superior chief; under him were the members of his household, his more distant clan relations, and the servants and slaves. The Tsimshians or Chimmesyans fall into three main divisions, namely, the Tsimshians of the lower Skeena River, the Gitksans or Kitksans of the upper Skeena River, and the Niskas of the Nass River. The dialects of these three divisions differ somewhat, but their customs and institutions are practically identical; at least this is true of the Tsimshians of the lower Skeena and the Niskas of the Nass. Accordingly the following account may be taken to apply to both these divisions and probably to the whole of the Tsimshian stock.¹

Houses of
the Tsim-
shians.

Three
main
divisions
of the
Tsimshians.

The Tsimshians are divided into four exogamous clans, the Raven (*Kanhada*), the Eagle (*Laqskiyek*), the Wolf (*Laqkyebo*), and the Bear (*Gyispawaduveda*). Descent is reckoned in the female line; that is, children belong to the clan of their mother, not to the clan of their father. If he is a Raven and she is an Eagle, the children are Eagles; if he is a Wolf and she is a Bear, the children are Bears. And so on. Of these clans, the Bear is the most numerous, and it is also considered the noblest, because it derives its origin from Heaven, which, as we shall see, plays a great part in Tsimshian religion. The clans reside together in the villages, though members of all four clans are not necessarily found in every village. But in each village the houses of members of the same clan are grouped together.

Exogamous
clans of
the Tsim-
shians.

¹ *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 270 sq.; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 317-320; Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 27-29 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); *id.* in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the*

North-Western Tribes of Canada, pp. 48 sqq. (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint); *id.* in *Eleventh Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 11-13 (*Report of the British Association*, Liverpool, 1896, separate reprint).

Each clan has its own crests or emblems, of which the following is a partial list :—

TSMISHIAN CLANS AND CRESTS

Clan.	Crests.
Raven . . .	Raven, codfish, starfish.
Eagle . . .	Eagle, halibut, beaver, whale.
Wolf . . .	Wolf, crane, grizzly bear.
Bear . . .	Killer-whale (<i>Delphinus orca</i>), sun, moon, stars, rainbow, grouse, <i>tsemaks</i> (a sea-monster).

Thus every clan, except the Bear, has among its crests the animal after which it is named.

The personal names of each Tsimshian clan have reference not to the person's own totem (which he takes from his mother), but to his father's totem.

Each clan has also its own proper names, which are different for chiefs and for middle-class people. For the Tsimshians, like the other Indian tribes of North-West America, are divided into sharply-marked social ranks or classes, namely, common people, middle-class people, and chiefs. Common people are those who have not yet been initiated into a secret society; by being so initiated they become middle-class people or nobles, as the class is sometimes called; but they can never become chiefs, who form a distinct class. Curiously enough, though children take their clan from their mother, their clan names refer to their father's crest or totem, not to their mother's. Thus the son of a Raven man and an Eagle woman may be called (Raven)-having-no-nest; the daughter of a Raven man and a Bear woman may be called (Raven)-flying-in-front-of-the-house-early-in-the-morning; indeed the eldest daughter of such a marriage always bears this sonorous name, though in common life it is abridged from *Seopgyibayuk* into *Bayuk*. Again, the daughter of an Eagle man and a Raven woman may be called (Eagle)-sitting-on-the-ice or On-a-whale, the reference in either case being to the father's crest, since the whale as well as the eagle is a crest of the Eagle clan. The daughter of an Eagle man and a Wolf woman may be called Eagle-having-one-colour-of-wings. The daughter of a Bear man and an Eagle woman may be called Great-noise (of killer-

whale) or Great-fin (of killer-whale), the reference in both cases being to the killer-whale, which is a crest of the father's Bear clan.¹ Why with maternal descent of the clan the personal names should refer to the paternal crests is not plain; perhaps the custom of naming children after their father's crest marks an attempt to shift descent from the maternal to the paternal line, or at least to strengthen the ties between a father and his children.

Perhaps the custom marks a transition from maternal to paternal descent.

The following account of the system of crests or totems, given by Commander R. C. Mayne, in his book on British Columbia and Vancouver Island, while it is couched in general terms, perhaps applies specially to the Tsimshians; for it incorporates the evidence of Mr. William Duncan, of the Church Missionary Society, who laboured successfully as a missionary among the Tsimshians at Fort Simpson from the year 1857 onwards. The information conveyed in this account is particularly valuable, because it refers to a time when the Indians of British Columbia were still comparatively little affected by white influence, and when, moreover, the importance of totemism in the early history of society was not yet recognised by civilised men, so that their observations on the subject were unbiassed by theories and prepossessions. Commander Mayne's account runs thus:—²

Mayne's account of the crests or totems of the Indians of British Columbia.

"I have previously had occasion to refer to the fashion among the Indians of carving the faces of animals upon the ends of the large beams which support the roofs of their permanent lodges. In addition, it is very usual to find representations of the same animals painted over the front of the lodge. These crests, which are commonly adopted by all the tribes, consist of the whale, porpoise, eagle, raven, wolf, and frog, etc. In connexion with them are some curious and interesting traits of the domestic and social life

The crests carved and painted.

¹ Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 27 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); *id.* in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 48-50 (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint); *Hand-book of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 271.

² Commander R. C. Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island* (London, 1862), pp. 257 sq. As to Mr. William Duncan's work among the Tsimshians at Port Simpson, see *ibid.* pp. 305 sqq. Commander Mayne incorporates in his book much valuable information furnished to him by Mr. Duncan. See particularly *ibid.* pp. 249 sq., 254 sq., 263 sqq., 284 sqq.

Persons of
the same
crest may
not marry
each other.

of the Indians. The relationship between persons of the same crest is considered to be nearer than that of the same tribe ; members of the same tribe may, and do, marry—but those of the same crest are not, I believe, under any circumstances allowed to do so. A Whale, therefore, may not marry a Whale, nor a Frog a Frog. The child again always takes the crest of the mother ; so that if the mother be a Wolf, all her children will be Wolves. As a rule also, descent is traced from the mother, not from the father.

The
Indians
will not kill
their crest
animals.

“ At their feasts they never invite any of the same crest as themselves : feasts are given generally for the cementing of friendship or allaying of strife, and it is supposed that people of the same crest cannot quarrel ; but I fear this supposition is not always supported by fact. Mr. Duncan, who has considerable knowledge of their social habits, says that the Indian will never kill the animal which he has adopted for his crest, or which belongs to him as his birth-right. If he sees another do it he will hide his face in shame, and afterwards demand compensation for the act. The offence is not killing the animal, but doing so before one whose crest it is. They display these crests in other ways besides those I have mentioned, viz. by carving or painting them on their paddles or canoes, by the arrangement of the buttons on their blankets, or by large figures in front of their houses or their tombs. They have another whimsical custom in connexion with these insignia : whenever or wherever an Indian chooses to exhibit his crest, all individuals bearing the same family-figure are bound to do honour to it by casting property before it, in quantities proportionate to the rank and wealth of the giver. A mischievous or poor Indian, therefore, desiring to profit by this social custom, paints his crest upon his forehead, and looks out for an opportunity of meeting a wealthy person of the same family-crest as himself. Upon his approach he advances to meet him, and when near enough displays his crest to the unsuspecting victim ; and, however disgusted the latter may be, he has no choice but to make the customary offering of property of some sort or other.”

Presents
must be
made to
a person
whenever
he exhibits
his crest.

In this account of the Indian crests we find almost all the characteristic features of typical totemism, namely, clans

taking their names from animals, using the likenesses of the animals as their badges, refusing to kill the animals after which they are named, or to marry women who have the same animal name and badge as themselves, and, finally, transmitting the name, the badge, and the attendant prohibitions in the female line from the mother, not from the father, to the children. Yet the writer does not use the words totem and totemism, probably because writing in 1862 he had not heard of them. This example should serve as a warning against hastily inferring the absence of the thing from the absence of the word.¹ Certainly the Indians with whom we are dealing do not use the word totem, but they have the institution in a form identical with that in which it occurs among the most typically totemic tribes of North America.

This is typical totemism ; yet the writer who describes it does not employ the words totem and totemism.

The statement made on Mr. Duncan's authority that the Indians will never kill the animals which serve as their crests is particularly important in its bearing on the question of the relation in which a man stands to his totem animal. So far as I remember, no other writer on these North-Western Indians has mentioned their reluctance to kill their totemic animals. In the course of this work I have repeatedly called attention to the paucity of evidence on this important side of totemism in the writings of American ethnologists. Unfortunately it is not quite clear whether in the passage quoted Mr. Duncan refers to the clan totem or to the individual totem, that is, to the *manitoo* ; but apparently Commander Mayne understood him to refer to what we should now call the clan totem, for throughout the rest of the passage he speaks of the crest as if it were the badge of a family, and of an exogamous family, in other words, as if it were a clan totem. If this interpretation of Mr. Duncan's statement is correct, it would seem to follow that the respect for the clan totem which he describes has either disappeared since his time or, what is perhaps more probable, has been overlooked or deemed unworthy of mention by later writers.

The reluctance to kill the totemic animals seems not to be mentioned by later writers.

"In all festivals," says Dr. Boas, speaking of the Niskas, "the totems of the clan play an important part. Carvings representing the totem are worn as masks or head-dresses ;

Artificial representations of the totems on houses, poles, etc.

¹ See above, vol. ii. p. 151, note ¹.

Dances
dramatic-
ally repre-
senting the
myths.

Dance
of the
thunder-
bird.

Dance of
the owl.

they are painted or carved on houses and utensils, and on memorial columns and totem poles. In all initiations an artificial totem animal brings back the novice."¹ Some of the dances are dramatic representations of myths. In one ceremony, for example, the mythical thunder-bird is personated by a man dressed in eagle feathers and wearing the mask of the thunder-bird, while mock lightning flashes, mock thunder rolls, and the spectators are drenched with real water thrown on them from the roof. This drama is accompanied by a chorus of women who sing the myth which is being acted by the performers.² Again, the Bear clan possesses a mask representing an owl surrounded by many small human heads. This mask is worn at *potlatches* to commemorate the sad story of a woman who was carried off by an owl. He took her away to the top of a tree and there she was heard by her people to weep. They tried to save her, but could not climb the tree. After a time she dried her tears and married the owl. They had a son. When he grew up, the mother told the father owl that she wished to send her son home to her own people. Then his father composed a song for him. His mother told him to carve a head-dress in the shape of an owl, which he was to wear when he danced and to sing the song composed for him by his father the owl. She bade her son good-bye and said that her husband was about to carry her away to a land far off. But the owl first brought her and her son to the house of the old chief her father. When the chief's wife saw the unknown boy, she was afraid; but her daughter spoke to her and said that the boy was her grandson. So the old woman took the boy into her house, while the boy's mother and the owl disappeared. When the boy was grown up, his mother's brother gave a *potlatch* in his honour; and before the blankets were distributed, the boy danced, wearing the head-dress of the owl and singing the song which his father the owl had composed for him.³

¹ Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 50 (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint). As to the ceremonies of initiation into the secret societies

see below, pp. 538 sq.

² Franz Boas, *op. cit.* p. 52.

³ Franz Boas, *op. cit.* p. 51 (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret

The Bear clan of the Tsimshians also tell the following tale to explain why they use the crest of the bear. Once upon a time an Indian went out to hunt the mountain-goat. Far away in the mountains he met a black bear, who took him to his home, and taught him how to catch salmon and build canoes. For two whole years the man staid with the bear; then he returned to his own village. But when he came there, all the people were afraid of him because he looked just like a bear. However, one man bolder than the rest caught him and brought him into the house. At first the bear-like man could not speak nor eat anything but raw food. But they rubbed him with magic herbs, and gradually he was retransformed into the shape of a man. After that, whenever he was in want, he called his friend the bear, who came to his help. In winter, when the rivers were frozen and nobody else could fish, he alone caught fresh salmon. He built a house and painted the likeness of a bear on the front of it. His sister, too, wove the image of a bear on a blanket to be used in the dance. Therefore the descendants of the bear-man's sister use the bear for their crest to this day.¹

Legend of the Bear clan to explain their bear crest.

Again, the Whale clan among the Tsimshians tell the following story to explain why they use the whale crest. Once upon a time a man went out fishing. For three days he fished and caught nothing. Then he cast anchor at a place where a steep hill descended into the water. It so happened that his anchor fell on the house of the whale, who drew the man and his boat to the bottom of the sea. For two whole years the man staid with the whale at the bottom of the sea, and the two years seemed to him like two days. The whale taught him the whale dance and how to ornament his house with the pattern of a whale. When the two years were up, the man rose to the top of the water and returned home, all covered with seaweed. There he

Legend of the Whale clan to explain their whale crest.

Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 324 sq.

¹ Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 24 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne,

1889, separate reprint); *id.*, *Indianische Sagen von der nord-pazifischen Küste Amerikas* (Berlin, 1895), p. 293; *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), p. 323.

built a house and painted a whale on the front of it. Also he used the mask and the blanket of the whale when he danced. So the descendants of his sisters have used the whale crest ever since.¹

Legend of
the Raven
clan to
explain
their sea-
monster
crest.

Again, members of the Raven clan among the Tsimshians tell the following story to explain why they carve sea-monsters as their crests on their heraldic columns or totem-poles. There was a great chief who, like the man of the Whale clan, had been taken to the bottom of the sea. Once upon a time he invited the chiefs of the whole earth to a great feast which was to be held at Nass River. All the monsters of the coast came, using killer-whales (*Delphinus orca*) for their boats. So numerous were they that the river swarmed with them. They landed and entered the chief's house, each clad in his peculiar dress, and whenever one of them opened the door, water flowed in after him. Some of these monsters were very dangerous and used to kill everybody who passed by their houses. They all sat down in order in the chief's house, the most dangerous taking their seats at the rear and the less dangerous round the platform nearer the door; and they all kindly promised not to kill people any more, and when they returned home they were as good as their word, for they removed their houses from the track of canoes plying between the villages. So the chief imitated the dresses of the sea-monsters who had been his guests; and he wore these dresses himself, and his descendants carve the sea-monsters on their columns down to this day.²

The
Tsimshians
and other
northern
Indians
explain the
origin of
their
totems by
stories of
the en-
counter
of their

These Tsimshian legends of the acquisition of crests are typical of the stories told by all the northern Indians—the Tlingits, the Haidas, and the Tsimshians—to explain the origin of their crests. Such stories normally relate how an ancestor of the clan fell in with a beast or fish or bird, who became his helper and whose likeness accordingly the man's descendants in the female line have ever since used as their crest. But it is to be observed that they never, or hardly ever, claim to be descended from the animal, fish,

¹ Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 24 (*Report of the*

British Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint).

² Franz Boas, *l.c.*

or bird in question: according to tradition the creature which they use as their crest was the friend and protector, not the progenitor, of their ancestor. Thus these legends of the acquisition of clan crests or totems remind us strongly of the mode in which the eastern Indians of North America acquired their *manitoos* or individual totems, as I have called them.¹ The resemblance between the myths of the North-Western Indians and the practice of the eastern Indians of North America has been justly pointed out and emphasised by Dr. Boas. "There are a great many cases," he observes, "among the northern tribes in which the crest was acquired by an ancestor of the family in the same way as Indians of the plains acquire a *manitou*. It is told how a man went out into the wilderness, and in the course of events met a supernatural being or animal, which henceforth became his protector. The difference between the north-west coast traditions and those of the plains consists in the fact that the animal once acquired was transmitted by the ancestor to his sister's children. There is hardly a case of traditions in which the family claims direct descent from the crest animal."² On the ground of this resemblance Dr. Boas inclines to believe that the clan totems of the North-Western tribes originated in the same way as the individual or personal totems (*manitoos*) of the eastern tribes; in other words, that they were all originally the guardians or patrons of individuals, who transmitted them to their descendants in the female line.³ We shall return to this question later on.

Among the Tsimshian and other Indian tribes of the northern coast of British Columbia great importance is attached to the possession of the clan legends, of which

ancestor with an animal of the totemic species; they do not trace their descent from the animal. Thus the mode in which the totems were acquired resembles the mode of acquisition of a *manitou* or guardian-spirit among the eastern Indians.

Great importance attached to the possession of the clan legends.

¹ See above, vol. i. pp. 49 *sqq.*, and below, pp. 372 *sqq.*

² Franz Boas, in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 241. Compare *id.* in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 23, 24 *sq.* (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); *id.* in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on*

the North-Western Tribes of Canada, pp. 674 *sq.* (*Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 323 *sq.*, 336-338, 393.

³ See the references in the preceding note.

a few specimens have just been given. Indeed the legend is deemed one of the most valuable properties and highest prerogatives of each clan or family; it is carefully guarded in the same way as material property, and if any person attempts to tell a tradition which does not belong to his clan, he commits one of the gravest offences against the rights of property which are recognised in the Indian code of morality.¹

Tsimshian
burial
customs.

Among the Tsimshians a burial is attended by members of the clan of the father of the deceased, who are paid for their services. They double the body up, place it in a box, and burn it on a pyre; with the body they also burn food and clothing for the use of the deceased. Men and women sit round the blazing pyre and sing all the cradle songs of the clan which are contained in their legends. The remains are then deposited in a small box and placed on a tree.²

Reported
worship of
Heaven
among the
Tsimshians.

Apart from their totemism the Tsimshians are reported to practise a pure worship of heaven. In their opinion Heaven is the great deity, but he has a number of subordinates or mediators called *neqnoq*. While any natural object can be a *neqnoq*, the most important are the sun and moon, spirits appearing in the form of lightning-flashes, and animals. *Neqnoq* means anything mysterious. It is the supernatural will of the deity and also the whistle which is used in the dances and is kept a profound secret. Heaven rules the destinies of mankind; Heaven taught men to distinguish between good and bad, and gave them their religious laws and institutions. Heaven is worshipped by offerings and prayers; the smoke rising from fires is especially agreeable to him. Murderers, adulterers, and those who behave foolishly, talking to no purpose and making a noise at night, are particularly hateful to him. He loves those who take pity upon the poor, who do not try to become rich by selling at high prices what others want. Men make themselves agreeable to the deity by

¹ Franz Boas, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, p. 123 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, 1898).

² Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 52 (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint).

cleanliness. Therefore they must bathe and wash their whole bodies before praying. For the same reason they take an emetic when they wish to please the deity well. They fast and abstain from their wives if they desire their prayers to be successful, and they offer by fire whatever they deem valuable, such as eagle-down, red paint, red cedar-bark, lines made of elk-skin, and so forth. However, they think that they can compel the deity to grant their wishes by observing a rigid fast. For seven days they must abstain from food and from seeing their wives. During these days they have to lie in bed motionless. At the expiry of the time they may rise, wash themselves, comb the right side of their head, and paint the right side of their face.¹

This curious worship of Heaven deserves to be further investigated. It may have been coloured by the influence of the missionaries who laboured for years among these Indians. Mr. William Duncan, of the Church Missionary Society, took up residence among the Tsimshians at Fort Simpson in 1857 and established a school which was attended by many pupils both old and young. In November 1859 he reported that "there is amongst the Indians a great stir of opinion against their heathenish winter-customs, and four of the tribes out of nine have, indeed, cut them off. Those tribes which still adhere to them are carrying them on exceedingly feebly"; and about a year later in an examination held at Victoria pupils drawn from the Tsimshians, Haidas, and Songhies displayed some knowledge of Bible history.² From them the knowledge might easily spread to their heathen brethren and so modify their ancient customs and beliefs.

This
worship
of Heaven
may be
coloured by
missionary
influence.

§ 5. Totemism among the Kwakiutl

To the south of the Tsimshians, from Gardner Channel to Cape Mudge, the coast of British Columbia, with the

The
Kwakiutl.

¹ Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 49 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint).

² Commander R. C. Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver's Island*, pp. 305 sqq., especially pp. 319, 345 sq.

Three
dialects :
the Haisla,
Heiltsuk,
and
Kwakiutl
proper.

exception of the region about Dean Inlet, is occupied by the Kwakiutl, an Indian stock who speak a language differing from that both of their northern and of their southern neighbours. The Kwakiutl language itself falls into three dialects : the Haisla (Xaisla), the Heiltsuk, and the Kwakiutl proper, to mention them in their order from north to south. The Haisla (Xaisla) dialect is spoken on Gardner and Douglas Channels ; the Heiltsuk, from Gardner Channel to Rivers Inlet ; and the Kwakiutl proper, from Rivers Inlet to Cape Mudge, including the north-eastern portion of Vancouver Island.¹ In these three linguistic and geographical divisions of the Kwakiutl stock the types of social organisation all differ more or less from each other. We will take them in order from north to south.

Totemic
clans of the
Haisla-
Kwakiutl.

The most northerly members of the stock, who speak the Haisla (Xaisla) dialect, are divided into six totemic and exogamous clans, which take their names and their crests from their totemic animals and are called respectively the Beaver, Eagle, Wolf, Salmon, Raven, and Killer-whale (*Delphinus orca*) clans. To the south of them the members of the stock, who speak the Heiltsuk dialect, are divided into three totemic and exogamous clans, which also take their names and their crests from their totemic animals and are called respectively the Raven, the Eagle, and the Killer-whale clans.² Together, the tribes speaking the Haisla and the Heiltsuk dialects form the northern group of the Kwakiutl. Among them descent on the whole is in the female line,

Totemic
clans of the
Heiltsuk-
Kwakiutl.

Among the
Northern
Kwakiutl
(Haisla and

¹ Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), p. 320 ; *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 744 sq. Compare F. Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 31 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint) ; *id.* in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 52 sqq. (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint), with the map facing the title-page.

² Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the*

Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada, pp. 29, 31 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint) ; *id.* in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 52 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint) ; *id.* in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 674-676 (*Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898) ; *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 322 sq., 328.

that is, children belong to the clan of their mother, not to that of their father. But this rule, though it is general, is not absolute; for in certain cases the parents are free to assign their children to the father's clan instead of to the mother's.¹ Thus the type of social organisation which prevails among the Northern Kwakiutl, who speak the Haisla and Heiltsuk dialects, closely resembles that of their neighbours to the north—the Tsimshians, the Haidas, and the Tlingits. All these peoples are subdivided into totemic and exogamous clans with descent in the female line. And the rule of exogamy is not limited to a single people, it extends to them all; a Heiltsuk man of the Eagle clan, for example, cannot marry a Tlingit woman of the Eagle phratry; for those exogamous divisions which possess the same crest or totem are regarded as equivalent to each other, whether they are found among the Heiltsuks, the Tsimshians, the Haidas, or the Tlingits.²

Heiltsuk)
descent is
generally
in the
female line.

But while the social organisation of the Northern Kwakiutl, who speak the Haisla and Heiltsuk dialects, agrees closely with that of their northern neighbours of alien stocks, it differs decidedly from that of their southern brethren of the same stock, the Kwakiutl proper, who have paternal instead of maternal descent and among whom totemic clans of the ordinary type appear to be absent. To account for this remarkable difference between two branches of the same linguistic stock, Dr. Boas supposes that the Northern Kwakiutl have borrowed both the rule of maternal descent and the division into totemic clans from their still more northerly neighbours of alien stocks; in other words,

Among the
Southern
Kwakiutl
(the
Kwakiutl
proper)
there are
no totems,
and descent
is in the
male line.

Dr. Boas's
view
that the
Northern
Kwakiutl
have

¹ Franz Boas, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians* (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*), p. 121; *id.* "The Tribes of the North Pacific Coast," *Annual Archaeological Report*, 1905 (Toronto), p. 239. So predominant is the custom of female descent among the Northern Kwakiutls that Dr. Boas formerly believed it to be invariable. The researches of Dr. Livingston Farrand, he tells us, revealed the exceptions to the rule.

Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada, p. 32 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint): "One of the main facts is that the phratries, viz. gentes of the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, and Heiltsuk, are exogamous, not only among each tribe, but throughout the whole region. A member of the eagle gens of the Heiltsuk, for instance, cannot marry a member of the eagle phratry of the Tlingit. Those gentes are considered identical which have the same crest."

² Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the*

borrowed
totemism
and female
descent
from their
northern
neigh-
bours.

that totemism and mother-kin have spread southward among a people who previously had father-kin and no totemic system.¹ Whatever may be thought of the hypothesis that totemism has been borrowed by one people from another, the theory that a people who once possessed paternal descent afterwards exchanged it for maternal descent would require very strong evidence in its support to make it probable, since both intrinsic probability and analogy are strongly against it. For it seems very unlikely that men who had once been accustomed to transmit their rights and privileges to their own children, should afterwards disinherit them and transmit these rights and privileges to their sisters' children instead ; and in point of fact, while there are a good many symptoms of a transition from maternal to paternal

¹ Lest I should have misinterpreted Dr. Boas's opinion on this subject I will transcribe his own words. See Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 29 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint) : "The most southern tribe which belongs to this group [the Heiltsuk] are the Awikyenog of Rivers Inlet. Further south, and among the Bilqula [Bella Coola], patriarchy prevails. The social organisation of these tribes differs fundamentally from that of the northern group. We do not find a single clan that has, properly speaking, an animal for its totem ; neither do the clans take their names from their crest, nor are there phratries" ; *id.* in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 52 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint) : "The Kwakiutl language is spoken in two main dialects, the Heiltsuk, from Gardner Channel to Rivers Inlet, and the Kwakiutl proper. . . . The tribes speaking the Heiltsuk and Gyimano-itq dialects are in the maternal stage, and are divided into gentes having animal totems ; while the southern group are in the paternal stage, and are divided into gentes which have no animal-crest" ; *id.*, *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 676 (*Report of the British*

Association, Bristol, 1898) : "The northern tribes have clearly defined totems, which are inherited in the maternal line, and which have animal names and crests. . . . The northern tribes of Kwakiutl lineage show clearly that their ideas have been influenced by the animal totem of the northern tribes. They have adopted to a great extent the maternal descent and the division into animal totems of the northern tribes. The social organisation of the Heiltsuk, one of the most northern tribes of Kwakiutl lineage, is similar to that of the Tsimshian, while their southern neighbours, the inhabitants of Rivers Inlet, who speak the same dialect, retain the more complex organisation of the Kwakiutl [proper] ; but they have mainly maternal descent" ; *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), p. 323 : "Animal totems in the proper sense of this term are confined to these five groups or tribes [the Tlingits, Haidas, Tsimshians, Haislas, and Heiltsuks]. They are not found among the Kwakiutl, although they belong to the same linguistic stock to which the Xaisla and Heiltsuq belong. The clans of the northern tribes bear the names of their respective totems and are exogamous."

descent in other parts of the world,¹ there is, so far as I know, none whatever of a transition in the reverse direction from paternal descent to maternal.

The social organisation of the Southern Kwakiutl differs widely from that of their northern congeners, and is both complex and peculiar. Our principal, almost our only authority on the subject is Dr. Franz Boas, and even he confesses that the subject is very difficult to understand.² Others may therefore be excused if they find it even less intelligible. Apparently the Kwakiutl proper are divided into a large number of kindred groups which Dr. Boas variously denominates as groups, clans, gentes, and families, but which for the sake of uniformity I shall call clans. These clans are not at the present day local groups, for a considerable number of them are represented in each village.³ But in Dr. Boas's opinion each of these clans was originally a local group or village community. He says: "The traditions of the clans show clearly what we must consider the original unit of society among the Kwakiutl. Each clan derives its origin from a mythical ancestor, who built his house at a certain place and whose descendants lived at that place. In a great many cases these places prove to be old village sites. In some, large accumulations of shells are found, which show that they have been inhabited through long periods. We conclude, therefore, that the clan was originally a village community, which, owing to changes in number or for purposes of defense, left their old home and joined some other community, retaining, however, to a certain extent its independence."⁴ The clans are in general exogamous, but the custom is not definitely settled, and some clans prefer to marry within their own limits. On the whole, however, marriages outside of the clan are more frequent, because men are

The social organisation of the Southern Kwakiutl is complex and obscure.

Their clans seem to have been originally local groups or village communities.

In general the clans are exogamous.

¹ See, for examples, above, vol. ii. pp. 15, 17, 195-197, 365, 409; vol. iii. pp. 72 sq., 80, 132, 136, 174 sq., 308 sq.

² Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 56 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint).

³ F. Boas, in *Annual Archaeological*

Report, 1905 (Toronto), p. 240. Here Dr. Boas speaks of the kindred groups as families.

⁴ F. Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 333 sq.

Each Kwakiutl clan has one or more crests and a legend explanatory of the crest. These legends are of two kinds.

anxious in this way to acquire the privilege of using new and important crests.¹ For every Kwakiutl clan possesses a crest or crests consisting of representations of beasts, birds, fabulous monsters, the sun, moon, and so forth. These crests are carved or painted on their houses, heraldic columns or totem-poles, masks, and dancing paraphernalia. Among the beasts and birds which the Kwakiutl use as crests are the bear, wolf, beaver, sea-lion, killer-whale, raven, eagle, and crane; among the fabulous monsters are the thunder-bird, a double-headed snake called *sisiul*, a wild woman with long breasts named Tsonoqoa, who lives in the woods and steals children to devour them, and the spirit of the sea called Iomoqoa, who protects seals and kills hunters. A clan may have several crests; for example, there is one that has for its crests the thunder-bird, crane, grizzly bear, raven, and sun. Each clan has its legend to explain how it came to possess a particular crest. Roughly speaking, these legends are of two kinds. In many of them an ancestor of the clan is said to have met with an animal or a supernatural being, who became his protector and whom accordingly he and his descendants adopted as their crest; in others the ancestor is said to have appeared on earth from above or below or from under the sea wearing the dress, skin, or mask of an animal or a supernatural being, which he afterwards put off.² I

¹ Franz Boas, in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 240: "According to the group system of the northern tribes, each family of the village community must be necessarily exogamic. The custom among the Kwakiutl is not definitely settled, some of the families preferring marriages outside the group, while others prefer marriages in the group. On the whole, marriages outside of the group are more frequent on account of the eagerness of individuals to secure the privilege of using new and important crests." Here Dr. Boas seems to use the terms group and family as equivalent. This is, so far as I know, Dr. Boas's latest statement on the subject. At first he expressed himself with some hesitation, but believed that marriage

within the clan (gens) was absolutely prohibited. See *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 32 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint). Afterwards he affirmed without qualification that the Kwakiutl clans are exogamous. See Franz Boas, in "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), p. 334; *id.*, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, p. 122 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, November 1898).

² Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes*

will illustrate both these classes of legends, beginning with the former.

For example, it is said that the ancestor of the Omanitsenox clan fell in with a number of killer-whales, which had assumed the shape of men and were mending their nets. The chief of these Killer-whale men gave the ancestor the quartz-pointed whaling harpoon, his names, and the right to paint the killer-whale as his crest on the front of his house. Again, the first ancestor of the Kuexa clan is said to have been out hunting bears and to have met with a fabulous bird supposed to resemble a crane. The bird pecked at him and tried to kill him, but he dodged behind a cedar-tree and escaped. When he came home, he carved an image of the crane out of yellow cedar and set it up on the top of a pole outside of his house, and it became the crest of his clan. These legends, as Dr. Boas has pointed out, present a close analogy to the mode in which among the eastern Indians of America a man acquires his individual totem, guardian spirit, or *manitoo*.¹ Again, the Kwatsenok clan tell how a supernatural being came down from heaven in the shape of a bird with a neck-ring of red cedar-bark, how he built a house, cured one of the Kwatsenok clan of madness, and gave him the neck-ring. Since then members of the clan have danced a certain dance wearing neck-rings of red cedar-bark.² Again, the Gapenox clan tell of an ancestor of theirs called Counsellor-of-the-World, who lived with his people at Grassy Place. The world was then dark, for the sun never rose, being kept shut up in a box by Day-Receptacle-Woman, who lived at Cut-Beach. So Counsellor-of-the-World walked to see the village at Cut-Beach. There he discovered Day-Receptacle-Woman

Examples of the first kind of legends.

Origin of the killer-whale crest.

Origin of the crane crest.

Origin of the neck-rings of cedar-bark.

Origin of the day-break mask.

of Canada, pp. 29-32 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 335 sqq., 371 sqq.; *id.* "The Tribes of the North Pacific Coast," *Annual Archaeological Report*, 1905 (Toronto), pp. 239-242.

¹ Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 336 sq.

² Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 29 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint).

sitting in her house eating salmon. At once he turned himself into a baby and entered her womb. So she conceived and in four days she gave birth to a boy, who was no other than Counsellor-of-the-World himself. Then Counsellor-of-the-World cried for the box in which the sun was shut up; and at last to stop him from crying his mother gave it to him. He put it in a canoe and paddled away with it. Then he opened the box, let out the sun, and took off the double-headed serpent-mask of the sun. So it grew light in the world. The Sun spoke and said, "O friend! don't keep me, let me go to the upper world, and let me take care of our world, and it will become day. Now you have my double-headed serpent-mask." Also the Sun said, "O friend! just take care that you don't do any harm to my double-headed serpent-mask. Show the daybreak mask in the winter dance." Thus said the Sun. Then Counsellor-of-the-World bade him good-bye, and the Sun went up into the sky. That is why the Gapenox clan have the daybreak mask and red cedar-bark. They were all inside the box with the Sun.¹

Examples
of the
second
kind of
legends.

Descent
of the
Neentsa
clan from
an eagle.

In the other class of legends which the Kwakiutl tell to explain the origin of their crests, it is said that the ancestor of the clan came down from heaven, or up from the under-world, or out of the sea, wearing the dress, skin, or mask of an animal or supernatural being, that he afterwards doffed the dress, mask, skin, or other disguise and appearing as a man became the progenitor of the clan, who henceforth adopted the animal or thing as their crest. For example, the Neentsa clan tell how two eagles and their eaglet descended from heaven at Cape Scott, where they took off their eagle-skins and became men. The eaglet, or rather the young man, was afterwards drowned at sea, but he awoke to new life, flew up to heaven in the shape of an eagle, and then flew down again, still in the form of an eagle, to his sorrowful parents, who had given him up for dead. In his talons he bore

¹ Franz Boas and George Hunt, *Kwakiutl Texts*, ii. 393-397 (*Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, December 1902). This story

of the stealing of the Sun by a cunning hero is widespread among the Indians of North-West America. The Tlingits, for example, tell it of Yehl the Raven. See above, p. 293, note ¹.

a box in which were many whistles to imitate the eagle's scream. Also he wore a double mask and a neck-ring of red cedar-bark, and he became the ancestor of the Neentsa clan.¹ Again, the Sisintle clan, who have the sun for their crest, tell how the sun (*sentlae*) came down from heaven in the shape of a bird, took the likeness of a man, and wandering about the earth came at last to a place called "the Plain at the mouth of the river, where the clover-root is found," in the land of the Kwakiutl. In every tribe which he visited he married a wife, and their descendants are the clan Sisintle. But he resolved to settle among the Kwakiutl in the plain where the root of the clover grows. There he took a Kwakiutl woman to wife, and she conceived and bore him a son. And you may see their house there to this day. On each side of the door is painted a great image of the sun, and the posts are carved in the likeness of men each carrying a sun; and the crossbars which rest upon the posts are also carved like men, but the beams are sea-lions. And in winter, when people dance, the Sisintle clan wear the mask of the sun, and also the mask of a dog called the Sun-Shining-Red-through-the-Clouds; for that dog came down from heaven with the sun. And the heraldic column, or what people commonly call the totem pole, of the clan represents a series of copper plates with a man above them, and above that again is a mask of the sun with beams radiating from it.² Again, the Gexsem clan relate the following legend to explain their use of a certain mask, which represents the son of Qomoqoa, the Spirit of the Sea. They say that the Raven, the ancestor of the clan, had a sister, the Crow, and a daughter named Hataqa. One day the Crow and Hataqa went down to the beach to gather sea-urchins. When they had filled their baskets, the Crow tempted Hataqa to eat of the sea-urchins, so she took of them and ate. But the Crow told the girl's father the Raven,

Descent of
the Sisintle
clan from
the sun in
the shape
of a bird.

Descent of
the Gexsem
clan from
the Spirit
of the Sea.

¹ Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 29 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint).

² Franz Boas, *op. cit.* pp. 29 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint).

and he was very angry, and sailed away with all his people in canoes, leaving his daughter alone in the deserted village. Only a dog and a bitch remained behind with the maiden, and they helped her. So she made four fish-baskets and at low water she placed them on the beach. At the next tide she found the baskets full of fish, and in one of the baskets was a man. He was the son of the Spirit of the Sea, and he carried a box which was small but very heavy, for it contained a whale. He built a large house and married the girl, and he invited all the tribes to a feast and gave them whale flesh to eat. So his descendants still use the mask which represents their ancestor, the son of the Spirit of the Sea. And when they shew the mask they sing this song:—

*It is a tale which came down to us from the beginning of the world.
You came up, bringing the house of the Spirit of the Sea, you "Growing rich,"
"Wealth coming ashore," "Covered with wealth," "Mountain of Property,"
"Really great Mountain." It is a tale which came down to us from the beginning of the world.*¹

Descent
of the
Gigilqam
clan
from the
thunder-
bird.

In some of the foregoing legends a clan traces its descent from an ancestor who first appeared in the form of a bird. Similarly the Gigilqam clan has a tradition that they are descended from the mythical thunder-bird; and the beak of the bird was carved and fastened as a crest to the front of their house, which was also excellently painted till the misplaced zeal of a missionary obliterated the gay heathen blazon under a coat of whitewash.² In

Descent of
a clan from
its crest
animal
resembles
the descent
of a clan
from its
totem; in
fact the
crest
animals
seem to be
totems.

these cases the descent of a clan from its crest animal resembles the descent of a clan from its totem animal, of which we have met with many examples in the course of this work; and on that and other grounds we might naturally conclude that the animals, supernatural beings, and other objects from which the Kwakiutl clans take their crests are simply their totems. Dr. Boas himself has taken this view in his general summary of the social system of the Indian tribes of this region; for he tells

¹ Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the*

United States National Museum for 1895 (Washington, 1897), p. 374.

² Franz Boas, *op. cit.* pp. 375 sq.

us that "the Kwakiutl are divided into a number of clans, most of which have animals for their totems. Most of these totems are explained in the same manner as those of the northern tribes, while others are considered direct descendants of the totem animal."¹ Yet elsewhere Dr. Boas repeatedly denies that the Kwakiutl clans have animal totems.² But as the passage just quoted in which he affirms Kwakiutl totemism is later than those in which he denies it, we may suppose that it represents his more mature opinion, and I shall follow him in that opinion with the less hesitation because it seems to me difficult to distinguish the crest system of the Kwakiutl clans from totemism proper.

However, the Kwakiutl system has certainly some peculiar features which sharply discriminate it, as Dr. Boas has rightly pointed out, from the more normal totemism of their northern congeners the Haislas and the Heiltsuks. In the first place, while among the Haislas and the Heiltsuks the clans are limited in number to six and three respectively, among the Kwakiutl proper the number of the clans is much greater and indeed apparently unlimited.³ Second, while the clans of the Haislas and Heiltsuks are named after totems, the clans of the Kwakiutl are not so named,⁴ but are called either by the collective form of an ancestor's name, or by the name of the district which they inhabit, or again by titles of honour, such as "The Rich Ones" or "The Great Ones."⁵ Thirdly, while the clans of the Haislas and Heiltsuks descend in the female line, the children belonging to the clan of their mother, among the Kwakiutl the clans apparently descend in the male line, children belonging to the clan of their father.

Features which distinguish Kwakiutl totemism from ordinary totemism.

¹ Franz Boas, in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 674 (*Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898). From the sequel it is clear that Dr. Boas is here speaking of the Kwakiutl proper, not of the northern members of the Kwakiutl stock, the Haislas and the Heiltsuks, who have totemism of the ordinary pattern.

² See the passages quoted above, p. 320, note ¹.

³ Franz Boas, in *Annual Archaeological Report*, 1905 (Toronto), p. 240.

⁴ Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 29 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint).

⁵ Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 332 sq.

On the question of the descent of the Kwakiutl clans Dr. Boas's statements appear to be conflicting.

Yet the question of descent in the Kwakiutl clans seems to be open to some doubt; at least it is difficult to elicit a clear and consistent account of it from Dr. Boas's statements on the subject. At one time he tells us that among the Kwakiutl "the child does not belong by birth to the gens of his father or mother, but may be made a member of any gens to which his father, mother, grandparents, or great-grandparents belonged."¹ At another time he says that among the Kwakiutl proper "a child belongs by blood to both his father's and his mother's family";² and, again, that "the Kwakiutl considers himself as belonging half to his mother's, half to his father's gens."³ If in these passages "gens" and "family" are used, as they seem to be, as equivalents of each other and of "clan," the term which in other passages Dr. Boas applies to the kinship divisions of the Kwakiutl, then the first of the statements which I have quoted appears to contradict the other two. Yet in other passages, again, Dr. Boas speaks as if descent of the Kwakiutl clans was definitely in the paternal line. Thus he observes that "among the Kwakiutl the clans are also exogamic, and certain privileges are inherited in the paternal line, while a much larger number are obtained by marriage";⁴ and again, after remarking that the social organisation of the Kwakiutl appears to be in a transitional stage between maternal and paternal institutions, he affirms simply that among the Kwakiutl "descent is in the paternal line."⁵

Apparently children belong to their father's clan, but can be nominated into the

It is to be hoped that in the monograph on the Kwakiutl which may be expected from Dr. Boas he will clear up the obscurity which appears to hang over the simple question, whether among this people children at birth are reckoned to their father's clan or not. So far as I can interpret Dr. Boas's various statements on the subject, I am inclined to

¹ Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 57 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint).

² Franz Boas, in *Annual Archaeological Report*, 1905 (Toronto), p. 239.

³ Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 32 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne,

1889, separate reprint).

⁴ Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), p. 334.

⁵ Franz Boas, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, pp. 121 sq. (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, November 1898).

infer that a child belongs by birth to his father's clan, but can afterwards be enrolled in any clan to which his father, mother, grandparents, or great-grandparents belonged, and that this enrolment is effected by giving the child one of the names belonging to the particular clan which it is desired that he should join; for each clan has a certain limited number of names, and by receiving the name of one of the clans to which his ancestors belonged a man becomes thereby a member of that particular clan. But by joining another clan a man apparently does not cease to belong to his original clan; chiefs are sometimes members of many clans; for example, we hear of a Kwakiutl chief who was a member of six. In fact a child is generally made a member of another clan as a sort of life-insurance; for by assuming the name and thereby joining the clan of a dead relative he inherits any debts due to the deceased and may thus be provided for in case his father should die, though at the same time he becomes responsible for any debts which his kinsman had left unpaid at his death. If a person does not take the name of a deceased relation, whether father, grandfather, or what not, he neither inherits his property nor becomes responsible for his debts.¹

clan of their mother, grandparents or great-grandparents.

But while the question of the descent of the Kwakiutl clans remains to some extent uncertain, it seems clear that the clan crests descend through women, every man receiving at marriage his father-in-law's crest as a dowry with his wife and holding it in trust for his future son-in-law. To quote Dr. Boas: "The marriage ceremonies of the Kwakiutl seem to show that originally matriarchate prevailed also among them. The husband always assumes, a short time after marriage, his father-in-law's name and crest, and thus becomes a member of his wife's clan. From him this crest descends upon his children; the daughters retain it, but his sons, on marrying, lose it, adopting that of their wives. Thus the

The crests of the Kwakiutl clans seem to descend indirectly through women; that is, a man receives his crest through his wife at marriage.

¹ Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 57 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint). Elsewhere Dr. Boas says that "each clan has a certain limited number of names. Each individual has only

one name at a time. The bearers of these names form the nobility of the tribe" (*Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 675, in *Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898).

descent of the crest is practically in the female line, every unmarried man having his mother's crest ; but still we cannot call this matriarchate proper, as the father is the head of the family, as he gives up his own crest for that of his wife. This law is carried so far that a chief who has no daughters marries one of his sons to another chief's son, the latter thus acquiring his crest. By this means the extinction of gentes is prevented. It seems, however, that the father's gens is not entirely given up, for the natives frequently use carvings of both gentes promiscuously, but certain parts of the father's gens, to which I shall refer presently, are excluded from this use. The following instance, which came under my personal observation, will show the customs of the Kwakiutl regarding this point. Komenakula, chief of the gens Gyigyilkam, of the tribe Tlatlasikoala, has the heraldic column of that gens, and the double-headed snake for his crest. In dances he uses the latter, but chiefly the attributes of the raven gens. His mother belonged to the gens Nunemasekalis, of the Tlauitsis ; hence he wears the mask of that gens. He had an only daughter who, with her husband, lived with him. She died and her husband is the present owner of the heraldic column of the gens. The son of this daughter, at present a boy seven years of age, is the future chief of the gens."¹ Again, Dr. Boas writes as follows : " Among the Kwakiutl we find a mixture of paternal and maternal institutions, but the son is not allowed to use his father's totem ; he acquires the right to his totem by marriage, receiving at that time the totem of his wife's father. When, later on, his daughter marries, the right to the totem descends upon her husband. In this manner the totem descends in the maternal line, although indirectly. Each clan has a certain limited number of names. Each individual has only one name at a time. The bearers of these names form the nobility of the tribe. When a man receives the totem of his father-in-law, he at the same time receives his name, while

¹ Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 33 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle - upon - Tyne, 1889, separate reprint). The example by which Dr. Boas seeks to elucidate the

descent of the crests is not as clear as might be desired. Is the Gyigyilkam clan the clan of Komenakula's father ? What is Komenakula's relation to the Raven clan ? What is the crest of his mother's clan ?

the father-in-law gives up the name, and takes what is called 'an old man's name,' which does not belong to the names constituting the nobility of the tribe."¹ Again, we read: "One of the essential property rights of each individual is his clan-legend and the use of his crest. According to the Kwakiutl custom, the property right in these objects is held by the men of the tribe. It is, however, not transmitted as a permanent inheritance to the sons, but it is always acquired in marriage. Thus, if a certain man has a right to use the raven as his crest, he will give this crest to his son-in-law about the time when a child is born to the young man. In this way, the son-in-law practically holds the crest in trust for his wife's daughter, because when he in turn is to give up the use of the crest he must deliver it to his daughter's husband, who again holds it in trust for his future daughter. It is clear that in this manner a purely maternal descent is secured."² However, it would appear that among the Kwakiutl a man inherits a crest or crests also from his father; for Dr. Boas tells us that among them "the lowest carving on a totem pole is that which the owner inherited from his father. The higher ones are those which he obtained by marriage."³

Thus, as Dr. Boas says, the social organisation of the Kwakiutl seems to be in a transitional stage between maternal and paternal institutions;⁴ for while the clans perhaps

The Kwakiutl appear to be in a

¹ Franz Boas, in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 674 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898).

² Franz Boas, in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 239 sq. Compare *id.*, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, pp. 121 sq. (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, November 1898): "The Kwakiutl have a peculiar organization, which may be considered a transitional stage between maternal and paternal institutions. Descent is in the paternal line; but a man, at the time of his marriage, receives his father-in-law's crest as a dowry, which he holds in trust for his son [-in-law?], so that actually each individual inherits the

crest of his maternal grandfather. The clans are exogamic." It is not clear how on Dr. Boas's shewing "each individual inherits the crest of his maternal grandfather." If I understand Dr. Boas aright, every man receives at marriage the crest of his wife's father, who in turn received it from his wife's father, and so on *ad infinitum*. Thus a man receives the crest of his wife's father, of his wife's maternal grandfather, etc., not of his own father, of his own maternal grandfather, etc.

³ Franz Boas, in *Eleventh Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 9 (*Report of the British Association*, Liverpool, 1896, separate reprint).

⁴ See the passage cited in note ².

transitional
state
between
mother-kin
and father-
kin. Dr.
Boas is of
opinion
that their
original
system was
father-kin,
and that it
has been
modified
by the
adoption of
maternal
institutions.

descend in the male line, the crests appear to descend regularly, if not invariably, through women, each man acquiring his crest at marriage through his wife. The question then naturally arises, Are the Kwakiutl passing from maternal institutions to paternal institutions, from mother-kin to father-kin, or in the reverse direction? Is the female descent of the crests a relic of mother-kin? or is it on the contrary an innovation superposed on an old system of father-kin? In one passage Dr. Boas seems to incline to the former member of this alternative, that is, to the view that the Kwakiutl are passing or have passed from mother-kin or (as he calls it) matriarchate to father-kin or patriarchate; for he says that "the marriage ceremonies of the Kwakiutl seem to show that originally matriarchate prevailed also among them."¹ Yet he afterwards adopted with great decision the contrary view, namely, that the original system of the Kwakiutl was father-kin or patriarchate, which was at a later time modified by the adoption of maternal institutions. "In the north," he says, "a woman's rank and privileges always descend upon her children. Practically the same result has been brought about among the Kwakiutl, but in a manner which suggests that a people with paternal institutions has adapted its social laws to these customs. Here the woman brings as her dower her father's position and privileges to her husband, who, however, is not allowed to use them himself, but acquires them for the use of his son. As the woman's father, on his part, has acquired his privileges in the same manner through his mother, a purely female law of descent is secured, although through the medium of the husband. It seems to my mind that this exceedingly intricate law . . . can not be explained in any other way than as an adaptation of maternal laws by a tribe which was on a paternal stage. I can not imagine that it is a transition of a maternal society to a paternal society, because there are no relics of the former stage beyond those which we find everywhere, and which do not prove that the transition has been recent at all. There is

¹ Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 33 (*Report of the British*

Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint).

no trace left of an inheritance from the wife's brothers; the young couple do not live with the wife's parents. But the most important argument is that the customs can not have been prevalent in the village communities from which the present tribal system originated, as in these the tribe is always designated as the direct descendants of the mythical ancestor. If the village communities had been on the maternal stage, the tribes would have been designated as the descendants of the ancestor's sisters, as is always the case in the legends of the northern tribes."¹

While the mature opinion of Dr. Boas on the people to whom he has paid so much attention deserves to be received with respect, I have indicated above² some of the reasons which lead me, not without hesitation, to incline to the other view, formerly favoured by Dr. Boas himself, namely, that the Kwakiutl are in a stage of transition from mother-kin to father-kin. But it is to be hoped that further researches of Dr. Boas, to whom we already owe so much valuable information on the Indians of North-West America, will clear up this and other obscurities which still remain in the social system of the Kwakiutl.

A very peculiar feature of the Kwakiutl clans is that in winter their organisation is practically dissolved and replaced by a grouping of the people into two great classes, the initiated and the uninitiated, each of which again is subdivided into lesser groups, the initiated being subdivided according to the particular secret society to which each person belongs, while the uninitiated are subdivided according to their age and prospective position among the initiated. The secret societies play a great part in the

But it seems more likely that the Kwakiutl are passing from mother-kin to father-kin.

In winter the social organisation of the Kwakiutl in clans is dissolved and replaced by a grouping of the people into two

¹ Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 334 *sq.* Some points in this passage create difficulties. I am at a loss to understand the statement that "the woman's father, on his part, has acquired his privileges in the same manner through his mother"; for in the preceding sentence we had been told that a husband acquires his privileges not through his mother nor

yet from his father, but through his wife; and with this latter account of the acquisition of a crest Dr. Boas's other statements (above, pp. 329-331) seem to agree. Again, when Dr. Boas says that "the young couple do not live with the wife's parents," he seems to have forgotten the case, which fell under his own observation, of a young couple who lived with the wife's father (above, p. 330). But perhaps that case was exceptional.

² Above, pp. 319-321.

classes, the initiated and the uninitiated, the initiated comprising all who are members of a secret society.

social life, not only of the Kwakiutl, but of the other Indian tribes of North-West America. While they are intimately related to the totemic system of the tribes, they are yet distinct from it. Accordingly the fuller consideration of them is reserved for a separate chapter. Here a brief notice of them must suffice. Members of a secret society are believed to be initiated by a patron-spirit, who presides over that particular society, protects its members, and invests them with certain supernatural or magical powers which vary with the society. The right to be initiated into any particular society is hereditary in certain clans and is acquired by a man at marriage in the same way as he acquires his crests through his wife. As the number of presiding spirits is not large, many clans have the same spirit or supernatural being for their patron. Amongst the Kwakiutl and the other Indian tribes of this region the most important patrons are the Cannibal Spirit, the Ghost, the Grizzly Bear, and the Fool Spirit; and corresponding to them the most important secret societies are the Cannibals, the Ghosts, the Bears, and the Fools. Of these the Cannibals rank highest, and next to them the Ghosts. The spirits appear to their devotees only in winter, and accordingly it is only in winter that the secret societies meet for the performance of their dances and ceremonies. Hence the winter season, when the clans are in abeyance and the secret societies are in force, is known among the Indians as "The Secrets" (*tsetsaeka*), a name which they also apply to the ceremonies themselves. The summer season, on the other hand, when the secret societies are in abeyance and the clan organisation is in force, is called by another name (*baxus*), which may be translated "profane," and which is also applied to all uninitiated persons. According to tradition, the secret societies originated in the same way as many of the clans; an ancestor met the patron spirit of one of the societies and was initiated by him. Similarly at initiation the novice is still supposed to be carried off and possessed by the patron spirit of the society to which he belongs; and the object of the whole winter ceremonial is to bring back the youth and to exorcise the spirit which possesses him, in order that, healed of his holy madness, he

Traditional origin of the secret societies. The novice is thought to be carried off by the presiding spirit of the society, and he

may be restored to the society of his relations and friends. It is with this kindly intention that the members of the secret societies perform their various dances, in which they personate their patron spirit, wearing his mask and ornaments and uttering his peculiar cries. The dance is, in fact, a dramatic performance of the myth which tells of the acquisition of the patron spirit. Each society, like each clan, has a limited number of personal names which are bestowed on the members; for the novice is supposed at initiation to receive a new name from the patron spirit of the society. But these secret or sacred names are only used in winter when the spirits are believed to dwell among the Indians; in summer they are dropped and replaced by the personal names of the clans.¹

must be brought back by masked dancers who represent the spirit.

Like other Indian tribes of North-West America the Kwakiutl believe in the reincarnation of the dead; they think that the soul of a deceased person returns to life in the first child born after his death. This belief is illustrated by the following tale, the events of which are supposed to have happened not long ago. There were two chiefs called Ankoalagyilis and Tsekete. Ankoalagyilis was a twin and boasted that the deity took special care of him, and that he would go to heaven when he died. But he also laid up treasure on earth, for he collected blankets for years and hid them under stones in the wood. His wife helped him to do so. But one day his rival Tsekete followed the two into the forest, stabbed them to death, and threw the bodies, weighted with stones, into the sea. Nobody knew what had become of the chief and his wife. But the dead man had left a son, who in due time married a wife, and she bore him a male child. That child was no other than his murdered grandfather come to life again. When the boy

Belief of the Kwakiutl in the reincarnation of the dead.

¹ Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 34, 52 sqq. (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); *id.* in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 62 sqq. (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint); *id.* in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-*

Western Tribes of Canada, p. 675 (*Report of the British Association* (Bristol, 1898)); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 393-396, 418-424, 431; *id.* in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 243-247.

was a few years old, he said to his father, "I was once your father and I have returned from heaven." At first his father did not believe him, but the boy said, "You know that your father buried his property and that nobody can tell where it is. I will shew it to you." With that he led his father straight to the spot and shewed him the property, two canoe-loads of blankets. Then the people knew that the murdered chief had returned to life in the person of his grandchild. In time the boy became chief himself, but he magnanimously refrained from murdering his murderer.¹

The souls of hunters of land-animals are reborn in wolves, and the souls of hunters of sea-beasts are reborn in killer-whales.

However, the souls of the dead are not always born again in human form. Sometimes they must be reincarnated in animals before they come to life again as men. This, in the opinion of the Kwakiutl, is the fate of hunters. The souls of dead men who hunted sea-beasts are turned into killer-whales; and the souls of men who hunted land-beasts are turned into wolves. Only when a killer-whale or a wolf dies, can their souls return and be born again in human bodies. Hunters ornament the bow seat in their canoes and cut a hole in it; this becomes their dorsal fin when they turn into killer-whales after death. The Kwakiutl believe that after the death of a hunter the killer-whale into which he has been transformed will come to the village and shew itself. When many killer-whales approach a village, it is supposed that they come to fetch a soul. But it is not only hunters whose souls transmigrate into the bodies of killer-whales. Once when a killer-whale was killed, the fin shewed a scar as if it had been burnt; and it had happened not long before that a girl had died who had burnt her hand. So the Kwakiutl concluded that her soul had transmigrated into this killer-whale. The belief that the souls of hunters of land animals are reborn in wolves may perhaps account for the treatment of a dead wolf by the Kwakiutl. When a wolf has been killed, its heart is taken out, and all who helped to kill it must eat four morsels of the heart. Then they wail over the carcase,

¹ Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 59 (*Report of the*

British Association, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint).

saying, "Woe! our great friend." After that they cover the carcase with a blanket and bury it.¹

Like other totemic peoples the Kwakiutl tell a tale like that of Cupid and Psyche about a fairy wife, who lived happily with her husband for a time and then left him lamenting. To understand the story you must know that in the opinion of the Kwakiutl twins are nothing but salmon who have assumed human shape and in that guise can bring plenty of their finny brothers and sisters to the fisherman's net. Well, once upon a time there was a chief called Chief-of-the-Ancients. There was no river where he lived and therefore necessarily there were no salmon. That troubled the chief, so one day he said to his younger brothers, "I wish to look for one who is a twin and to make her my wife, that through her the salmon may come." His aunt the Star-Woman bade him go to the graves and search among them for a twin. So he went to the graves and cried out, "Is there a twin here, O graves?" But the graves said, "There is none here." Thus he did to many graves. But at last one of the graves answered, "I am a twin." Then Chief-of-the-Ancients went to it, and gathered the bones, and sprinkled them with the water of life, and the twin woman at once came to life. She was very pretty, and said, "O Chief-of-the-Ancients, why do you come and make me live?" He said, "I wish to have you for my wife." She said, "Beware, Chief-of-the-Ancients! Do me no harm." He took her home and she became his wife, and she made plenty of salmon, for she had only to put her finger in her mouth and dip it in water, and lo! there was a salmon jumping in the water. And when she went into a river the salmon came leaping at her feet. So the chief's salmon-traps were full of salmon, and his heart was lifted up and he grew proud, because he had much food. He spoke angrily to his younger brothers and to his wife; and when the backbone of the salmon caught in the hair of his head, he scolded it and threw it into a corner of the house, and said, "You come from the ghosts, and you catch me!"

Kwakiutl tale of the type of Cupid and Psyche. How a man married a salmon wife and lost her.

¹ Franz Boas, in *Eleventh Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 9 (*Report of the British Association, Liverpool, 1896, separate reprint*).

That made his wife Salmon-Maker very sad. She arose and weeping said to the dried salmon in the house, "Come, my tribe, let us go back." Thus she spoke to the dried salmon. And they followed her, for they were her tribe, and they all went away into the water. Chief-of-the-Ancients tried to stop her, putting his arm round his wife's body; but her body was like smoke and his arms went through her. She never came back, and Chief-of-the-Ancients and his brothers became poor again.¹

§ 6. Totemism among the Salish

The social organisation of the Salish tribes in the south of British Columbia differs from that of the northern tribes; for among the Salish totemism and exogamy are nearly absent and descent is in the paternal line. But among the Coast Salish there is an

When we have passed from the northern to the southern tribes of British Columbia, we find that with the language the social organisation has changed; for whereas the northern tribes, the Haidas and the Tsimshians, with their neighbours the Tlingits of Alaska, are organised in totemic and exogamous clans with maternal descent, among the southern tribes, who belong to the great Salish stock, exogamy and totemism in the strict sense are absent, or nearly so, and descent is reckoned in the paternal line. The social organisation of the Salish tribes in the interior is very loose; there is no recognised tribal unit, no division into exogamous clans, and no hereditary nobility. The people are broken up into village communities occupying each its own permanent village in the river valleys, where they reside during the fishing season. But the population even of the villages is shifting; during the hunting and root-gathering seasons the Indians live dispersed in tents among the mountains.² Only among some tribes which dwell on or

¹ Franz Boas and George Hunt, *Kwakiutl Texts*, ii. pp. 322-330 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*).

² Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 23, 29 (*Report of the British Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889*, separate reprint); *id.* in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 675, 676 (*Report of the British Association, Bristol, 1898*); *id.*, *The Mythology*

of the Bella Coola Indians, p. 122 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, November, 1898); *id.* "The Salish Tribes of the Interior of British Columbia," *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 219-221, 240; C. Hill-Tout, *The Far West, the Home of the Salish and Déné*, p. 158; *id.* "Some Features of the Language and Culture of the Salish," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, vii. (1905) pp. 680 sq.

near the coast do we find a certain approximation to the clans and crests of the northern tribes ; and it appears to be the opinion of Dr. Boas, one of our best authorities on the Indian tribes of North-West America, that this approximation has come about, not by independent evolution, but through diffusion, the Salish Indians borrowing the crests or totems with their appropriate legends from their neighbours.¹ But while totemism in the usual sense of the term, that is, the organisation of the whole community into totemic and exogamous clans, seems to be lacking among the Salish tribes of the interior, on the other hand individual or personal totems are reported to be universally prevalent among them.² To this subject we shall return in the next chapter. But in speaking of these Indians it is well to bear in mind the statement of Dr. Boas, made many years ago, that "the ancient customs of the Salish tribes of the interior of the Province of British Columbia have almost entirely disappeared, as the natives have been christianised by the endeavours of Catholic missionaries. Only a very few still adhere to their former customs and usages ; for instance, a group of families living in Nicola Valley and another on North Thompson River."³

approximation to the system of the northern tribes.

The Salish tribes of the interior are for the most part Christians.

Two tribes of the Salish stock which possess a social system approximating in some degree to the totemic system of the northern tribes are the Bella Coolas (Bilqulas) and the Lillooets. Of these the Bella Coolas are the most northern tribe of the Salish stock. They live isolated from their congeners, being wedged in between alien tribes, to wit, the Haislas on the north, the Chilcotins on the east,

The Bella Coolas, the most northerly tribe of the Salish stock, practise endogamy ; marriage

¹ Franz Boas, in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 676 (*Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898) ; *id.*, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, pp. 122 *sqq.* ; *id.* in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 225, 240. The view of Dr. Boas is shared also by Mr. James Teit, who has given us valuable monographs on the Thompson and Lillooet Indians. See J. Teit, *The Lillooet Indians* (Leyden and New York, 1906), p. 254 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of*

Natural History).

² C. Hill-Tout, "Some Features of the Language and Culture of the Salish," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, vii. (1905) p. 682 : "In the tribes of the interior, where group totems, so far as we have been able to discover, are wholly unknown, every individual of both sexes is said to possess his or her personal totem."

³ Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 80 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint).

outside of
the village
community
is for-
bidden.

and the Kwakiutl on the south. Considered grammatically, their language is more closely related to the dialects of the Coast Salish than to those of the tribes of the interior. A number of terms referring to the sea and to sea-animals are the same in the Bella Coola tongue and in the dialects of the Gulf of Georgia ; hence we may safely assume that the Bella Coolas have been differentiated from this group. They inhabit the coasts of Bentinck Arm and Dean Inlet and extend far up the Bella Coola River.¹ The tribe is divided, like the Salish Indians generally, into village communities, and each village has its own crest and its own tradition ; but the village community is not exogamous. On the contrary, whereas the southern Coast Salish tribes exhibit a tendency to exogamy, the Bella Coolas have developed a system of endogamy ; marriage outside of the village community is forbidden. In this respect the Bella Coolas stand alone among the Indian tribes of the North Pacific coast. The motive which has led them to adopt this unusual rule of marriage, if Dr. Boas is right, is a jealous desire to prevent the crest and the tradition of the village, both of which are highly prized, from being communicated by intermarriage to the people of other villages. "The inhabitants of each Bella Coola village," he tells us, "are not subdivided into clans, gentes, or septs ; but each village community forms a unit, and possesses the same tradition. In order to keep the tradition in the tribe, the law requires that no person shall marry outside of his own village community. Thus the clan tradition is kept the exclusive property of the village community by means of endogamy. I have made very careful inquiries in regard to this point, and all the old men make substantially the same statement. Even marriages among near relatives are permitted ; and although marriages of people who are distantly related, or not related at all, are preferred, it even happens that cousins marry, or that an uncle marries his niece, in order to keep the clan tradition from being acquired by another village community. It seems, however, that, owing to the influence of the Coast

¹ Franz Boas, in *Seventh Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 2 (*Report of the British Association*, Cardiff, 1891, separate reprint).

tribes, the endogamic system has begun to give way to an exogamic system. Powerful and wealthy chiefs marry outside of their own village community, in order to secure an additional clan legend through marriage. This new system agrees with the one prevalent among the Kwakiutl tribes."¹

Among the Bella Coolas the crests are painted on the house-fronts and on the dancing implements. Thus the Tokoais family have a killer-whale (*Delphinus orca*) painted on the house-front. Tradition runs that their ancestor, hunting in the mountains, found a house on which a killer-whale was painted. The chief who lived in the house presented him with his crest for himself and his descendants. The crest consists of the killer-whale, eagle, swan, and heron. Again, the Spatsatlt family have breaking waves painted on their house-front, and in dances they use the mask of a large kind of whale, of the crow, and of the black bear. Another family uses the mask of The Sleeper and the eagle. Another family paints the moon on the front of the house. Another uses the raven, robin, eagle, whale, the flood-tide, and the bird *tehtlala*; and they paint the sun, moon, and stars on their house-front. Another paints a mountain surmounted by a mackerel sky on their house, and waves are included in their crest.² Other people wear eagle masks and eagle

The family
crests of
the Bella
Coolas.

¹ Franz Boas, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, p. 116 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, November 1898); compare *ibid.* pp. 121, 122, 124 sq. Elsewhere (*Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), p. 240) Dr. Boas has stated the rule, or rather the exception, somewhat differently. He says: "The Bella Coola of the central part of British Columbia, who are neighbours of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, and under whose influence their culture has developed, have also adopted the crest system. The village community is here also the social unit, and each village has its own crest. Here, however, the jealousy with which the property rights in the crest are guarded is so great that at least among chiefs' families exogamy is strictly forbidden." According to

this later statement it is the chiefs who adhere most strictly to the rule of endogamy; according to Dr. Boas's earlier statement, quoted in the text, it is precisely the chiefs who break that rule most frequently. As the two statements seem to be irreconcilable, we may perhaps assume that the later statement corrects the earlier, and that both of them correct Dr. Boas's still earlier statement that each of the Bella Coola tribes "is subdivided into gentes, which appear to be arranged in exogamic groups" (*Seventh Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 3, *Report of the British Association*, Cardiff, 1891, separate reprint).

² Franz Boas, in *Seventh Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 5 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Cardiff, 1891,

blankets because their ancestor is said to have been sent down by the Sun wearing an eagle dress.¹ When a person dies, his masks are burnt, and his crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shews how many canoes, copper-plates, head-dresses, and slaves he had given away at *potlatches* in his life ; representations of these objects are carved or painted on the column. In former times slaves were killed at the burial of a chief, and the number slain was recorded by as many human figures carved on his monument.²

The Lillooets, a Salish tribe of the interior of British Columbia.

The Lillooets are an Indian tribe of the Salish stock who inhabit the south-western interior of British Columbia. Their territory, about a hundred miles square, lies entirely within the Coast Range, and is divided in two by the watershed which runs between Mosquito or Pole River and Anderson River. On the whole the country is more rugged and mountainous than that of any other tribe in the interior of British Columbia. From the watershed west and south the climate grows wetter, till in the neighbourhood of Harrison Lake the annual rainfall is very heavy (150 centimetres). Corresponding to the geographical division of the country is the division of the aboriginal inhabitants. Those who live to the south of the watershed are the Lower Lillooets ; those who live to the north and east of it are the Upper Lillooets. But the Lillooets, though they all speak the same language, appear to have no one name to include them all ; the Lower Lillooets they call the Liluet, and the Upper Lillooets they call the Slalemux.³

separate reprint). In this passage Dr. Boas speaks of the crest-bearing groups as gentes, not as villages. In the text I have called them families. Dr. Boas adds (*ibid.* p. 6) : " The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the decision being left to the choice of the parents."

¹ Franz Boas, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, pp. 65-67 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*).

² Franz Boas, in *Seventh Report of*

the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada, p. 13 (*Report of the British Association*, Cardiff, 1891, separate reprint).

³ James Teit, *The Lillooet Indians* (Leyden and New York, 1906), pp. 195 sq. (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*). Mr. C. Hill-Tout calls the whole tribe the Slatlunh (" Report on the Ethnology of the Slatlunh of British Columbia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv. (1905) pp. 126 sqq.).

The Lillooets, who are all now nominally Catholics, were formerly divided into clans. It would seem that originally all the people of one village were supposed to be descendants of a common ancestor, for they had a single tradition of their origin. Perhaps then at one time each village community consisted of a single clan. The following is a list of all the clans of which Mr. James Teit, our principal authority on the tribe, obtained information, together with a list of the places at which they are supposed to have originated :—

Place.	Clan.
Pemberton Meadows	Wolf. <i>Hailolaux</i> (beings half human, half fish).
Owl Creek on Pole River	Owl.
Upper Lillooet River	<i>Sainux</i> (beings half human, half fish).
Lower end of Seaton Lake at Sqemqain	<i>xanaukst.</i>
Lower end of Slakal	<i>lupst.</i>
Sel (Reservation near town of Lillooet). . . .	Frog.
Bridge River	Bear (?).
Fountain	Coyote.

The clans of the Lillooets.

Membership of the clan descended both in the male and the female line. A man could not become a member of his wife's clan nor she of his ; but children could claim membership of the clan of both their father and mother, for by blood they were members of both clans. There were no restrictions on intermarriage between the clans. This perhaps means that there were no barriers to marriage within as well as without the clan, in other words, that the clans were not exogamous.¹

Descent of the clan.

The clans used masks which represented the ancestor or had reference to some important incident in his life. Thus the *Sainux* clan danced with a mask representing a monster, half man, half fish, and wore cedar-bark dresses. The *Wolf* clan wore a mask made like the face and head of a wolf, and in their dances were clad in wolf-skins. The *Owl* clan wore a mask representing that bird, and used owl-feathers attached

Dancing masks and costumes of the Lillooet clans.

¹ James Teit, *The Lillooet Indians*, p. 252. That the Lillooets are all nominally Catholics is mentioned by Mr. Teit elsewhere (*op. cit.*, p. 278).

to their clothes, and a head-dress of owl-feathers. The Hailolaux clan used a mask somewhat like the face of a grizzly bear: they painted their hair red, and wore the skins of grizzly, brown, and cinnamon bears when they danced. The people of the lower end of Seaton Lake personated their ancestor when they danced, and wore masks representing the *satuen*, a variety of crane. They used bone whistles at dances, and mimicked the cries of the pelican, crane, and swan. The people of Sel employed masks representing the frog. The people of Fountain wore coyote skins and masks representing the coyote. The Bear clan of Bridge River used bear masks and black-bear skins. All these masks were the property of the clan and could be shown by any man or woman of the clan when he or she was giving a *potlatch*, but not otherwise.¹ They were used at the clan festivals; and the dancers also wore necklaces consisting of the skin and claws or feathers of the animal or bird they personated. Feather head-dresses were worn by the clans who personified birds. Those clans who did not dress in animal skins, garbed themselves in cloaks, kilts, necklaces, and sometimes head-bands of cedar-bark, white, red, or red and white. All dancers put bird's down on their heads.² A person who gave a *potlatch* and shewed his mask at it never wore it himself: he hired another man, generally an old man, to wear it, to sing the clan songs, and to dance or act and relate the clan legend. The man hired to wear a mask was liberally paid, because it was thought that masks brought ill luck, particularly an early death.³ Hence when they had been used once they were hung up on a tree or thrown away, and similar new ones were made to replace them. It was because they represented the ancestors and were therefore associated with the dead that masks were deemed unlucky. For the same reason they were always painted partly white, that being the colour of the dead or of the ghosts. Some people thought that the wearer of a mask would die within the year.⁴

The Lower Lillooets carved or painted the clan totem on various parts of the house and also on grave-posts, and

The masks were not worn by their owners, but by persons hired for the purpose.

¹ James Teit, *The Lillooet Indians*, pp. 253 *sq.*

² James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 257.

³ James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 258.

⁴ James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 290.

sometimes regular totem-poles were erected near the grave-box.¹ These Indians also set up totem-poles in front of their houses, after the manner of the Coast tribes. But the poles were much shorter and not so well carved or painted. The figures differed according to the clan totem. The body was always represented as human; and the face resembled the mask used by the clan—generally it was the face of an animal.²

Clan crests carved on houses, grave-posts, and totem-poles.

“The clan totems were to a certain extent considered as guardian spirits of the clan. Some people claim that animals represented by clan masks were the guardian spirits of the ancestor of the clan, and that such animals (or ‘mysteries’) continue to be the guardians and advisers of his descendants. Clans were supposed to take after the qualities of their totem.”³

The clan totems considered as guardian spirits of the clans.

The Lillooets observed the custom of the levirate. After her period of mourning was over, the widow married the brother or other nearest male kinsman of her deceased husband. But if she was old and her sons full-grown, she often did not marry, but continued to live with them.⁴

The Levirate.

§ 7. Totemism among the Tinnehs (Dénés)

Having now surveyed the totemic systems of the Indian tribes which inhabit the coasts of Southern Alaska and British Columbia, we turn to the Tinnehs or Dénés, the widely spread Indian nation who inhabit for the most part the interior of Alaska and a great extent of the Canadian territory which stretches from there to the Arctic Ocean on the north, towards Hudson’s Bay on the east, and to the Lillooet mountains on the south. They belong, as we have seen, to the great linguistic family now commonly called Athapascan, of which the most southerly members are the Apaches and Navahoes of Arizona and New Mexico.⁵ Among the tribes into which the Canadian Tinnehs are divided the following are the principal:—

The Tinnehs or Dénés, an Athapascan nation of North-West America.

Principal Tinnch tribes.

1. The Loucheux, often called the Kutchins, whose country

¹ James Teit, *The Lillooet Indians*, pp. 272, 300.

² James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 217.

³ James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 283.

⁴ James Teit, *op. cit.* pp. 255 sq.

⁵ See above, pp. 241 sq., 252.

- The Loucheux or Kutchin, extends north to south from the fishing-grounds of the Eskimo to 67° of North Latitude, while it stretches from the Anderson River on the east through the lower valley of the Mackenzie River and the vast forests of Alaska almost to the Pacific on the west. They number about 5500 souls.
- The Mountaineers, 2. The Mountaineers or *Etagotinne*, a small tribe who roam the valleys of the Rocky Mountains.
- The Hares, 3. The Hares, a timid tribe, who hunt along the Anderson and Macfarlane Rivers from the northern shores of the Great Bear Lake.
- The Dog-ribs, 4. The Dog-ribs, who hunt between the Great Slave Lake and Great Bear Lake, east of the Mackenzie River as far as the Coppermine River.
- The Slaves, 5. The Slaves, whose country stretches from the western shores of Great Slave Lake along the banks of the Mackenzie River as far as the outlet of Great Bear Lake.
- The Yellow Knives or Copper Indians, 6. The Yellow Knives or Copper Indians, whose original home appears to have been the valley of the Coppermine River. Alone of all the Tinnehs they formerly boasted of the possession of copper tools wrought out of pieces of that metal which they found scattered on the slopes of a particular mountain. They now roam chiefly over the barren steppes to the north-east of Great Slave Lake.
- The Cariboo-eaters, 7. The Cariboo-eaters, an important tribe, whose territory comprises the waste lands east of Lakes Cariboo, Wollaston, and Athabaska.
- The Chippewayans, 8. The Chippewayans. They are divided into (*a*) the Athabaskans, who hunt around Lake Athabaska as well as along the Slave River, and (*b*) the Chippewayans proper, who dwell on the shores of Lakes Isle-à-la-Crosse, Cold and Heart. They number about 4000 souls.
- The Nahanaïs, 9. The Nahanaïs, who, like the Loucheux, are distributed on both sides of the Rocky Mountains, though their principal seat is west of that range. They number about a thousand, and inhabit the valley of the Stickine River and its tributaries in northern British Columbia.
- The Beavers, 10. The Beavers, who inhabit the vast plains along the Peace River immediately to the east of the Rocky Mountains.
11. The Sekanaïs, whose principal trading-posts are

Forts McLeod and Grahame. Their original home was to the east of the Rocky Mountains; but they, together with the following tribes, now belong to the western division of the Tinnehs.

12. The Babines, numbering about 530 souls, who dwell immediately to the west of the Babines on Babine Lake and along the Bulkley valley down to French and Morice Lakes.

13. The Carriers, who live to the south of the Babines. Their villages lie between Tremblay Lake in the north and Alexandria. In 1889 they numbered 1600 souls, but in 1905 these numbers were reduced to 970.

14. The Chilcotins, who live immediately south of the Carriers on both sides of the Chilcotin River. They are the most southern members of all the Canadian Tinnehs. They number about 450 souls.

15. The Tsetsauts on Portland Inlet, an arm of the sea which forms the northern boundary of British Columbia on the Pacific.

These tribes fall into two groups, an eastern and a western. The Western Tinnehs or Dénés are the Sekanais, Babines, Carriers, Chilcotins, and Tsetsauts.¹ While the Eastern Tinnehs are inveterate nomads, constantly moving after the game on which they chiefly subsist, the Western Tinnehs are semi-sedentary, living in permanent villages part of the year but quitting them periodically to hunt the fur-bearing animals. The staple food of these Western Tinnehs is the salmon, which they catch in such quantities that once dried it takes the place of daily bread and enables them to stay longer at home in the village.²

Our information as to the social condition of most of the Tinnah tribes is very meagre; but we are informed that

¹ Father A. G. Morice, "The Canadian Dénés," *Annual Archaeological Report*, 1905 (Toronto), pp. 189 sq. Compare *id.* "The Western Dénés, their Manners and Customs," *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, Toronto, Third Series, vol. vii. Fasciculus I (Toronto, 1889) pp. 109-144; *id.* "Notes, Archæological, Industrial and Sociological, on the Western Dénés," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*,

iv. (1892-93) pp. 11-17; E. Petitot, *Monographie des Dènè Dindjé* (Paris, 1876), pp. 26-28. For a list of the Tinnah tribes of Alaska, see W. H. Dall, "Tribes of the Extreme Northwest," in *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, i. (Washington, 1877) pp. 24-36.

² Father A. G. Morice, "The Canadian Dénés," in *Annual Archaeological Report*, 1905 (Toronto), p. 200.

The Western Tinnehs are divided into totemic and exogamous clans with descent in the female line.

most of the Western Tinnehs are divided into totemic and exogamous clans with descent in the female line. The rule of exogamy among the clans is or was strictly observed ; we are informed that " no youth would ever dream of seeking the hand of a girl who was a perfect stranger to him if told that she belonged to the same clan as himself." ¹ Our principal authority on the subject is the Catholic missionary Father A. G. Morice, who has laboured among the Carrier Indians for many years and has given us some valuable accounts of their old customs and beliefs. He tells us that the Western Tinnehs (Dénés) are divided into clans or gentes. " These to the number of five, form a kind of very strict relationship, to which, to the present time, they have held very tenaciously. Each of these clans has one or several particular heraldic emblems or totems, the toad, grouse, crow, beaver, salmon, etc. ; the image of which formerly received special consideration. This organisation outsteps the village limits, and members of the same clan are to be found in localities very wide apart. But however remote their respective places, they still claim mutual kinship. Now, from time immemorial, a fundamental law in their social constitution has been for individuals of the same clan never to intermarry. So it is that endogamy is looked upon with horror among them. Indeed, I think I am warranted in affirming that marriage with a consanguine, unless a very close one, was preferred to matrimonial union with a co-clansman. As it is, agnation and consanguinity in the direct or collateral line on the paternal side were considered powerful barriers to sexual relations, males and females descended from the same stock being always regarded as brothers and sisters. . . . Such was not the case, however, with consanguinity in collateral lines by the mother's side, cousins of that class, even as near as the first degree, being by a time-honored custom, almost bound to intermarry. And here it is as well to state at once that, in common with nearly all the primitive people, mother-right is the supreme law regulating succession among nearly all the Western Dénés, and I may add that here ² it admits of no

Marriage of cousins.

Mother-kin and female descent of titles and property.

¹ Father A. G. Morice, "The *logical Report*, 1905 (Toronto), p. 201. Canadian Dénés," *Annual Archaeo-*

² At Stuart's Lake.

exception whatever. On the other hand, another ordinance of their social code forbids titles as well as landed property to pass by heredity into a different clan. Therefore children of a notable among them belonging to their mother's clan, could never inherit from their father. But if the latter had nephews by a sister, one of them was *de jure* his successor, this nephew belonging through his mother to his uncle's clan. Now, by way of compensation, and to permit the notable's children who could not otherwise inherit from him, to enjoy at least, as much as was lawful of their father's succession, one of his daughters would be united in marriage with her inheriting maternal first cousin. As for affinity consequent upon either lawful or unlawful sexual relations, it was simply ignored. Nay, I should say that it was rather considered a powerful incentive to marriage, except when the regulations of the clan organization interfered so as to make the two relatives fellow clansmen. Thus it was, that in the case of a deceased brother's wife, the Dénés treated her conformably with the directions of the Jewish law, and the nephew considered himself in duty bound to espouse her."¹

The statement just quoted as to the marriage of first cousins is somewhat ambiguous. Elsewhere Father Morice writes that "the kinship resulting from fellow-clanship was reputed to be so strict that it precluded the possibility of co-clansmen intermarrying, while, on the other hand, marriage between even first cousins, if on the mother's side, was quite common, and, in some cases, almost obligatory";² and again: "First cousins married each other without any scruple

¹ Father A. G. Morice, "The Western Dénés, their Manners and Customs," *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, Toronto, Third Series, vol. vii. Fasciculus I (Toronto, 1889), pp. 118-120. Compare *id.*, *Au pays de Pours noir, chez les sauvages de la Colombie Britannique* (Paris and Lyons, 1897), pp. 67 sq. In the latter passage it is said that it was the brother, not the nephew, of the deceased husband who was bound to marry the widow; and this is probably the correct statement. Elsewhere also Father Morice observes that "by an immemorial custom, the widow of a

Carrier was also inevitably transferred as wife to the deceased's surviving brother" (Father A. G. Morice, "Are the Carrier Sociology and Mythology indigenous or exotic?" *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for the year 1892*, x. (Ottawa, 1893), Transactions, Section ii. p. 112.

² Father A. G. Morice, "Are the Carrier Sociology and Mythology indigenous or exotic?" *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for the year 1892*, x. (Ottawa, 1893), Transactions, Section ii. p. 112.

if related only through the father's side."¹ The last statement is apparently, though perhaps not really, contradictory of the other two.

Ambiguity
of the
expressions
"cousins
on the
father's
side" and
"cousins
on the
mother's
side."

As I have already pointed out,² the expressions "cousins on the father's side" and "cousins on the mother's side" are ambiguous, and each of them may cover relationships which to the savage mind are entirely different, though the civilised mind confuses them. For the expression "cousins on the father's side" includes not only cousins who are the children of two brothers; it may include also cousins who are the children of a brother and a sister respectively, since to the children of the brother the children of the sister are "cousins on the father's side." Similarly the expression "cousins on the mother's side" includes not only cousins who are the children of two sisters; it may include also cousins who are the children of a sister and a brother respectively, since to the children of the sister the children of the brother are "cousins on the mother's side." If we would keep our ideas clear, therefore, the expressions "cousins on the father's side" and "cousins on the mother's side" should be strictly avoided. In the passages just quoted which seem to contradict each other Father Morice was probably thinking of cousins who are the children of a brother and a sister respectively; but whereas in the one passage ("first cousins, if on the mother's side") he was thinking of this relationship from the side of the sister's child, in the other passage ("if related only through the father's side") he was thinking of this relationship from the side of the brother's child. At least this interpretation reconciles the two seemingly contradictory statements with each other and with the common usage of savage tribes. We may conjecture, therefore, that among the Tinnchs, as among many other peoples, first cousins are allowed or even expected to marry each other when they are the children of a brother and a sister respectively, but that they are forbidden to marry each other when they are children of two brothers or of two sisters respectively.

Among the Carriers the number of totemic clans was

¹ Father A. G. Morice, "The Canadian Dénés," *Annual Archaeo-*

logical Report, 1905 (Toronto), p. 201.

² Vol. ii. p. 383 note ².

four, not five as among other of the Western Tinnchs. Their names and totems were as follows :—¹

Clans and totems of the Carriers.

TOTEMIC CLANS OF THE CARRIERS

Clans.	Totems.
<i>Ltsemes-yu</i>	The Grouse
<i>Tsa-yu</i>	The Beaver
<i>Yesil-yu</i>	The Toad
<i>Temten-yu</i>	The Grizzly Bear

Of these native names of the clans *Tsa-yu* means “beaver medicine”; the others are untranslatable and in the opinion of Father Morice “are probably imported from among the heterogeneous tribes from which the whole system is undoubtedly derived.” The Grouse clan is by far the most powerful among the Carriers; and the Toad and Grizzly Bear clans are thought to have a sort of affinity which entitles the members of each to consideration and protection at the hands of the other.² “In case of extended travelling—which, however, was of rare occurrence—the totem served also as an emblem guaranteeing to the bearer a brotherly reception and constant protection by any member of the same clan he might fall in with.”³ These bonds of kinship between members of the same clan reached even beyond the limits of the tribe; for we are told that “a Babine from the far north-west, if chance brought him in contact with a clansfellow from, say Alexandria, 500 miles to the south, was sure of protection, hospitality and every

Social relations of members of a totemic clan.

¹ Father A. G. Morice, “Notes, Archæological, Industrial and Sociological, on the Western Dénés,” *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, iv. (1892-93) p. 203. In writing the native names of the clans Father Morice has turned some of the letters upside down, a practice which has also commended itself to many other American ethnologists for the sake, no doubt, of conveying the exact shade of pronunciation more exactly. As the advantages of this peculiar orthography appear to me scarcely to outweigh its

inconveniences, I have taken the liberty here and elsewhere of restoring the letters to the position which they usually occupy in books printed in Europe.

² Father A. G. Morice, *op. cit.* p. 204.

³ Father A. G. Morice, “Are the Carrier Sociology and Mythology indigenous or exotic?” *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for the year 1892*, x. (Ottawa, 1893), p. 112.

mark of attachment, though Carrier and Babine might not before as much as have known of each other."¹

Respect
shewn for
the totems
and crests.

With regard to the nature and meaning of the clan totems among the Western Tinnéhs we have little information. Father Morice tells us that they "were sets of animals or other beings, which were supposed to have had in pristine times something to do with the establishment of those artificial divisions. They were regarded with a peculiar respect almost amounting to veneration, and, on festival occasions, they personified the whole clan and its members, whose symbol or crest they became."² At such festivals an effigy of the totem of the clan who acted as hosts was carved and exposed at the door of the house ; and every person who did not belong to the clan was expected at entering to make a present to the totem and hence to the givers of the feast ; but there was a tacit understanding that he would receive in return at some future time a present of at least equal value. Even to name publicly the totem of another clan was an act which had to be atoned for with the gift of a blanket, a piece of dressed skin, or any article of wearing apparel ; else it would be thought that the crest was slighted and the whole clan thereby dishonoured. Specimens of such carved images of their clan totems no longer exist among these Indians,³ who are now "considerate, virtuous, and law-abiding Christians."⁴

Totemic
images
placed
on the
mortuary
column or
on the
grave.

Besides the carved effigies of their clan totems which the Carriers displayed at festivals for the purpose of attracting contributions, it was also customary to place images of the same sort on the mortuary column or on the grave. Only two specimens of such sepulchral monuments survived in the year 1893 ; both of them represented a beaver carved in the round and perched, one on the top of a pole, the other on the top of a grave. In both cases the deceased was a member of the Beaver clan. The rest of these memorials of

¹ Father A. G. Morice, *Annual Archaeological Report*, 1905 (Toronto), p. 201.

² Father A. G. Morice, "The Canadian Dénés," *Annual Archaeological Report*, 1905 (Toronto), p. 203.

³ Father A. G. Morice, "Notes,

Archæological, Industrial and Sociological, on the Western Dénés," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, iv. (1892-93) pp. 119, 204.

⁴ Father A. G. Morice, "The Canadian Dénés," *Annual Archaeological Report*, 1905 (Toronto), p. 197.

the past have long disappeared, probably destroyed by the zeal of the missionaries or their converts. But carved monuments seem never to have been common among the Carriers; they are not an artistic people like the Haidas.¹

The practice of tattooing used to be very prevalent among the Western Tinnehs; and the figures tattooed on the breast "had generally a totemic significance"; the marks tattooed on the forearms "referred as a rule to a personal totemic animal revealed in dream, and the bearing of whose symbol was supposed to create a reciprocal sympathy and a sort of kinship between the totem and the tattooed individual."² The personal as distinct from the clan totems of the Tinnehs will be considered in the next chapter.

The headmen or representatives of the totemic clans were called *teneza*, "the men," by the Carriers and Babines, but *téné-thié*, "great men," by the Nahanaïs. They formed a privileged class of hereditary nobles, and the hunting grounds were parcelled out as their lawful patrimony, over which no one else had any right. They enjoyed great consideration in the tribe, were respectfully listened to and obeyed so far as obedience consisted with a state of society little above savagery, and on ceremonial occasions they wore a special costume and occupied seats of honour as remote as possible from the door. The whole institution, we are informed, had more points of resemblance to the landed nobility of the Old World than to the class of tribal chiefs; indeed chiefs in the strict sense did not exist among the Tinnehs before the advent of the whites. Even the children of such noblemen enjoyed some consideration and were dubbed *oeskheza*, "true children." Yet belonging as they did to their mother's clan they could not succeed to the rank and property of their father. As the lands belonged to the clan they passed at the death of the headman (*teneza*) not to his own son but to the son of his sister or, failing that, to the dead man's brother; and if

¹ Father A. G. Morice, "Notes, (1892-93) pp. 199-201. Archæological, Industrial and Sociological, on the Western Dénés," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, iv.

² Father A. G. Morice, *op. cit.* p. 182.

there were neither brothers nor sisters' sons, the lands and title might pass to a sister or to a sister's daughter. Hence female chiefs were occasionally found among the Western Tinnehs or Dénés.¹

Marriage
customs.

Among the Carriers a young man used to serve the father of his betrothed wife for one or two years. During this time he contributed the products of the chase and his other earnings to his future father-in-law and the other relations of his betrothed, receiving her hand at the end of his period of service.² Polygamy was common; the higher a man's rank, the more numerous were his wives; we hear of a chief who had as many as six at one time.³ Among the Northern Tinnehs men made no scruple of having two or three sisters for wives at one time.⁴ We have seen that this practice of marrying several sisters at the same time or successively was very common among the North American Indians.⁵

Practice of
taking
several
sisters to
wife.

Totemic
clans not
found
among the
Sekanaïs.

The social organisation of the community in totemic clans is not found among all the Western Tinnehs; for example, it is entirely lacking among the Sekanaïs, being replaced, we are told, by a sort of anarchy. That tribe has neither clans nor hereditary nobility with their hunting domains; the fathers of families are the natural chiefs of the group, but their authority is more nominal than real.⁶

Exogamous
clans
among the
Loucheux
or Kut-
chins.

On the other hand the large tribe of the Loucheux or Kutchins, as they are variously named, is or rather used to be divided into three exogamous clans or castes, as they are called by the writers who have recorded them.

¹ Father A. G. Morice, "The Western Dénés, their Manners and Customs," *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, Toronto, Third Series, vol. vii. Fasciculus I (Toronto, 1889), p. 125; *id.* "The Canadian Dénés," *Annual Archæological Report*, 1905 (Toronto), p. 202.

² Father A. G. Morice, *Au Pays de Fours noir, chez les sauvages de la Colombie Britannique*, p. 121.

³ Father A. G. Morice, "The Western Dénés," *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, Third Series, vol.

vii. Fasciculus I (Toronto, 1889), p. 123; *id.*, *Au Pays de Fours noir*, p. 122; *id.* "The Canadian Dénés," *Annual Report of the Archæological Institute*, 1905 (Toronto), p. 219.

⁴ S. Hearne, *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean* (London, 1795), p. 130.

⁵ See above, pp. 65, 85, 108, 127, 136, 148, 154, 246.

⁶ A. G. Morice, *Au Pays de Fours noir, chez les sauvages de la Colombie Britannique* (Paris and Lyons, 1897), pp. 117 sq.

According to Mr. William L. Hardisty, of the Hudson Bay Company, the names of the three clans were *Chitsah*, *Tain-gees-ah-tsah*, and *Nat-singh*; according to Mr. Strachan Jones, formerly commander at Fort Yukon, the names were *Tchit-che-ah*, *Tenge-rat-sey*, and *Nat-sah-i*; ¹ according to Mr. W. W. Kirby the names were *Chit-sa*, *Tanges-at-sa*, and *Nate-sa*.² Allowing for local differences of pronunciation and for variations of spelling the three lists seem to be identical.

Mr. Hardisty's account of the clans or castes runs as follows: "With reference to the story about caste it is difficult to arrive at a correct solution of the matter. The fact, I believe, is that they do not know themselves, for they give various accounts of the origin of the three great divisions of mankind. Some say it was so from the beginning; others that it originated when all fowls, animals, and fish were people—the fish were *Chitsah*, the birds *Tain-gees-ah-tsah*, and the animals *Nat-singh*; some that it refers to the country occupied by the three great nations who are supposed to have composed the whole family of man; while the other, and, I think, most correct opinion, is that it refers to color, for the words are applicable. *Chitsah* refers to anything of a pale color—fair people; *Nat-singh*, from *ah-zingh*, black, dark—that is, dark people; *Tain-gees-ah-tsah*, neither fair nor dark, between the two, from *tain-gees*, the half, middle, and *ah-tsah*, brightish, from *tsa*, the sun, bright, glittering, shining, etc. Another thing, the country of the Na-tsik-koo-chin is called Nah-tsingh to this day, and it is the identical country which the Nat-singh occupied. The Na-tsik-koo-chin inhabit the high ridge of land between the Youcon and the Arctic sea. They live entirely on the flesh of the reindeer, and are very dark-skinned compared with the Chit-sangh, who live a good deal on fish. All the elderly men fish the salmon and salmon trout during the summer, while the

Hardisty's
account of
the three
castes or
clans of the
Loucheux.

¹ "Notes on the Tinnah or Chepe-
wyah Indians of British and Russian
America," communicated by George
Gibbs, *Annual Report of the Board
of Regents of the Smithsonian Institu-
tion for 1866* (Washington, 1867), pp.
315, 326; W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its
Resources*, pp. 196 sq.; *id.* "Tribes

of the Extreme North-west," in *Contri-
butions to North American Ethnology*,
i. (Washington, 1877) p. 30.

² W. W. Kirby, "A Journey to the
Youcon, Russian America," *Annual
Report of the Board of Regents of
the Smithsonian Institution for 1864*
(Washington, 1865), p. 418.

Rule of
exogamy.

Maternal
descent of
the caste
or clan.

In war the
obligations
of the clan
overrode
that of
blood.

young men hunt the moose, and have regular white-fish fisheries every autumn besides. Some of the Chit-sangh are very fair, indeed, in some instances approaching to white. The Tain-gees-ah-tsa live on salmon trout and moose meat, and, taken as a whole, are neither so fair as the Chit-sangh nor so dark as the Nah-tsingh. They are half-and-half between the two. A Chit-sangh cannot, by their rules, marry a Chit-sangh, although the rule is set at naught occasionally ; but when it does take place the persons are ridiculed and laughed at. The man is said to have married his sister, even though she may be from another tribe and there be not the slightest connection by blood between them. The same way with the other two divisions. The children are of the same color as their mother. They receive caste from their mother ; if a male Chit-sangh marry a Nah-tsingh woman the children are Nah-tsingh, and if a male Nah-tsingh marry a Chit-sangh woman the children are Chit-sangh, so that the divisions are always changing. As the fathers die out, the country inhabited by the Chit-sangh becomes occupied by the Nah-tsingh, and so on *vice versa*. They are continually changing countries, as it were. Latterly, however, these rules are not so strictly observed or enforced as formerly, so that there is getting to be a complete amalgamation of the three great divisions, such a mixture that the difference of color is scarcely perceptible, and, no doubt, will soon disappear altogether, except what is produced by natural causes. The people who live on the flesh of the reindeer are always darker than those who live on fish, or on part fish and part flesh. One good thing proceeded from the above arrangement—it prevented war between two tribes who were naturally hostile. The ties or obligations of color or caste were stronger than those of blood or nationality. In war it was not tribe against tribe, but division against division, and as the children were never of the same caste as the father, the children would, of course, be against the father and the father against the children, part of one tribe against part of another, and part against itself, so that, as may be supposed, there would have been a pretty general con-

fusion. This, however, was not likely to occur very often, as the worst of parents would have naturally preferred peace to war with his own children.”¹

From the foregoing account it would seem that the three exogamous clans of the Loucheux or Kutchins formerly occupied separate districts, and that they differed in complexion as well as in their modes of life. It is not easy to understand how exogamous and intermarrying clans can in the long run differ in any marked degree physically from each other, since constant and compulsory intermarriage might be expected to produce a uniform type among all the clans which thus mix their blood. We may surmise, therefore, that the statement as to a physical distinction between the clans, and perhaps also as to separate territories occupied by them, is erroneous. This surmise is partially confirmed by the account which the experienced French missionary, Father E. Petitot, gives of the social organisation of the Loucheux. He says: “What distinguishes the Dindjié [Loucheux] from their neighbours is the division of their nation into three camps or fractions, independent of the local division in tribes. These camps take the names of ‘Men of the Right’ (*Etchian-Kpét*); ‘Men of the Left’ (*Nattsein-Kpét*); and ‘Men of the Middle’ (*Tpendjidhoettset-Kpét*). The young people of one camp are bound to choose a wife in the opposite camp. But the men of the middle have the choice between the one and the other camp. The children belong to the camp of their mother. The *Etchian* are reputed white, the *Nattsein* black, and the *Tpendjidhoettset* brown, indications of the mixture of two races and of half-breeds.”²

Petitot's account of the three castes or clans of the Loucheux.

The names of what Father Petitot calls the three camps or fractions of the Loucheux are clearly only divergent forms of the names given by our other authorities Messrs. Hardisty, Jones, and Kirby; and the separation of these exogamous

The separation of the three clans in different camps

¹ “Notes on the Tinnah or Chepe-wyan Indians of British and Russian America,” contributed by George Gibbs, in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1866* (Washington, 1867), p. 315. Mr. Hardisty's account is reproduced with some small verbal changes and

omissions in W. H. Dall's *Alaska and its Resources*, pp. 196 sq.

² Émile Petitot, *Traditions indiennes du Canada Nord-Ouest* (Paris, 1886), pp. 14 sq. In spelling Indian names M. Petitot uses the Greek *ρ* to express a sound like the guttural *r* in Arabic.

resembles
the Central
Australian
custom.

divisions of the tribe in different camps, but not in different districts, reminds us of the similar separation of the exogamous classes in the camps of the Central Australian aborigines.¹ It is probable that, when the rule of exogamy was first introduced, the intermarrying classes into which the community dissolved itself were locally segregated from each other in order to avoid confusion and mistakes. Indeed without some such segregation it is difficult to imagine how the new rule could have been either understood or obeyed.

Chiefs
of the
Loucheux.

The Loucheux generally live in large parties, each band headed by a chief and one or more medicine-men. Though the medicine-men exercise no secular power as chiefs, they acquire through their magical practices an authority to

Polygamy
of the
chiefs.

which even the chiefs themselves are subject. All the chiefs, medicine-men, and those who possess rank acquired by property have two, three, or more wives, so that but few of the young men can marry, unless they content themselves with an old cast-off widow, who, from ill health and the effects of bad treatment, is no longer able to do heavy work. Hence those who have wives are invariably jealous and treat their women most brutally. This is one of the principal causes of the great falling off in numbers of the Loucheux

Female
infanticide.

tribe. Other causes of the decrease of the population are female infanticide, premature births, and very frequent miscarriages from excessive fatigue. The only reason alleged by the women for killing their infant daughters is a desire to spare them the miseries of life. The women are fewer than the men, which coupled with the practice of polygamy among the chiefs and nobles must seriously diminish the number of married men. It is the mother who disposes of her daughters in marriage; fathers and

Women
fewer than
men.

brothers have no voice in the matter. Yet the women, we are told, are literally beasts of burden to their lords and masters. All the heavy work is done by them. When an animal is killed, they carry the meat and skin on their backs to the camp, after which they dress the skin, cut up the meat and dry it. They hew the wood and draw the water. All the household duties devolve on them: they tend the fires,

Hard work
imposed on
the women
by the men.

¹ See above, vol. i. p. 248.

cook the food, make and mend their husband's and children's clothes, lace the snow shoes, and so forth. In migrating from place to place, if it be winter, the woman hauls the whole of the baggage, provisions, lodge poles, cooking utensils, and perhaps a couple of children on the top of all, while the husband strolls ahead with his gun, horn, shot-pouch, and empty game bag. If it be summer, the man paddles a light canoe, while the woman propels with straining nerves a large clumsy canoe laden with the baggage.¹ Yet these savages have mother-kin, that is, the system which traces descent through women. So little does mother-kin or mother-right, as it is often called, carry with it the social superiority of women to men.

Another Indian tribe of the Tinnah stock who were divided into exogamous clans with descent in the female line were the Tssetsauts, who lived on Portland Inlet in the

The
Tssetsauts
a Tinnah
tribe on
Portland
Inlet.

¹ "Notes on the Tinnah or Chepewyan Indians of British and Russian America," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1866* (Washington, 1867), p. 312. Compare W. W. Kirby, "A Journey to the Youcon, Russian America," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1864* (Washington, 1865), p. 418: "The women are much fewer in number and live a much shorter time than the men. The latter arises from their early marriages, harsh treatment they receive, and laborious work they have daily to perform, while the former is caused, I fear, by the cruel acts of infanticide which to female children have been so sadly prevalent among them." Yet with regard to these same Loucheux Indians Father Petitot tells us that "they are gentle, humane, hospitable, intelligent, frank, and good-humoured. They are kind to their women, whose advice they often take to the extent of making them their chiefs" (E. Petitot, *Traditions indiennes du Canada Nord-Ouest*, p. 14). So difficult is it to extract a consistent account of the moral character of savages from the reports of different writers. However, most

observers seem to agree in describing the Tinnahs as unusually gentle, unwarlike, and even timid to a ridiculous degree, though some of the tribes, such as the Chepewyans, Beavers, and Yellow Knives, are less so than others. They never made war on the whites and have been described as "the most peaceable tribe of Indians known in North America." See Samuel Hearne, *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean* (London, 1795), p. 310; Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of North America* (London, 1801), pp. cxix., cxxiv.; "Notes on the Tinnah or Chepewyan Indians of British and Russian America," *Annual Report of the Bureau of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1866* (Washington, 1867), pp. 307, 308, 309 *q.*; E. Petitot, *Monographie des Dènè-Dindjé* (Paris, 1876), pp. 30, 32; *id.*, *Traditions indiennes du Canada Nord-Ouest*, p. 14; A. G. Morice, "Notes, Archæological, Industrial and Sociological, on the Western Dénés," *Traditions indiennes du Canadian Institute*, iv. (1892-93) pp. 18 *sq.*, 20; *id.* "The Canadian Dénés," *Annual Archæological Report*, 1905 (Toronto,), pp. 193 *sq.*

Their
migratory
life.

extreme north of British Columbia, where it borders on Alaska. When Dr. Boas visited the tribe in 1894, it was reduced in numbers to about twelve members, of whom only two could speak their language correctly. By this time the tribe may perhaps be extinct. Some seventy or eighty years ago the Tsetsauts numbered about five hundred souls, but were for the most part exterminated by their enemies the Tlingits. They have no fixed villages, but make a camp wherever they intend to hunt. Their temporary houses are made of bark with a slanting roof, which is propped against the trunk of a great tree. When two families desire to inhabit one house, two of these bark structures are joined together, so that the two roofs slope up and meet each other in the middle, one of them overlapping the other a little to keep out the rain and snow. For the same reason also they set up the house under the shelter of the butt of a tall tree in the forest. When the tribe moves to another place, these houses are taken to pieces and the props tied together and fastened to a tree. On their return to the same spot, the bundles are untied, the props taken out, and the house set up again. In winter, when the doors of the houses are blocked with the deep snow, the exit is through the roof. It is possible that this winter house may be the primitive type out of which the subterranean lodge of the interior of British Columbia has developed. The staple food of the Tsetsauts is porcupine, marmot, mountain-goat, and bear. The skins of these animals furnish them with clothing. In summer they go down the rivers of Portland Inlet to catch salmon, which they dry for winter use. They made fire by means of a fire-drill worked with a bow. Their arrows were headed with flints.¹ The tribe was divided into two exogamous clans, the Eagle and the Wolf, with descent in the female line. Hence if an Eagle man married a Wolf woman, the children were Wolves; if a Wolf man married an Eagle woman, the children were Eagles. Each clan had its own personal names for its members. Children inherited not

The
Tsetsauts
divided
into two
exogamous
clans with
descent in
the female
line.

¹ Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 34, 39, 40 sq.,

41 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint).

from their father but from their mother's brother. The parents of a child changed their names and were called after their child "Father of So-and-So," "Mother of So-and-So." This widespread custom,¹ in so far as it is observed by the Tsetsauts, is explained by Dr. Boas as follows: "There are a limited number of names only in the tribe, probably names belonging to the nobility. When a child reaches a certain age, his father, uncle, mother, or aunt may give it his or her name; and since by this act the former owner has relinquished his place, he also loses the name belonging to the place, and consequently adopts that of the father, mother, or aunt of the owner of the place, thus indicating that he owned the place formerly."² On this explanation it is to be remarked that if a father gives his own name to his son, that name cannot be a clan name, since father and son always belong to separate clans, and each clan has names appropriated to its members. The custom of naming parents after their children is practised by other tribes of the Tinnah stock.³

Parents
named
after their
children.

The Tsetsauts observe the custom of the levirate: when a man dies leaving a widow, his brother marries her. However, he may not marry her before the lapse of a certain time, for they think that the ghost of the dead husband haunts his widow and would do a mischief to the man who should usurp his rights too soon. During the period of her mourning the widow is supported by her late husband's brother, her future spouse.⁴

The
levirate.

The Tsetsauts further observe the custom which obliges a man and his mother-in-law to avoid each other. It is said that this custom is found among all the northern tribes of the Tinnah stock. Among the Tsetsauts persons who stand in this relationship are ashamed to talk to or even to see each other. The mother-in-law leaves the house before her son-in-law enters it, or, if that cannot be done, she hides her

Avoidance
of a man
and his
wife's
mother.

¹ For more examples of it in other parts of the world see *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, i. 412 sq.

² Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 44 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint).

³ E. Petitot, *Monographie des Dènè-Dindjé* (Paris, 1876), p. 61.

⁴ Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 45 (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint).

Avoidance
of adult
brothers
and sisters.

face or turns the other way while he is near her. Dr. Boas's Indian informant further stated that an adult man must not look at his adult sister. "This custom, he explained, is based on a tradition according to which a man married his sister. Their brothers were ashamed, tied them together, and deserted them; but the man broke the ropes. They had a child, and eventually he killed a ram, a ewe, and a kid of the mountain-goat, put on their skins, and they assumed the shape of goats. He had acquired the power of killing everything by a glance of his eyes. One day his tribe came up the river for the purpose of hunting and he killed them. Then he travelled all over the world, leaving signs of his presence everywhere, such as remarkable rocks. The woman and her child went to the head waters of the Nass River, where they still continue to live on a lake."¹

Avoidance
of brothers
and sisters
elsewhere.

So far as this tradition bases the avoidance of brother and sister on a desire to remove from them the temptation to incest it is probably correct. We have seen that the mutual avoidance of brothers and sisters is practised by the Navaho and Arapaho Indians of North America as well as by people in other parts of the world. In every case the intention of the custom is probably to prevent incest.² Amongst the Tinnehs such precautions would seem

Marriage
with
mothers,
sisters, and
daughters.

to be necessary; for with regard to the eastern tribes of this nation we are informed that "the divine and customary barriers between blood relations are not well observed, for, although it is not considered correct by general opinion, instances of men united to their mothers, their sisters, or their daughters, though not common, are far from rare. I have heard among them of two sons keeping their mother as a common wife, of another wedded to his daughter, and of several married to their sisters, while in cases of polygamy having two sisters to wife is very usual."³ And speaking of the Southern

¹ Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 44 (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint).

² See above, p. 245; and vol. i. p. 542; vol. ii. pp. 77 *sqq.*, 124, 131,

147, 188 *sq.*, 343, 344.

³ "Notes on the Tinnah or Chepe-wyan Indians of British and Russian America," communicated by George Gibbs, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington, 1867), p. 310. The

Indians of the Tinnch stock, whom in this respect he contrasts disadvantageously with the Northern Indians, the old traveller Samuel Hearne observes: "Most of the Southern Indians, as well as the Athapuscow [Athapascan] and Neheaway [Nahanai] tribes, are entirely without scruple in this respect. It is notoriously known, that many of them cohabit occasionally with their own mothers, and frequently espouse their sisters and daughters. I have known several of them who, after having lived in that state with their daughters, have given them to their sons, and all parties been perfectly reconciled to it. In fact, notwithstanding the severity of the climate, the licentiousness of the inhabitants cannot be exceeded by any of the Eastern nations, whose luxurious manner of life, and genial climate, seem more adapted to excite extraordinary passions, than the severe cold of the frigid zone. It is true that few of those who live under the immediate protection of the English ever take either their sisters or daughters for wives, which is probably owing to the fear of incurring their displeasure; but it is well known that acts of incest too often take place among them, though perhaps not so frequently as among the foreign Indians."¹

The last Indian tribe of the Tinnch stock and indeed of the North America whose totemic system we shall notice are the Kenayes or Kenais, who inhabit the Kenai Peninsula and the neighbourhood of Cook's Inlet in Alaska, where they border on the Eskimo. They call themselves Tnaina or Tnai, that is, "men," this name being probably a mere dialectical variation of Tinnch or Déné. In temperament more taciturn and in manners more dignified than their cheerful lively neighbours the Eskimo, these Indians are expert fishers and ardent hunters. In summer they catch the various kinds of salmon which swarm in their seas and streams; and in the early days of August, when the fishing season is over, they betake themselves to the mountains,

The Kenayes or Kenais, a Tinnch tribe of Alaska.

Their mode of life.

authority quoted in the text is Mr. Bernard R. Ross, of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean (London, 1795), p. 130.

¹ Samuel Hearne, *Journey from*

The
country of
the Kenais.

where they make long and toilsome journeys over the high passes in pursuit of reindeer and mountain-goats, returning lean, worn, and exhausted by privations and fatigue to hunt the beaver until, with the setting in of the first hard frosts, they give themselves up to their winter rest and recreations. In the neighbourhood of the sea their country is an ascending plain dotted with lakes but bare of trees except in the deep ravines, which are clothed with a stunted growth of creeping willows and alder bush. Further inland, as the land rises, you come to a belt of forest and beyond that to the great alpine chain of mountains which runs parallel to the sea, glittering in the distance with its glaciers and eternal snows. Herds of reindeer browse all over this region, retreating with the approach of summer to the inaccessible heights of the mountains, where they may often be seen by the traveller as a moving line of black dots winding over the snow-fields far above.¹

Exogamous
divisions of
the Kenais.

The Kenais are divided into two exogamous clans or perhaps phratries. According to their traditions the Raven created two women out of different stuffs; one of them became the ancestress of the one clan, and the other of the other. Of the two clans one is divided into six and the other into five septs, which are named as follows:—

- | | | |
|----------|---|--|
| Clan I. | { | 1. <i>Kachgija</i> , so called from the croaking of ravens. |
| | | 2. <i>Kali</i> , „ „ the catching of fish. |
| | | 3. <i>Tlachtana</i> , „ „ a grass-mat. |
| | | 4. <i>Montochtana</i> , „ „ the inner corner of a hut. |
| | | 5. <i>Tschichgi</i> , „ „ a colour. |
| | | 6. <i>Nuchschi</i> , those who have fallen from heaven. |
| Clan II. | { | 1. <i>Tultschina</i> , so called from the inclination to bathe in cold water in late autumn. |
| | | 2. <i>Kutluchtna</i> , women fond of stringing glass-beads. |
| | | 3. <i>Schischlachtana</i> , deceivers like the Raven, who at the creation of the earth and mankind always played tricks on the latter. |
| | | 4. <i>Nutschichgi</i> , named after a mountain near Lake Skilach. |
| | | 5. <i>Zaltana</i> „ „ „ „ |

¹ Admiral v. Wrangell, "Einige Bemerkungen über die Wilden an der Nordwest-Küste von Amerika," in K. C. v. Baer und Gr. v. Helmersen's *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des russischen Reiches*, i. (St. Petersburg, 1839) pp. 103, 112-116; Ivan Petroff, *Report on*

the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska, pp. 24, 26; W. H. Dall, "Tribes of the Extreme Northwest," in *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, i. (Washington, 1877) pp. 35 sq.; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 326.

According to ancient custom, the men of the first clan or group of six septs may not marry women of their own clan or group of six septs, but must marry women of the other clan or group of five septs ; similarly the men of the second clan must always marry women of the first clan, not of their own. The children are reckoned to the clan and sept of their mother. However, even in the first half of the nineteenth century this rule of exogamy was no longer strictly observed, and men were allowed to marry women even of their own sept. Old people attributed the great mortality of their tribe to the new practice of inbreeding. A man's heir is his sister's child ; the son inherits very little from his father. A man serves in the house of his future father-in-law for a year ; after that he receives payment for his services and takes his wife home. Rich men have three or four wives.¹

Exogamy
and
maternal
descent
of the
divisions.

It deserves to be noted that the Tinnehs share with the coast tribes the belief in the transmigration of souls or the reincarnation of the dead. Thus, with regard to the Chepewyans, a Tinnéh tribe, we read that " they have some faint notions of the transmigration of the soul ; so that if a child be born with teeth, they instantly imagine, from its premature appearance, that it bears a resemblance to some person who had lived to an advanced period, and that he has assumed a renovated life, with these extraordinary tokens of maturity."² And of the Tinnehs or Dénés in general Father Petitot observes that " the ancient faith in metempsychosis and the transmigration of souls is deeply rooted in a great number of tribes. It is usually the little children born with one or two teeth (a circumstance common enough among the Dénés) who pass for persons resuscitated or reincarnated. It is the same with those who come into the world soon after the death of somebody. The testimony

Belief
of the
Tinnehs in
the trans-
migration
of souls
and the re-
incarnation
of the dead.

¹ Admiral v. Wrangell, " Einige Bemerkungen über die Wilden an der Nordwest-Küste von Amerika," in K. C. v. Baer und Gr. v. Helmersen, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des russischen Reiches*, i. (St. Petersburg, 1839), pp. 104 sq. Compare T. de Pauly, *Description ethnographique des peuples*

de la Russie (St. Petersburg, 1862), *Peuples de l'Amérique russe*, pp. 9, 10 ; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 326.

² Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of America* (London, 1801), p. cxix.

Belief of
the Hurons
in the rein-
carnation
of infants.

of Hearne confirms my assertion. I had much trouble in dissuading the Hareskins from this superstition, and I doubt whether I succeeded. I could not banish from the mind of a young girl the idea that she had lived before her birth under a different name and with different features than those with which I was familiar; nor could I prevent an old woman from claiming the possession of a neighbour's child under the specious pretext that she recognized in it the transmigrated soul of her deceased son. I have known of several such cases. The Hurons shared the same belief. According to Malte-Brun, they buried their little ones beside the paths, in order that the women who passed by might receive their souls and bring them afresh into the world. This power of reincarnation is by the Dénés extended equally to the animals. I have known an unhappy old mother who grieved because a professional witch assured her that she had seen her dead son prowling on the bank of the river in the likeness of a bear. It seldom happens after the death of a conspicuous savage that his companions do not say they have seen him transformed into a two-footed cariboo, a bear, or an elan."¹ Again, Father Morice tells us that "metempsychosis was believed in by the Carriers and the Sekanais and very likely by the other two tribes also [the Chilcotins and the Nahanes], though I could not positively affirm this. It amounted, in their estimation, to the regeneration of persons who had led a virtuous life and were supposed to be rewarded therefor by a new birth. Transformations into beings of a lower order, however, than that of their former condition, were repugnant to their psychological ideas."²

When we remember how closely a belief in the reincarnation of the dead is associated with the totemic system of

¹ E. Petitot, *Monographie des Dènè-Dindjié*, p. 59. Under the name Dènè-Dindjié the writer includes the whole Tinné stock (*op. cit.* pp. 23 sq.). I have not found the passage of Hearne to which Father Petitot refers in confirmation of his statement. The account of the Huron belief in the reincarnation of infants comes from a Jesuit missionary report of the

year 1636. See *Relations des Jésuites*, 1636, p. 130 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858).

² Father A. G. Morice, "The Western Dénés, their Manners and Customs," *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, Toronto, Third Series, vol. vii. Fasciculus 1 (Toronto, 1889), p. 161.

the Central Australian aborigines,¹ we need not be surprised at finding the same belief held by totemic peoples in other parts of the world ; and if the view is correct that totemism in its origin was simply a theory invented to explain the facts of conception and childbirth, the coincidence of the belief in reincarnation with the practice of totemism in the same tribes may not be accidental but vital.

Totemism associated with the reincarnation of the dead also in Australia.

The Tinneh or Déné Indians possess the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the Tâ-nâ-tinne tribe, who seem to be the Hare Indians, in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *Sa-tâ* "my father" to his father, and to his father's brother ; he applies the same term *A-na* "my mother" to his mother, to his mother's sisters, and to the wives of his father's brothers. In his own generation he has separate terms for "my elder brother" (*Sün-no-ga*) and "my younger brother" (*Sün-no-gâ-yă-za*), for "my elder sister" (*Sa-da-za*) and "my younger sister" (*Sa-da-za-yă-za*) ; and he applies the same terms "elder brother," "younger brother," "elder sister," "younger sister" to his first cousins, the sons and daughters of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters. In the generation below his own he applies the same term *Sa-yâ-za* "my son" and *Sa-to-a* "my daughter" to his own sons and daughters and to his nephews and nieces, the sons and daughters both of his brothers and of his sisters.²

The classificatory system of relationship among the Tâ-nâ-tinne or Hare Indians.

Again, among the Loucheux or Kutchins in the generation above his own a man applies the same term *Te-angh* "my father" to his father and to his father's brothers ; he applies the same term *Na-aingh* "my mother" to his mother and to his mother's sisters. In his own generation he has separate terms for "my elder brother" (*Soon-da-ga*), "my younger brother" (*Sa-chă*), "my elder sister" (*Sa-che*), and "my younger sister" (*Sa-chith*) ; and he applies the same terms "elder brother," "younger brother," "elder sister," "younger sister" to his first cousins, the sons and daughters of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters. In the

The classificatory system of relationship among the Loucheux or Kutchins.

¹ See above, vol. i. pp. 182 sq., *sanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 236 and 188 sqq.

² L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Con-*

Table II. pp. 293 sqq.

generation below his own he applies the same term *Sa-tin-ge* "my son" and *Sa-che* "my daughter" to his own sons and daughters and to his nephews and nieces, the sons and daughters of his brothers. But he applies different terms *Soo* "my nephew (?)" and *Sa-ke* (?) "my niece" to the sons and daughters of his sisters.¹

§ 8. Reported Totemism among the Eskimo

The Eskimo appear to be without the institutions of totemism and exogamy.

However, Mr. E. W. Nelson reports that totemism exists among the Eskimo of Bering Strait.

Marks which Mr. Nelson regards as

From almost all the accounts which have been given of the Innuït or Eskimo, who range over an immense but dreary and inhospitable region from Bering Strait on the west to Greenland on the east, it would seem that the institutions of totemism and exogamy are wholly lacking among that people. In these respects, therefore, if the accounts are true, the Eskimo resemble their neighbours in north-eastern Asia, the Chukchee and Koryak.² On this subject one good authority, Mr. W. H. Dall, definitely says that "the totemic system is not found among the Innuït."³ However, a subsequent writer, Mr. E. W. Nelson, who has given us a valuable account of the Innuït or Eskimo about Bering Strait,⁴ believed that he had found totemism in that branch of the race. He says: "From Kuskokwim river northward to the shores of Bering strait and Kotzebue sound the Eskimo have a regular system of totem marks and the accompanying subdivision of the people into gentes."⁵ What Mr. Nelson calls the totem marks are carved on weapons and implements of many sorts, painted on garments and wooden utensils, and tattooed on faces. Some of these

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 239 and Table II. pp. 293 *sqq.* In his monograph on the Tinnehs or Dénés the missionary Father E. Petitot gives some indications of the use of the classificatory system of relationship among them; for he tells us that they have no word in their language for cousins, whether first cousins or cousins further removed; they call them all brothers and sisters. Further, they have no words for brother and sister in general, but they have special terms to distinguish elder from younger brothers

and sisters. And further in their language the words for uncle and aunt are derived from the words for father and mother. See E. Petitot, *Monographie des Dènè-Dindjît* (Paris, 1876), p. 76.

² See above, vol. ii. pp. 348, 352.

³ W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources* (London, 1870), p. 145.

⁴ W. E. Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1899) pp. 19-518.

⁵ E. W. Nelson, *op. cit.* p. 322.

marks represent or refer to the wolf, the otter, the ermine, the raven, and the gerfalcon. "Arrows or other weapons marked with the sign of the wolf or other animal totem mark are believed to become invested with some of the qualities of the animal represented and to be endowed with special fatality."¹ "Women belonging to the wolf gens braid strips of wolfskin in their hair, and the young men and boys wear a wolf tail hung behind on the belt. It is said to have been the ancient custom for all to wear some mark about the dress by which the gens of each person might be distinguished."² "It is customary for hunters to carry about with them an object representing their totem. A man belonging to the raven gens carries in his quiver a pair of raven feet and a quill feather from the same bird. The gerfalcon man carries in his quiver a quill feather of that totem bird."³ Further, we are told that some of the masks worn by the Eskimo at their festivals represent the totemic animals, and that on these occasions the wearer of such a mask is believed to become the creature whose mask he wears, or at least he is supposed to be endowed with its spiritual essence.⁴

totemic are carved on weapons, painted on garments, and tattooed on faces.

Totemic badges said to be worn by members of a totemic clan.

Totemic masks.

Such in brief is the evidence on which Mr. Nelson relies to prove the existence of totemism and totemic clans among the Eskimo. It does not seem to me to be sufficient; and until more cogent arguments are adduced, I prefer to acquiesce in the opinion of Mr. W. H. Dall that the totemic system is not found among the Eskimo.

Mr. Nelson's evidence of totemism among the Eskimo seems insufficient.

¹ E. W. Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1899), p. 322.

² E. W. Nelson, *op. cit.* p. 324.

³ E. W. Nelson, *op. cit.* p. 325.

⁴ E. W. Nelson, *op. cit.* p. 395.

CHAPTER XVIII

GUARDIAN SPIRITS AMONG THE AMERICAN INDIANS

§ 1. *Guardian Spirits in general*

Besides the totem of their clan many American Indians possessed a guardian spirit, which they acquired for themselves in dreams and did not transmit to their offspring.

WE have now completed our survey of totemism in the usual sense of the term, that is, of clan totems, in North America. But besides the clan totem, which was hereditary either in the male or the female line and was shared by every member of the clan, many North American Indians stood individually in a certain mystic relationship to a supernatural being, commonly called their guardian spirit, which they neither shared with others nor transmitted to their descendants. As this guardian spirit generally appeared in the form of an animal, and as the man often, though not always, respected the species of animal in which he believed his mysterious patron to be embodied, it is clear that these guardian spirits or tutelary animals bear some resemblance to totems, and accordingly I have called them individual totems¹ to distinguish them from the hereditary totems of the clans.

These guardian spirits have been called individual totems.

To this it has been objected by Professor E. B. Tylor² that the guardian spirit of each individual Indian, even when it is embodied in an animal, is something entirely different from the totem of the clan and ought not to be designated by the general name of totem, even with the qualifying epithet individual or personal. The distinction between the two is indeed manifest, and both in my original treatise and in my subsequent writings I have been careful to maintain it; for whenever I speak of totems or totemism in the abstract without qualification, I always refer to the

¹ Vol. i. 49 *sqq.*

² E. B. Tylor, in *Man*, ii. (1902) pp. 2 *sq.*

totems of clans. Yet the attitude of respect and affection in which a man stands towards his totemic animal in the strict sense of the word so closely resembles that in which he stands towards his guardian spirit in animal form, that it seems, at least at first sight, difficult to separate them entirely and to affirm that they are wholly unconnected with each other. Indeed some of the most eminent American ethnologists, who have personally studied totemism and the system of guardian spirits as living institutions among the Indians, are so strongly impressed by the connection between the two that they derive the clan totem directly from the guardian spirit, believing that it is nothing but the guardian spirit of an individual ancestor of the clan transmitted by inheritance to his descendants whether in the male or the female line. But if the clan totem could be proved to have originated in this way, it would be hard to bestow the name of totem on the guardian spirit of the descendants and yet to deny it to the same guardian spirit of the ancestor. This view of the origin of the clan totem will be discussed later on. Whether we accept it or not, the weight of authority by which it is supported entitles it at least to a respectful consideration.

Resemblance of the guardian spirit to the clan totem.

Theory that the clan totem is derived from the guardian spirit.

Others again, admitting a relation between the clan totem and the guardian spirit, invert it by supposing that the guardian spirit is not the original of the clan totem but that on the contrary it has been developed out of it at a time when the totemism of the clans was falling into decay, and when consequently individuals, deprived of the protection of the clan totem, looked about for a personal guardian of their own to supply its place.¹ In support of this view it might be urged, that whereas individual totems or guardian spirits in the form of animals are rare in Australia, where clan totemism is, or rather was lately, in full bloom, they were far commoner in North America, where on the

Contrary theory that the guardian spirit is derived from the clan totem.

¹ This is, if I understand them aright, the view of Mr. E. S. Hartland, Dr. A. C. Haddon, and Messrs. H. Hubert and M. Mauss. See E. S. Hartland in *Folk-Lore*, xi. (1900) p. 68; A. C. Haddon, in *Report of the British Association Meeting at Belfast*,

1902, p. 742; H. Hubert et M. Mauss, "Théorie générale de la Magie," *L'Année Sociologique*, vii. (Paris, 1904) pp. 32 sq. Mr. A. R. Brown, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, tells me in conversation that he shares this view.

other hand clan totemism would seem to have been decadent, the sanctity of the relation between a man and his clan totem being at least much less prominent in America than in Australia.¹

In this uncertainty as to their relation to each other it is best to consider the guardian spirit by itself.

Whether either or neither of these views as to the relation of guardian spirits to clan totems be correct, the subject deserves to be considered in a treatise on totemism, and accordingly I shall now give some account of the guardian spirits of the American Indians. But to prevent confusion, I have hitherto treated the American clan totems independently and have reserved the consideration of the guardian spirits for a separate chapter. I shall describe the institution of guardian spirits as it existed in the various tribes, and shall then compare its diffusion with that of clan totemism, in order to see whether the comparison may throw light on the relation between the two.

§ 2. *Guardian Spirits among the Algonkins*

Guardian spirits or *manitoos* best attested for the Algonkins.

The existence of guardian spirits of individuals is best attested among the tribes of the Algonkin stock in Eastern America and again among some of the tribes of the North-West. We shall begin with the Algonkins, among whom the guardian spirit of the individual was known as the *manitoo*.² The following account of the *manitoo* or *manitou* is given by the historian Mr. Francis Parkman, who drew his knowledge of it from life as well as from books. It applies to the Iroquois and Hurons as well as to the Algonkins:—

Francis Parkman's account of the *manitoo*.

“Besides ascribing life and intelligence to the material world, animate and inanimate, the Indian believes in supernatural existences, known among the Algonquins as *Manitous*, and among the Iroquois and Hurons as *Okies* or *Otkons*.

¹ I have again and again emphasised the absence of information as to the religious aspect of totemism among the North American Indians; but as this lack of information may be due rather to the inattention of observers than to the indifference of the Indians, I speak with hesitation on the subject.

² The word is variously spelt as *manitoo*, *manitou*, *manito*, *manido*, *monedo*, *munedoo*, and so forth. The spelling *manitou* represents the French pronunciation and ought not to be adopted in English. Compare *Hand-book of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 800 sq.

These words comprehend all forms of supernatural being, from the highest to the lowest, with the exception, possibly, of certain diminutive fairies or hobgoblins, and certain giants and anomalous monsters, which appear under various forms, grotesque and horrible, in the Indian fireside legends. There are local *manitous* of streams, rocks, mountains, cataracts, and forests. The conception of these beings betrays, for the most part, a striking poverty of imagination. In nearly every case, when they reveal themselves to mortal sight, they bear the semblance of beasts, reptiles, or birds, in shapes unusual or distorted. There are other *manitous* without local habitation, some good, some evil, countless in number and indefinite in attributes. They fill the world, and control the destinies of men,—that is to say, of Indians: for the primitive Indian holds that the white man lives under a spiritual rule distinct from that which governs his own fate. These beings, also, appear for the most part in the shape of animals. Sometimes, however, they assume human proportions; but more frequently they take the form of stones, which, being broken, are found full of living blood and flesh.

“Each primitive Indian has his guardian *manitou*, to whom he looks for counsel, guidance, and protection. These spiritual allies are gained by the following process. At the age of fourteen or fifteen, the Indian boy blackens his face, retires to some solitary place, and remains for days without food. Superstitious expectancy and the exhaustion of abstinence rarely fail of their results. His sleep is haunted by visions, and the form which first or most often appears is that of his guardian *manitou*,—a beast, a bird, a fish, a serpent, or some other object, animate or inanimate. An eagle or a bear is the vision of a destined warrior; a wolf, of a successful hunter; while a serpent foreshadows the future medicine-man, or, according to others, portends disaster. The young Indian thenceforth wears about his person the object revealed in his dream, or some portion of it,—as a bone, a feather, a snake-skin, or a tuft of hair. This, in the modern language of the forest and prairie, is known as his ‘medicine.’ The Indian yields to it a sort of worship, propitiates it with offerings of tobacco, thanks it in prosperity, and upbraids it in disaster. If his medicine fails

The term is a general word designating supernatural beings or spirits of every sort.

The personal *manitou* or guardian spirit is obtained by fasting and dreaming at puberty; the thing which appears in a dream to the faster is his guardian spirit, and he wears a piece of it about him.

to bring the desired success, he will sometimes discard it and adopt another. The superstition now becomes mere fetish-worship, since the Indian regards the mysterious object which he carries about with him rather as an embodiment than as a representative of a supernatural power."¹

The unscrupulous and cowardly might avail themselves of this superstition to shirk fighting.

Thus it appears that a man's career in life might be decided by the animal of which he happened to dream at puberty. Mr. Parkman knew an old Dakota chief, who was greatly respected, but had never been to war, though he came of a fighting family. The reason of his pacific life was that at his initiatory fast he had dreamed of an antelope, the peace-spirit of his people.² It is obvious that cowardly and unscrupulous youths might take advantage of this superstition to shirk the hardships and dangers of war; they had only to profess to have dreamed of an antelope or other timorous creature, and the thing was done. "Women fast as well as men,—always at the time of transition from childhood to maturity. In the *Narrative* of John Tanner, there is an account of an old woman who had fasted, in her youth, for ten days, and throughout her life placed the firmest faith in the visions which had appeared to her at that time. Among the Northern Algonquins, the practice, down to a recent day, was almost universal."³

Women fast as well as men.

Thus *manitoo* was a general Algonkin term for all the spirits of nature. The guardian spirits of individuals were only one class of these *manitoos*. Early Jesuit account of the *manitoo*.

From the preceding account we gather that *manitoo* was a general term including most of the spirits of nature in which the Algonkins believed. Thus the guardian spirit of the individual was only one of a large class of spirits to which the common name of *manitoo* was given. This description of the *manitoo* agrees with that of the early Jesuit missionaries, one of whom writes that the Montagnets, an Algonkin tribe of Canada "give the name of *manitoo* to every nature superior to man, whether good or bad. That is why, when we speak of God, they name him sometimes the Good *Manitoo*, and when we speak of the devil, they call him the Wicked *Manitoo*. All those who have special knowledge of the good or bad *Manitoo* they call *Mantouisieukechi*. And so far as these men know only the wicked *Manitoo*, that is to say, the

¹ Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*, Fourth Edition (Boston, 1870), pp. lxix.-lxxi.

² Francis Parkman, *op. cit.* p. lxxi. note ¹.

³ Francis Parkman, *op. cit.* p. lxxi.

devil, we call them sorcerers.”¹ These sorcerers were supposed to be able to kill people by invoking their *manitoo*. They would shut themselves up in their hut, and the spirits would bring them the souls of their enemies in the shape of stones or other objects, which the sorcerer then struck with a sword or an axe, till the blood ran out and reddened the weapon; whereupon the person whose soul suffered in this fashion fell sick and died.² Before going to hunt, a man would retire to a small hut and there consult his *manitoo*, who was expected to tell him where to find game.³ The spirit or, as the Jesuits called him, the devil also communicated with the Montagnet Indians in dreams. A man would dream, for example, that an elk appeared to him in his sleep and said to him, “Come to me.” On waking from sleep the dreamer would seek that elk till he found it, and having stabbed it to death he would open the carcass and discover in it some hair or a stone; and this object, whatever it was, he would carefully keep in order to be afterwards lucky in finding and killing many animals. The precious thing, which thus served as a talisman, was hidden in a bag, into which the owner would suffer no one else to look.⁴

The man kills the animal of which he dreamed and keeps a portion of it as a charm in a bag.

The following is the account which the Jesuit Charlevoix, the historian of French America, gives of the guardian spirit; like that of Parkman it appears to apply to the Hurons and Iroquois as well as to the Algonkins:—

“They address themselves to the evil genii only to pray not to harm them, but they suppose that the rest are committed to the guardianship of men, and that every man has his own. In the Huron tongue they are called *okkis* and in the Algonkin *manitoos*. The Indians have recourse to them in the dangers they incur, in the enterprises they undertake and when they wish to obtain some extraordinary favour. There is nothing, however unreasonable and immoral, which they do not think themselves entitled to ask of them. But they are not under their protection at birth. To merit that favour they must be able to handle the bow and arrow,

Charlevoix's account of the *manitoo*.

¹ *Relations des Jésuites*, 1637, p. 49 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858).

² *Ibid.* 1637, pp. 49, 50 (Canadian reprint).

³ *Ibid.* 1633, p. 17 (Canadian reprint).

⁴ *Ibid.* 1637, p. 50 (Canadian reprint).

and many preparations are needed before they can receive it. It is the most important part of their life. The following are the principal circumstances.

The
manitoo or
guardian
spirit
acquired by
fasting and
dreaming.

"They begin by blackening the boy's face, then they make him fast for eight days without giving him anything at all to eat, and it is requisite that his future guardian genius should manifest himself to the boy in dreams during this time. The hollow brain of the poor lad, who has just arrived at puberty, cannot fail to furnish him with dreams, and every morning they are at great pains to make him tell them. Nevertheless the fast often ends before the appointed time, few boys having the strength to prolong it so far; however, that makes no difference; here, as elsewhere, the convenient custom of allowing dispensations is practised. The guardian genius is always the thing of which the boy has oftenest dreamed; and in truth the thing is only a symbol or figure under which the spirit manifests himself. But it has happened to these people as to all who have departed from the primitive religion; they have clung to the figure and lost sight of the reality.

The
guardian is
sometimes
a part of an
animal, or
a piece of
wood, etc.

"However, these symbols signify nothing by themselves, sometimes it is the head of a bird, at others the foot of an animal, or a piece of wood, in short any common or worthless thing. Nevertheless they keep the thing with as much care as the ancients took in the preservation of their Penates.

There is indeed nothing in nature, if we can believe the savages, which has not its spirit; but there are spirits of all orders, and all have not the same virtue. When there is anything which they do not understand, they attribute to it a superior genius, and the mode of expressing themselves is to say, 'It is a spirit.' Similarly, but in a higher degree, with men: those who have singular talents or perform extraordinary feats are spirits; that is, they have a guardian genius of an order above the common. Some, and especially the jugglers, try to persuade the multitude that they are subject to ecstatic transports. . . . The jugglers never fail to announce that in their pretended ecstasies their genii impart to them great knowledge of the most distant things and of the future; and as chance (supposing you will not allow that the Devil has a hand in it) will sometimes have it that they

devine or guess aright, they gain great credit thereby and are esteemed geniuses of the first order.

"As soon as a boy has been told what he is thenceforth to regard as his tutelary genius, he is carefully instructed as to his obligation of honouring it, of following the advice which he will receive from it in sleep, of deserving its favours, of reposing all his trust in it, and of fearing the effects of its wrath if he fails to acquit himself of his duty. The ceremony ends by a feast, and it is also usual to tattoo the figure of his *okki* or *manitoo* on the boy's body. It would seem that so solemn an engagement, of which the mark is ineffaceable, should be inviolable; nevertheless very little is needed to break it.

The guardian honoured and trusted.

"The savages are unwilling to acknowledge themselves in the wrong, even in regard to their gods; and they make no scruple of justifying themselves at the expense of the deities. So the first time they must either condemn themselves or cast the blame on their guardian genius, it is always the latter who is at fault; they look out for another without more ado and with the same precautions as in the first instance. The women have also their *manitoos* or *okkis*, but they pay less attention to them than the men, perhaps because they give them less to do."

Women also have their *manitoos*.

The following is Schoolcraft's account of the guardian spirit or personal *manitoo* among the Algonkins: "To give some idea of the Indian mythology as above denoted, it is necessary to conceive every department of the universe to be filled with invisible spirits. These spirits hold in their belief nearly the same relation to matter that the soul does to the body: they pervade it. They believe not only that every man, but also that every animal, has a soul. . . . Dreams are considered by them as a means of direct communication with the spiritual world; and hence the great influence which dreams exert over the Indian mind and conduct. They are generally regarded as friendly warnings of their personal *manitos*. No labor or enterprise

Schoolcraft's account of the *manitoo* among the Algonkins.

Belief in the power of dreams.

¹ Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), vi. 67-70. Sagard also tells us that the name for a spirit in Huron is *oki* and in Algonkin *manitoo*. See F. Gabriel Sagard,

Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons (Paris, 1865), pp. 160 sq. Sagard's travels were first published at Paris in 1632.

is undertaken against their indications. A whole army is turned back if the dreams of the officiating priest are unfavorable. A family lodge has been known to be deserted by all its inmates at midnight, leaving the fixtures behind, because one of the family had dreamt of an attack, and been frightened with the impression of blood and tomahawks. To give more solemnity to his office the priest or leading *meta* exhibits a sack containing the carved or stuffed images of animals, with medicines and bones constituting the sacred charms. These are never exhibited to the common gaze, but, on a march, the sack is hung up in plain view. To profane the medicine sack would be equivalent to violating the altar. Dreams are carefully sought by every Indian, whatever be their rank, at certain periods of youth, while fasting. These fasts are sometimes continued a great number of days, until the devotee becomes pale and emaciated. The animals that appear propitiously to the mind during these dreams, are fixed on and selected as personal *manitos*, and are ever after viewed as guardians. This period of fasting and dreaming is deemed as essential by them as any religious rite whatever employed by Christians. The initial fast of a young man or girl holds the relative importance of baptism, with this peculiarity, that it is a free-will or self-dedicatory rite.”¹

The
medicine-
bag.

Fasts and
dreams,
their
importance
for the
Indians.

Distinction
between
totems and
guardian
spirits.

Again, in regard to the Algonkin tribes which clustered round Lake Michigan, Schoolcraft tells us that “each clan or family has a totem, which serves to keep up the line of descents. This is different, in principle, from the system of guardian spirits. Every individual, male and female, has one of the latter, no matter what the totem may be. Totems are by descent—guardian spirits by choice or experience. This experience is chiefly sought in fasts and dreams, a series of which are undertaken for this purpose, at the age of puberty. The fast is undertaken to prepare the body for the dream. These dreams are continued until some animal or bird, or other animate object, appears, which is fixed on as the

¹ Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Oneëta, or Characteristics of the Red Race of America* (New York and London, 1845), pp. 455 sq.; *id.*, *The American*

Indians, their History, Condition and Prospects, New Revised Edition (Buffalo, 1851), pp. 212 sq.

genie, or guardian spirit. Thus the mind of the Indian, dark in itself, gropes after truth. Feeling the need of some supernatural power, it aims to strengthen itself by reliance on the shadowy, the mysterious, and the symbolic. It is believed that the guardian spirit leads the man safely through the vicissitudes of life, preserves him in battle, and gives him success in the chase."¹

Trust in the guardian spirit.

The following account of guardian spirits appears, like the foregoing, to apply to the Algonkin Indians of Lake Michigan, particularly to the Pottawatamies, who occupied the country at the south end of the lake. "Independently of the name which he bears, and of the *totem* or badge of family to which he lays claim, an Indian has frequently a kind spirit to watch over him and assist him. This tutelary saint is, of course, held in high veneration, and nothing is done that could in the least offend him. The mode in which each Indian becomes acquainted with the name or nature of this ministering spirit, is by dreams, in which he fancies that the Master of Life reveals himself to him in his sleep, under the form of some tangible object in creation, generally of an animal; under this shape the Great Spirit holds converse with him, and the Indian ever after supposes that this is the form in which he may expect to see the Great Spirit appear to him. To this animal, whom he considers as a medium of communication between him and the Master of Life, he addresses his prayers and states his wants; he consults it in all difficulties, and not unfrequently conceives that he has derived relief from it. Of course, he abstains from eating of the animal, and would rather starve than sacrilegiously feed upon his idol. But he holds the animal as a friend to himself alone. He knows that others have different spirits, and hence does not think himself bound to protect that animal against his companions, because he knows that there is no virtue in the animal for any one but himself. Sometimes, instead of the whole animal, it is only in some part of it that the charm resides,

Keating's account of the guardian spirit.

The guardian spirit is an animal seen in a dream and supposed to embody the Great Spirit.

The Indian will not eat his tutelary animal.

Sometimes the charm resides in a part only of an animal.

¹ Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. (Philadelphia, 1856) p. 196. In the next sentence Schoolcraft adds: "With the rest of the Algonquin tribes, they

believe in magic, witchcraft, sorcery, and the power and influence of minor *monedos*, as well as one great ruling good *monedo*, and one great counter-acting bad *monedo*."

and in this case he will feel no hesitation in eating of all the other parts of the beast."¹

Points of
resem-
blance
between
the totem
and the
guardian
spirit.

From the foregoing account it appears that when a man has acquired a guardian spirit in the form of an animal, he carefully abstains from eating the flesh of any animal of that species, though he does not object to other people partaking of it. This attitude of a man to his tutelary animal resembles that of a man to his clan totem. Further, it is of interest to observe that the practice of splitting a totem, which is sometimes applied with great advantage to the clan totem,² can be profitably applied also to the individual totem or guardian spirit. Thus to pare down the claims of superstition to the narrowest limits is a sign both of intellectual and of economic progress.

Guardian
spirits
among the
Potta-
watamies.

The Jesuit missionary Father De Smet has given us the following account of guardian spirits among the Pottawatamies: "When the time comes to give a child a name, the parents make a great feast. They send to all the guests a small leaf of tobacco or a small ring, which is their manner of invitation. After the repast the oldest member of the family proclaims the name, which has generally reference either to some distinctive mark or to some dream of the child or perhaps to some good or evil trait in his character. This ceremony takes place for boys when they have attained the age of seventeen. Previously they are bound to undergo a very rigorous fast of seven or eight days, during which the parents recommend their son to pay great attention to the dreams which the Great Spirit may send him, and which will reveal to him his future destiny. For example, if he is to be a chief or a great warrior, it will be revealed to him by the number of animals which will fall beneath his tomahawk, or by the number of scalps which he will take from his enemies in his dreams. The animal which presents itself to him will become his totem (*dodême*), and all his life long he will carry about him a badge of it, whether it be a claw, a tooth, a tail, a feather, or what not."³ Further, Father

¹ William H. Keating, *Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River* (London, 1825), i. 117 sq.

² See above, p. 100.

³ Le R. P. De Smet, *Voyages aux Montagnes Rocheuses et séjour chez les tribus indiennes de l'Oregon*, Nouvelle édition (Brussels and Paris,

De Smet tells us that before the tomb of a warrior these Indians set up "the post of the braves; on the top of it they paint in red the animal or totem (*dodéme*), the guardian spirit of the deceased, and all the persons present make one or more marks on it. These marks are red crosses, by which they mean to represent all the ghosts of their vanquished foes whom they wish to serve their comrade as slaves in the other world. I have seen posts which had eighty to a hundred of these crosses."¹ From these passages it is clear that the missionary De Smet fell into the same mistake as the interpreter J. Long² of confusing the guardian spirit with the totem.

Similarly, the Ottawas, another Algonkin tribe, revered their *manitoos*, as we learn from an old letter of a Catholic missionary. He writes that "where the superstition of these peoples appears most extravagant is in the worship they pay to what they call their *manitoo*. As they know hardly anything but the beasts with which they live in the forests, they imagine that in these beasts, or rather in their skins, or in their feathers, there resides a sort of genius who governs all things and is the Master of Life and Death. According to them there are *manitoos* common to a whole nation, and particular *manitoos* for each person.

"Oussakita, they say, is the grand *manitoo* of all the beasts that walk upon the earth or that fly in the air. It is he who governs them; so when they go hunting, they offer him tobacco, powder, lead, and well tanned skins, which they fasten to the end of a pole and set up in the air. 'Oussakita,' they say to him, 'we give you to smoke, we offer to you that with which to kill the beasts. Deign to accept these presents, and suffer not that the beasts escape our shafts. Let us kill a great many of them, and the fattest, that our children may lack neither garments nor food.' They give the name of *Michibichi* to the *manitoo* of the waters and of the fish, and they make him a somewhat similar sacrifice when they go afishing or when they

The
manitoos
of the
Ottawas.

General
manitoos
common to
the whole
tribe.

1873), p. 393. The account given by De Smet of the customs of the Pottawatamies was first published in the *Annales de la propagation de la*

Par, xi. (Lyons, 1838-1839) pp. 479-498.

¹ De Smet, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

² See above, pp. 51 *sq.*

undertake a voyage. This sacrifice consists in throwing into the water tobacco, provisions, and kettles, begging that the waters of the river may flow more gently, that the rocks may not break their canoes, and that he would grant them an abundant fishing.

Particular
manitoos of
individuals.

"Besides these common *manitoos*, each has his own particular one, who is a bear, or a beaver, or a bustard, or some such creature. They wear the skin of that animal in war, in the chase, and on journeys, being persuaded that it will save them from every danger and cause them to succeed in their undertakings. When a savage wishes to get a *manitoo*, the first animal which presents itself to his imagination in sleep is usually the one on which his choice falls. He kills an animal of the species, puts its skin, or its feathers if it is a bird, in the most honourable part of his hut, and prepares a feast in its honour, during which he harangues the creature in the most respectful terms, after which it is recognized as his *manitoo*."¹

The man
kills the
animal of
which he
dreamed
and keeps
a portion
of it as a
charm.

The
manitoo or
guardian
spirit
among the
Ojibways.

The guardian spirit or personal *manitoo* also played an important part in the beliefs and customs of the Ojibways, an important Algonkin tribe. The evidence of the Indian interpreter John Long on this subject has been already quoted.² The Ojibway creed and practice in regard to the *manitoo* or *munedo* are thus explained by William W. Warren, the historian of the Ojibways, who had himself Ojibway blood in his veins:—

Warren's
account
of the
Ojibway
belief in a
Great
Spirit and
many
minor
spirits.

"They believe in a multiplicity of spirits which pervade all nature, yet all these are subordinate to the one Great Spirit of good. This belief is as natural (if not more so) as the belief of the Catholics in their interceding saints, which in some respects it resembles, for in the same light as intercessors between him and the Great Spirit, does the more simple Red Man regard the spirits which in his imagination pervade all creation. The never-failing rigid fasts of first manhood, when they seek in dreams for a guardian spirit, illustrate this belief most forcibly.

The Great
Spirit (*Ke-
che-mun-
e-do*).

"*Ke-che-mun-e-do* (Great Spirit) is the name used by the Ojibways for the being equivalent to our God. They have

¹ *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, Nouvelle édition, vi. (Paris, 1781) pp. 172-174.

² Above, p. 52.

another term which can hardly be surpassed by any one in the English language, for force, condensity, and expression, namely *Ke-zha-mune-do*, which means pitying, charitable, overruling, guardian and merciful Spirit; in fact, it expresses all the great attributes of the God of Israel. It is derived from *Ke-zha-wand-e-se-roin*, meaning charity, kindness—*Ke-zha-wus-so* expressing the guardian feeling, and solicitude of a parent towards its offspring, watching it with jealous vigilance from harm; and *Shah-wau-je-gay*, to take pity, merciful, with *Mun-e-do* (spirit). There is nothing to equal the veneration with which the Indian regards this unseen being. They seldom even mention his name unless in their *Me-da-we* and other religious rites, and in their sacrificial feasts; and then an address to him, however trivial, is always accompanied with a sacrifice of tobacco or some other article deemed precious by the Indian. They never use his name in vain, and there is no word in their language expressive of a profane oath, or equivalent to the many words used in profane swearing by their more enlightened white brethren. Instances are told of persons while enduring almost superhuman fasts, obtaining a vision of him in their dreams; in such instances the Great Spirit invariably appears to the dreamer in the shape of a beautifully and strongly-formed man. And it is a confirmed belief amongst them, that he or she who has once been blessed with this vision, is fated to live to a good old age and in enjoyment of ease and plenty.

The
beatific
vision.

“All other minor or guardian spirits whom they court in their first dream of fasting appear to them in the shape of quadrupeds, birds, or some inanimate object in nature, as the moon, the stars, or the imaginary thunderers; and even this dream-spirit is never mentioned without sacrifice. The dream itself which has appeared to the faster, guides in a great measure his future course in life, and he never relates it without offering a sacrificial feast to the spirit of the dream. The bones of the animal which he offers are carefully gathered, unbroken, tied together, and either hung on a tree, thrown into deep water, or carefully burnt. Their beliefs and rites, connected with their fasts and dreams, are of great importance to themselves, more so than has been

The minor
guardian
spirits
obtained by
fasting and
dreams.

generally understood by writers who have treated of the Algics.”¹

Peter Jones's account of the Ojibway belief.

Every medicine man has his own *munedoo* or guardian spirit. He obtains it by fasting and dreaming in his youth.

An instructive account of the Ojibway belief in guardian spirits is given by the Rev. Peter Jones, a full-blooded Ojibway Indian, who had himself fasted in his youth to obtain a guardian spirit, but without success. He says:—

“In addition to their belief in the existence of these general gods, each *pow-wow* conjurer and medicine man has his personal or familiar gods, which are of his own imagining. The method they take to obtain the favour of these is by fasting and watching. The Indian youth from the age of ten to manhood are encouraged by their parents and the old people to fast, with the promise that if they do they will entertain them in the evening by the relation of one of their traditions or tales. Inspired with the hope of gaining favour with some god, and looking forward to the promised reward at the end of the day, they rise before the sun, take a piece of charcoal, which they pound to powder, and with it blacken their faces, the girls only blackening the upper part. During their fast they abstain from all food and drinks; towards sunset they wash their faces and then eat a little broth or soup which has been prepared for them; in this way they go on for several successive days, the longer the better, and the more *munedoo*s they will be likely to propitiate. All this time they notice every remarkable event, dream, or supernatural sound; and whichever of these makes the most impression on their minds during their fast, suggests the particular spirit which becomes their personal *munedoo* as long as they live, and in all emergencies and dangers they will call upon him for assistance. . . . By the agency of these *munedoo*s they pretend to possess the power of bewitching one another, performing extraordinary cures, foretelling future events, vanquishing their enemies, and charming the pretty Indian girl they intend to marry. If they chance to dream of seeing a *munedoo* standing on a rock in the lake, they imagine they have obtained the assistance

Power exercised by means of the *munedoo*.

¹ William W. Warren, *History of the Ojibways* (St. Paul, Minn., 1885), pp. 63-65 (*Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*). The writer adds: “These facts are mentioned here to

show an analogy with the ancient and primitive customs of the Hebrews—their faith in dreams, their knowledge and veneration of the unseen God, and the customs of fasting and sacrifice.”

of a powerful god. To dream of seeing an old grey-headed man is taken as a token of long life ; or of a pretty woman, that they will be blest with more wives than one. If they happen to dream of sharp-pointed instruments, or anything that is proof against the arrow, tomahawk, or bullet, they fancy themselves proof against the shot of their enemy. When they dream of animals or fowls they imagine they are invested with the power of self-defence as possessed by these creatures. A poor Indian at Lake Huron used to boast that he had obtained the spirit of a bat. The following Ojibway tradition of a war exploit will show the confidence they place in dreams :—

“ A canoe manned with warriors was once pursued by a number of others, all filled with their enemies. They endeavoured to escape, paddling with all their might, but the enemy still gained upon them ; then the old warriors began to call for the assistance of those things they had dreamt of during their fast-days. One man's *munedoo* was a sturgeon, which being invoked, their speed was soon equal to that of this fish, leaving the enemy far behind ; but the sturgeon being short-winded, was soon tired, and the enemy again advanced rapidly upon them. The rest of the warriors, with the exception of one young man who, from his mean and ragged appearance, was considered a fool, called the assistance of their gods, which for a time enabled them to keep in advance. At length, having exhausted the strength of all their *munedoo*s, they were beginning to give themselves up for lost, the other canoes being now so near as to turn to head them, when just at this critical moment the foolish young man thought of his medicine bag, which in their flight he had taken off from his side and laid in the canoe. He called out, ‘ Where is my medicine bag ? ’ The warriors told him to be quiet ; what did he want with his medicine bag at this perilous time ? He still shouted, ‘ Where is my medicine bag ? ’ They again told him to paddle and not to trouble them about his medicine bag. As he persisted in his cry, ‘ Where is my medicine bag ? ’ one of the warriors seeing it by his side took it up and threw it to him. He, putting his hand into it, pulled out an old pouch made of the skin of a *Saw-bill*, a species of duck. This he

Invulner-
ability.

Ojibway
tradition
illustrative
of the
magical
virtues
possessed
by the
guardian
spirits.

Power
of the
Saw-bill
medicine-
bag.

held by the neck to the water. Immediately the canoe began to glide swiftly at the usual speed of a *Saw-bill*; and after being propelled for a short time by this wonderful power, they looked back and found they were far beyond the reach of the enemy, who had now given up the chase. . . . The young man then took up his pouch, rung the water out of it, and replaced it in his bag; telling the Indian[s] that he had not worn his medicine bag about his person for nothing, —that in his fast he had dreamt of this fowl, and was told that in all dangers it would deliver him, and that he should possess the speed and untiring nature of the *Saw-bill* duck. The old warriors were astonished at the power of the young man whom they had looked upon as almost an idiot, and were taught by him a lesson, never to form a mean opinion of any persons from their outward appearance.

Ojibway
story of
invulner-
ability
conferred
by the
Spear
guardian
spirit.

“Another story related by our people illustrates the reliance they place on the power and help of these *munedoos*:—Many years ago an old chief had occasion to go to war with a neighbouring tribe of Indians. He assembled all his warriors together, and, after informing them of the object he had in view, called them to him one by one, and inquired what they had dreamt of during their fast-days, and what *munedoos* they could rely on for assistance. Those who had had dreams, and those who had had none at all, he placed by themselves. All who had dreamt of wars, or things proof against the arrow, tomahawk, or bullet, he selected for the expedition. When he came to the last man and asked him what he had dreamt of, he replied with a long whining tone ‘*Ahneed*.’ The chief, not understanding what he meant, repeated the question; the man replied as before, ‘*Ahneed*.’ ‘What do you say?’ said the chief. ‘*Ahneed*’ was again the answer. The chief inquired what he meant by *ahneed*; when the warrior surprised him by stating that during his fastings he dreamed of *ahnit*, that is, a spear. The chief asked, ‘And what good will a spear do you?’ ‘As the point of the spear is proof against the arrow, tomahawk, and bullet, so is my body against all the shot of the enemy.’ ‘Very well,’ said the chief, ‘you shall go with me to the war.’ The chief, with his select warriors, then left for the scene of action; and, after crossing a river in canoes,

they fell upon the enemy, whom they soon conquered, destroying many of them. In all the battles they fought, not one of the old chief's party fell. The success and preservation of this war party was attributed solely to the aid of the *munedoo*s obtained by dreams.

"I well remember, in my *early days, when I used to blacken my face and fast, in order to obtain the favour of some familiar god, that one day, being thirsty, I took a sip of water. The moment I had done so I remembered I was fasting. The thoughtless act filled me with sorrow, and I wept the greater part of the night, fearing that now no *munedoo* would ever communicate himself to me. In all my fastings I never had any vision or dream; and, consequently, obtained no familiar god, nor a spirit of the rank of a *pow-wow*." ¹

From the foregoing account it appears that a man is supposed to acquire the qualities of his guardian spirit or *manitoo* (*munedoo*). Thus if his guardian spirit is a sturgeon, he acquires the power of swimming fast like the sturgeon; if his guardian spirit is a duck, he acquires the power of skimming swiftly over the water like a duck; and if his guardian spirit is a spear (and it is to be remembered that the Indians commonly attribute spirits even to inanimate objects), he acquires the power of being invulnerable like a spear. In this respect the guardian spirit or *manitoo* resembles the clan totem; for as we have seen, a man is sometimes supposed to acquire the qualities of his clan totem, indeed to be in some measure identified with it.² Another point of interest in this valuable account of the guardian spirits is that some men, less imaginative and perhaps honest than their fellows, failed to dream of anything at the critical moment and so never claimed to possess a mysterious patron. On the other hand, the possession of a guardian spirit is essential to the medicine-man or magician (*pow-wow*); from which we may infer that as a class medicine-men and magicians are either more imaginative or less scrupulous than their fellows.

Amongst the Blackfeet, another Algonkin tribe, many

¹ Rev. Peter Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians*, pp. 87-91.

² See above, pp. 55 *sq.*, 106, and vol. ii. pp. 8 *sq.*

Fruitless attempt to obtain a guardian spirit.

Thus a man is supposed to acquire the qualities of his guardian spirit. In this respect the guardian spirit resembles a clan totem.

Rev. E. F. Wilson's account of guardian spirits among the Blackfeet.

but not all men had their guardian spirits. The following account of the custom was given to the Rev. Edward F. Wilson by a Blackfoot chief named Big Plume: "Young men go up on to a hill, and cry and pray for some animal or bird to come to them. Before starting out they wash themselves all over and put off all their clothing and ornaments except a blanket. For five or six days they neither eat nor drink, and they become thin. They take a pipe with them and tinder and flint, and a native weed or bark for smoking (not matches or tobacco). When the pipe is filled they point the stem to the sun and say, 'Pity me, that some animal or bird may come to me!' Then they address the trees, the grass, the water, and the stones in the same manner. If any one crosses their path while so engaged, they call aloud to them to warn them off, saying, 'I am living alone. Do not come near!' While in this state they dream, and whatever animal or bird they see in their dream becomes their medicine or guardian through life. They are told also in a dream what description of herbs or roots to gather as their medicine, and this they collect and put carefully into a small bag to keep as a charm. They also kill the animal that they dreamed of, and keep its skin as a charm. No one knows what is the medicine they have gathered; it is kept a profound secret. The little bag is kept in the tent, and no one may touch it but the owner. Other Indians would be afraid to meddle with it. There is no particular age for young men to engage in the above rites. They start away in the evening—only in summer. Some go of their own accord, others are bid to do so by their fathers or elder brothers. If they do not go, any sickness that comes upon them will certainly be fatal, or if shot by an enemy they will certainly die."¹

The medicine-bag.

Mr. Grinnell's account of guardian spirits among the Blackfeet.

Another account of the guardian spirits of the Blackfeet is given by Mr. George Bird Grinnell, who is well acquainted with the tribe. He says: "The Blackfeet men often went off by themselves to fast and dream for power. By no means every one did this, and, of those who attempted it, only a few endured to the end,—that is, fasted the whole

¹ Rev. Edward F. Wilson, "Report on the Blackfeet Tribes," *Report of the British Association*, meeting held at Manchester, 1887, p. 187.

four days,—and obtained the help sought. The attempt was not usually made by young boys before they had gone on their first war journey. It was often undertaken by men who were quite mature. Those who underwent this suffering were obliged to abstain from food or drink for four days and four nights, resting for two nights on the right side, and for two nights on the left. It was deemed essential that the place to which a man resorted for this purpose should be unfrequented, where few or no persons had walked ; and it must also be a place that tried the nerve, where there was some danger. Such situations were mountain peaks ; or narrow ledges on cut cliffs, where a careless movement might cause a man to fall to his death on the rocks below ; or islands in lakes, which could only be reached by means of a raft, and where there was danger that a man might be seized and carried off by the *Sū-yē-tūp-pi*, or Under Water People ; or places where the dead had been buried, and where there was much danger from ghosts. Or a man might lie in a well-worn buffalo trail, where the animals were frequently passing, and so he might be trodden on by a travelling band of buffalo ; or he might choose a locality where bears were abundant and dangerous. Wherever he went, the man built himself a little lodge of brush, moss, and leaves, to keep off the rain ; and, after making his prayers to the sun and singing his sacred songs, he crept into the hut and began his fast. He was not allowed to take any covering with him, nor to roof over his shelter with skins. He always had with him a pipe, and this lay by him, filled, so that, when the spirit, or dream, came, it could smoke. They did not appeal to any special class of helpers, but prayed to all alike. Often by the end of the fourth day, a secret helper—usually, but by no means always, in the form of some animal—appeared to the man in a dream, and talked with him, advising him, marking out his course through life, and giving him its power. There were some, however, on whom the power would not work, and a much greater number who gave up the fast, discouraged, before the prescribed time had been completed, either not being able to endure the lack of food and water, or being frightened by the strangeness or loneliness of their surroundings, or by something that they

Not every one who sought a guardian spirit obtained it.

thought they saw or heard. It was no disgrace to fail, nor was the failure necessarily known, for the seeker after power did not always, nor perhaps often, tell any one what he was going to do.”¹

Catlin's
account of
guardian
spirits
among the
Blackfeet,
Ojibways,
Crows, etc.

The painter Catlin, who lived among the Indians and knew them well, has given an account of their guardian spirits and medicine-bags. When he wrote it in 1832, he was living at the mouth of the Yellowstone River, on the upper Missouri, surrounded by Indians of many tribes, Crows, Blackfeet, Ojibways, Assiniboin, and Crees; and as he does not in his description distinguish between the tribes, we may fairly assume that it applies equally to all. Of these tribes the Blackfeet, Ojibways, and Crees belong to the Algonkin stock, while the Crows and Assiniboin are of the Siouan or Dacotan stock. After explaining that the word “medicine” applied by the whites to Indian beliefs signifies “*mystery*, and nothing else,” “every thing mysterious or unaccountable,” and that “medicine-men” are native physicians or doctors, who are “all supposed to deal more or less in mysteries and charms, which are aids and hand-maids in their practice,” Catlin proceeds as follows:—

Meaning of
the word
“medicine.”

The
medicine-
bag.

“The Indians do not use the word medicine, however; but in each tribe they have a word of their own construction, synonymous with mystery or mystery-man. The ‘medicine-bag’ then is a mystery-bag; and its meaning and importance necessary to be understood, as it may be said to be the key to Indian life and Indian character. These bags are constructed of the skins of animals, of birds, or of reptiles, and ornamented and preserved in a thousand different ways, as suits the taste or freak of the person who constructs them. These skins are generally attached to some part of the clothing of the Indian, or carried in his hand—they are oftentimes decorated in such a manner as to be exceedingly ornamental to his person, and always are stuffed with grass, or moss, or something of the kind; and generally without drugs or medicines within them, as they are religiously closed and sealed, and seldom, if ever, to be opened. I find that every Indian in his primitive state, carries his medicine-bag in some form or other, to which he pays the greatest

Trust of
the Indians
in their
medicine-
bags.

¹ George Bird Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (London, 1893), pp. 191-193.

homage, and to which he looks for safety and protection through life—and in fact, it might almost be called a species of idolatry; for it would seem in some instances as if he actually worshipped it. Feasts are often made, and dogs and horses sacrificed, to a man's medicine; and days, and even weeks, of fasting and penance of various kinds are often suffered, to appease his medicine, which he imagines he has in some way offended. This curious custom has principally been done away with along the frontier, where white men laugh at the Indian for the observance of so ridiculous and useless a form; but in this country it is in full force, and every male in the tribe carries this, his supernatural charm or guardian, to which he looks for the preservation of his life, in battle or in other danger; at which times it would be considered ominous of bad luck and an ill fate to be without it.

Sacrifices
to the
"medicine."

"The manner in which this curious and important article is instituted is this: a boy, at the age of fourteen or fifteen years, is said to be making or 'forming his medicine,' when he wanders away from his father's lodge, and absents himself for the space of two or three, and sometimes even four or five, days; lying on the ground in some remote or secluded spot, crying to the Great Spirit, and fasting the whole time. During this period of peril and abstinence, when he falls asleep, the first animal, bird, or reptile, of which he dreams (or pretends to have dreamed, perhaps), he considers the Great Spirit has designated for his mysterious protector through life. He then returns home to his father's lodge, and relates his success; and after allaying his thirst, and satiating his appetite, he sallies forth with weapons or traps, until he can procure the animal or bird, the skin of which he preserves entire, and ornaments it according to his own fancy, and carries it with him through life, for 'good luck' (as he calls it); as his strength in battle—and in death his guardian Spirit, that is buried with him, and which is to conduct him safe to the beautiful hunting-grounds, which he contemplates in the world to come.

Mode
of obtain-
ing the
"medicine"
or guardian
spirit.

The fasting
dream and
the vision.

"The value of the medicine-bag to the Indian is beyond all price; for to sell it, or give it away, would subject him to such signal disgrace in his tribe, that he could never rise

Trust of
the Indians
in their
medicine-

bags ; the loss of them is deemed disgraceful, but can be repaired by slaying an enemy and taking his medicine-bag.

above it ; and again, his superstition would stand in the way of any such disposition of it, for he considers it the gift of the Great Spirit. An Indian carries his medicine-bag into battle, and trusts to it for his protection ; and if he loses it thus, when fighting ever so bravely for his country, he suffers a disgrace scarcely less than that which occurs in case he sells or gives it away ; his enemy carries it off and displays it to his own people as a trophy ; whilst the loser is cut short of the respect that is due to other young men of his tribe, and for ever subjected to the degrading epithet of 'a man without medicine,' or 'he who has lost his medicine,' until he can replace it again ; which can only be done, by rushing into battle and plundering one from an enemy whom he slays with his own hand. This done, his medicine is restored, and he is reinstated again in the estimation of his tribe ; and even higher than before, for such is called the best of medicine, or '*medicine honourable*.'"¹

Dr. W. J. Hoffman's account of guardian spirits among the Menominees.

Another Algonkin tribe who have, or had till lately, guardian spirits or *manitoos* are the Menominees of North-eastern Wisconsin. I will quote from Dr. W. J. Hoffman, who has given us an elaborate memoir on the tribe, the following account of the custom :—

The guardian spirit was an animal or bird seen by a youth in a fasting dream.

"Until quite recently it was customary for each Indian youth to pass through a certain process of 'fasting and dreaming,' whereby he might receive a manifestation from the Great Unknown as to what particular animate form he might adopt as . . . his guardian mystery. The course of procedure necessary for the young aspirant for honors to pursue was to leave the camp and go into the forest, there to remain in meditation, abstaining from all food, until gradual exhaustion produced that condition of ecstasy during which various forms of animals, or birds, appeared to him. The first of these forms to clearly impress itself on his mind was adopted as the special gift of the Great Mystery, and was thereafter supposed to act as an adviser in times of indecision ; a monitor when the Indian was in danger, or an intercessor with the superior *manidos* when special power or influence was desired. During the period of

¹ Geo. Catlin, *Letters and Notes on of the North American Indians*, Fourth Edition (London, 1844), i. 35-37.

probation the lad's friends or parents would keep watch that no danger overtook him while in the forest, and furthermore, that his fasting was not carried to the point of danger to life and health.

"Among some of the Algonquian tribes the animal or bird forms that may thus be adopted by an Indian are sometimes the same as the totem of which he is a member. Under such circumstances the animal representing the totem, and the 'familiar' or *manido*, is seldom hunted or shot; but should he be permitted to hunt such an animal the hunter will first address the animal and ask forgiveness for killing him, telling him that certain portions, which are tabu, shall be set up in the place of honor in the *wikomik*. For instance, should an Indian of the Bear totem, or one whose adopted guardian is represented by the bear, desire to go hunting and meet with that animal, due apology would be paid to it before destroying it. The carcass would then be dressed and served, but no member of the Bear totem would partake of the meat, though the members of all other totems could freely do so. The hunter could, however, eat of the paws and head, the bones of the latter being subsequently placed upon a shelf, probably over the door, or in some other conspicuous place. Due reverence is paid to such a relic of the totem, and so strictly observed is this custom that no greater insult could be offered to the host than for any one to take down such bones and to cast them carelessly aside. Due reverence must be had by the Indian for his so-called guardian or *manido*, neglect in this direction being considered as the direct cause of misfortune or sickness. A feast then becomes necessary as an offering to induce the *manido* to return and to again manifest its favor to the Indian."¹

The Sauks, Foxes, and Kickapoos, all of them belonging to the Algonkin stock, also obtained guardian spirits or personal *manitoos* by means of fasts and visions.²

Lastly, the institution of the guardian spirit or *manitoo*

¹ W. J. Hoffman, M.D., "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1896) pp. 64 sq.

² W. Jones, "The Algonkin *Manitou*," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xviii. (1905) pp. 183-190.

A man's guardian spirit might be identical with his clan totem. Respect shewn for the animal guardian.

Guardian spirits of the Sauks, Foxes, etc.

Guardian
spirits
(*manitoos*)
among the
Delawares.
Loskiel's
account of
them.

was found also among the Delawares or Lenapes, the most easterly tribe of the Algonkin stock. It has been described as follows by the old Moravian missionaries, whose account is apparently meant to apply also to the Iroquois. "Our missionaries have not found rank polytheism, or gross idolatry, to exist among the Indians. They have, however, something which may be called an idol. This is the *Manitto*, representing in wood the head of a man in miniature, which they always carry about them, either on a string round their neck or in a bag. They hang it also about their children, to preserve them from illness and ensure to them success. When they perform a solemn sacrifice, a *manitto*, or a head as large as life, is put upon a pole in the middle of the house. But they understand by the word *manitto* every being, to which an offering is made, especially all good spirits. They also look upon the elements, almost all animals, and even some plants, as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. . . . The *manittos* are also considered as tutelar spirits. Every Indian has one or more, which he conceives to be peculiarly given to assist him and make him prosper. One has in a dream received the sun as his tutelar spirit, another the moon; a third, an owl; a fourth, a buffaloe; and so forth. An Indian is dispirited, and considers himself as forsaken by God, till he has received a tutelar spirit in a dream; but those who have been thus favored, are full of courage, and proud of their powerful ally."¹

Hecke-
welder's
account of
guardian
spirits
among the
Delawares.

Again, the missionary Heckewelder, who lived among and near the Delawares or Lenni Lenape for more than thirty years, has given us an account of the fasts and visions by which they obtained their guardian spirits. The description appears to apply also to the Iroquois, with whom Heckewelder was acquainted. Under the head of "Initiation of Boys" he writes thus:—

"I do not know how to give a better name to a superstitious practice which is very common among the Indians, and, indeed, is universal among those nations that I have become acquainted with. By certain methods, which I shall

¹ G. H. Loskiel, *History of the the Indians in North America* (London, *Mission of the United Brethren among* 1794), i. 39 sq.

presently describe, they put the mind of a boy in a state of perturbation, so as to excite dreams and visions ; by means of which they pretend that the boy receives instructions from certain spirits or unknown agents as to his conduct in life, that he is informed of his future destination and of the wonders he is to perform in his future career through the world. When a boy is to be thus initiated, he is put under an alternate course of physic and fasting, either taking no food whatever, or swallowing the most powerful and nauseous medicines, and occasionally he is made to drink decoctions of an intoxicating nature, until his mind becomes sufficiently bewildered, so that he sees or fancies that he sees visions, and has extraordinary dreams, for which, of course, he has been prepared beforehand. He will fancy himself flying through the air, walking under ground, stepping from one ridge or hill to the other across the valley beneath, fighting and conquering giants and monsters, and defeating whole hosts by his single arm. Then he has interviews with the *Manitto* or with spirits, who inform him of what he was before he was born and what he will be after his death. His fate in this life is laid entirely open before him, the spirit tells him what is to be his future employment, whether he will be a valiant warrior, a mighty hunter, a doctor, a conjurer, or a prophet. There are even those who learn or pretend to learn in this way the time and manner of their death.

A boy's mind is artificially perturbed by fasting and physic, and the thing which his disordered fancy sees in a vision is his guardian spirit.

“ When a boy has been thus initiated, a name is given to him analogous to the visions that he has seen, and to the destiny that is supposed to be prepared for him. The boy, imagining all that happened to him while under perturbation, to have been real, sets out in the world with lofty notions of himself, and animated with courage for the most desperate undertakings. The belief in the truth of those visions is universal among the Indians. I have spoken with several of their old men, who had been highly distinguished for their valour, and asked them whether they ascribed their achievements to natural or supernatural causes, and they uniformly answered, that as they knew beforehand what they could do, they did it of course. When I carried my questions farther, and asked them how they knew what they could do ? they

The boy receives a name that accords with his vision.

Universal belief of the Indians in the truth of these fantastic visions.

never failed to refer to the dreams and visions which they had while under perturbation, in the manner I have above mentioned. I always found it vain to attempt to undeceive them on this subject. They never were at a loss for examples to shew that the dreams they had had were not the work of a heated imagination, but that they came to them through the agency of a *mannitto*.”¹

§ 3. *Guardian Spirits among the Sioux or Dacotas*

Dr. S. R. Riggs's account of guardian spirits among the Sioux or Dacotas.

The armour god.

Tabooed parts of an animal.

The Sioux or Dacotas also had their guardian spirits, but apparently these were not acquired in dreams but were bestowed on the youth by older men. On this subject Dr. S. R. Riggs, who laboured as a missionary among the Dacotas from 1837 to 1883, and has given us a dictionary and grammar of their language, tells us that “in the ancient times the exhortation to a young man was ‘Guard well your sacred armor’; and that consisted of the spear, an arrow, and a bundle of paint, with some swan’s down painted red, to which were sometimes added some roots for the healing of wounds. These were wrapped together in strips of red or blue cloth, and could be seen in pleasant days carefully set up outside of the lodge. These were given by an older man, who was believed to have power over spirits, and who had, in the act of consecration, made to inhere in them the spirit of some animal or bird, as the wolf, the beaver, the loon, or the eagle. Henceforth these, or rather the one which became each one’s tutelary divinity and his armor god, were sacred and not to be killed or eaten until certain conditions were fulfilled. . . . The reception of the *wo-ta-we*, or armor, by the young man places him under certain pledges which he must, if possible, redeem in after life. It taboos or consecrates certain parts of an animal, as the heart, the liver, the breast, the wing, etc. Whatever part or parts are tabooed to him he may not eat until by killing an enemy

¹ Rev. John Heckewelder, “An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations, who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the

neighbouring States,” *Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society*, i. (Philadelphia, 1819) pp. 238 sq.

he has removed the taboo.”¹ From this account it appears that the spirit of an animal or bird was conjured into a young man's weapons and so became his guardian spirit or “armour god.” Henceforward the weapons were sacred (*wah-kon*, *wakan*) and might not be touched by a woman. A man prayed to his weapons in the day of battle.² Also he often made an image of the sacred animal which had entered into his weapons, and this image he carried about with him, regarding it as having a direct influence upon his everyday life and ultimate destiny.³

Image of
the sacred
animal.

The Dacotas had also their medicine-bags or mystery-sacks, as some American writers prefer to call them, with which were associated certain divinities or guardian spirits. These spirits were bestowed upon young men at the time when they were initiated into the secret society or order of the Mystery Dance, and were therefore only possessed by members of that order. We were told that each spirit of the medicine-bag was not a separate god, but a god-power, a sacred or mysterious (*wakan*) power, derived from certain great gods called *Oonk-tay-he* (*Unktehi*).⁴ Immediately after the creation of the world and of men these gods gave the Indians the medicine-bag (mystery-sack) and instituted the medicine or mystery dance. “They ordained that the sack should consist of the skin of the otter, raccoon, weasel, squirrel, loon, one variety of fish, and of serpents. It was also ordained that the sack should contain four species of medicines of *wakan* qualities, which should represent fowls, medicinal herbs, medicinal trees, and quadrupeds. The down of the female swan represents the first, and may be

Medicine-
bags of the
Dacotas.

¹ S. R. Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography* (Washington, 1893), pp. 219, 220 (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. ix.).

² Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, LL.D., “The Theogony of the Sioux,” *American Antiquarian*, ii. (1879-1880) p. 270.

³ Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, “A Study of Siouan Cults,” *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 443. Mr. Dorsey adds: “Parkman says (in his *Jesuits in North America*, p. lxxi. note) that the knowledge of this guardian

spirit comes through dreams at the initiatory fast. If this is ever true among the Dakota, it is not the rule. This knowledge is communicated by the ‘war-prophet’” (*op. cit.* pp. 443 sq.).

⁴ Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, D.D., “The Theogony of the Sioux,” *American Antiquarian*, ii. (1879-1880) p. 270; Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, “A Study of Siouan Cults,” *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 445. As to the secret society or order of the Mystery Dance see below, pp. 463 sqq.

seen at the time of the dance inserted in the nose of the sack. Grass roots represent the second, bark from the roots of the trees the third, and hair from the back or head of a buffalo the fourth. These are carefully preserved in the sack. From this combination proceeds a *wakan* influence so powerful that no human being, unassisted, can resist it.”¹

Guardian
spirits
among the
Omahas.
Edwin
James's
account.
The
Wahconda,
a Protean
god, the
greatest
and best of
beings.

The Omahas, a tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock, had also their guardian spirits. On this subject one of our earliest authorities on the tribe writes as follows: “The Wahconda is believed to be the greatest and best of beings, the creator and preserver of all things, and the fountain of mystic medicine. Omniscience, omnipresence, and vast powers are attributed to him, and he is supposed to afflict them with sickness, poverty, or misfortune, for their evil deeds. . . . Their Wahconda seems to be a Protean god; he is supposed to appear to different persons under different forms. All those who are favoured with his presence become medicine men or magicians, in consequence of thus having seen and conversed with the Wahconda, and of having received from him some particular medicine of wondrous efficacy. He appeared to one in the shape of a grizzly bear, to another in that of a bison, to a third in that of a beaver, or owl, etc., and an individual attributed to an animal, from which he received his medicine, the form and features of the elephant. All the magi, in the administration of their medicine to the sick or afflicted, mimic the action and voice, variously exaggerated and modified, of the animal, which, they say, is their respective medicine, or, in other words, that in which the Wahconda appeared to them.”²

¹ Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, “A Study of Siouan Cults,” *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 440.

² Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains under the Command of Maj. S. H. Long* (London, 1823), i. 246 sq. On this account it is remarked by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, our best authority on the Omahas, that the writer “mistook the generic term *Wahconda* for a

specific one.” There appear, in fact, to have been a number of *Wakanda*. See Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, “A Study of Siouan Cults,” *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), pp. 372 sqq., 430. The mistake corrected by Mr. Dorsey resembles Gason's mistake as the *Mura-Mura* of the Dieri, which was in like manner corrected by the Rev. Otto Siebert. See vol. i. p. 148. In both cases the mistake was made by a layman and corrected by a missionary.

A somewhat fuller account of the mode in which among the Omahas a youth obtained his guardian spirit is given us by Miss Alice C. Fletcher, who speaks of the guardian spirit as "the personal totem." She tells us that the guardian spirit or personal totem "was not received from an ancestor, was not the gift of any living person, but was derived through a certain rite, by the man himself. . . . This rite, called by the untranslatable name *Non-zhin-zhon*, has been observed up to the present time. When the youth had reached the age of puberty, he was instructed by his parents as to what he was to do. Moistened earth was put upon his head and face, a small bow and arrows given him, and he was directed to seek a secluded spot upon the hills, and there to chant the prayer which he had been taught, and to lift up his hands wet with his tears to heaven, and then to lay them upon the earth; and he was to fast until at last he fell into a trance or sleep. If, in his trance or dream, he saw or heard anything, that thing was to become the special medium through which he could receive supernatural aid. The ordeal over, the youth returned home to partake of food and to rest. No one questioned him, and for four days he spoke but little, for if within that time he should reveal his vision, it would be the same as lost to him. Afterwards he could confide it to some old man, known to have had a similar manifestation, and it then became the duty of the youth to seek until he should find the animal he had seen in his trance, when he must slay it and preserve some part of it (in cases where the vision had been of no concrete form, symbols were taken to represent it); this memento was ever after to be the sign of his vision, his totem, the most sacred thing he could ever possess, for by it his natural powers were to be so reinforced as to give him success as a hunter, victory as a warrior, and even the power to see into the future."¹ This guardian spirit or personal totem "opened a means of communication between man and the various agencies of his environment, but it could not transcend

Miss Alice C. Fletcher's account of the Omaha mode of obtaining a guardian spirit.

The youth had to kill the animal which he saw in his trance and to keep some part of it as a powerful talisman.

¹ Alice C. Fletcher, *The Import of the Totem, a Study from the Omaha Tribe* (Salem, Mass., 1897), pp. 3 sq. It is remarkable that this mode of obtaining a guardian spirit or personal

totem appears to have been unknown to the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, our principal authority on the tribe, who has given us a full account of their totemic system. See above, pp. 94 sqq.

Assimilation of men in character and power to their guardian spirits.

the power of its particular species ; consequently all totems were not equally potent. Men who saw the Bear in their visions were liable to be wounded in battle, as the bear was slow of movement, clumsy and easily trapped, although a savage fighter when brought to bay. Winged forms, such as the Eagle, having greater range of sight than the creatures which traveled upon the ground, could bestow upon the men to whom they came in the dream the gift of looking into the future and foretelling coming events. Thunder gave the ability to control the elements, and the authority to conduct certain religious rites.”¹ Thus among the Omahas a man was supposed to partake of the nature of his guardian spirit, just as among some totemic peoples a man is thought to partake of the nature of his clan totem.

Guardian spirits among the Mandans. Lewis and Clark's account.

Another Indian tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock who had guardian spirits were the Mandans. Thus the explorers Lewis and Clark, who visited the tribe in 1804, tell us that “the whole religion of the Mandans consists in the belief of one great spirit presiding over their destinies. This being must be in the nature of a good genius since it is associated with the healing art, and the great spirit is synonymous with great medicine, a name also applied to everything which they do not comprehend. Each individual selects for himself the particular object of his devotion, which is termed his medicine, and is either some invisible being or more commonly some animal, which thenceforward becomes his protector or his intercessor with the great spirit ; to propitiate whom every attention is lavished, and every personal consideration is sacrificed. ‘I was lately owner of seventeen horses,’ said a Mandan to us one day, ‘but I have offered them all up to my medicine and am now poor.’ He had in reality taken all his wealth, his horses, into the plain, and turning them loose committed them to the care of his medicine and abandoned them for ever. The horses less religious took care of themselves, and the pious votary travelled home on foot.”²

Costly sacrifices to a man's “medicine.”

¹ Alice C. Fletcher, *The Import of the Totem, a Study from the Omaha Tribe* (Salem, Mass., 1897), p. 6.

² *History of the Expedition under*

the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri, etc. (London, 1905) i. 196.

The Prince of Wied, who visited the Mandans in 1833, thus describes their belief in guardian spirits: "They undertake nothing without first invoking their guardian spirit or medicine, in their language *choppenih* (*ch* guttural), who is generally indicated to them by dreams. When they would choose their medicine or guardian spirit, they fast three, four, or more days, betake themselves to secluded spots, do penance, even offer joints of their fingers—some of which are missing in nearly all of them,—lament, howl, and cry to the Master of Life or to the First Man, that these would vouchsafe to shew them their guardian spirit. In this feverish state they dream, and the first animal or other object that presents itself to them in their dream is chosen as their guardian spirit (medicine). Every one of them has such a guardian, which is sacred to him. In the prairie there is a great hill, on which they set themselves motionless several days together, lamenting, howling, and fasting. Not far from it is a hole, into which they creep for the night."¹

The Prince of Wied's account of the Mandan guardian spirits. Sacrifice of finger-joints in order to obtain guardian spirits.

Another Indian tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock who had guardian spirits were the Hidatsas or Minnetarees of the Upper Missouri. On this subject our principal authority on the tribe, Dr. Washington Matthews, observes that "every man in this tribe, as in all other neighboring tribes, has his personal medicine, which is usually some animal. On all war-parties, and often on hunts and other excursions, he carries the head, claws, stuffed skin, or other representative of his medicine with him, and seems to regard it in much the same light that Europeans in former days regarded—and in some cases still regard—protective charms."²

Guardian spirits among the Hidatsas or Minnetarees.

§ 4. *Guardian Spirits among the Creek Indians*

Among the Creek or Muskogee Indians also lads at puberty obtained guardian spirits by means of fasts and

¹ Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America* (Coblenz, 1839-1842), ii. 166.

² Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* (Washington, 1877), p. 50.

Guardian
spirits
among the
Creek or
Muskogee
Indians.
Colonel
Benjamin
Hawkins'
account.

visions. The following account of the custom by Colonel Benjamin Hawkins appears to have been written about the year 1800 :—

"*The Ceremony of initiating Youth into Manhood.*—At the age of from fifteen to seventeen, this ceremony is usually performed. It is called *Boos-ke-tau*, in like manner as the annual *Boosketau* of the nation. A youth of the proper age gathers two handsfull of the *Sou-watch-cau*, a very bitter root, which he eats a whole day ; then he steeps the leaves in water and drinks it. In the dusk of the evening, he eats two or three spoonfulls of boiled grits. This is repeated for four days, and during this time he remains in a house. The *Sou-watch-cau* has the effect of intoxicating and maddening. The fourth day he goes out, but must put on a pair of new mocassins (*stil-la-pica*). For twelve moons, he abstains from eating bucks, except old ones, and from turkey cocks, fowls, peas and salt. During this period he must not pick his ears, or scratch his head with his fingers, but use a small stick. For four moons he must have a fire to himself, to cook his food, and a little girl, a virgin, may cook for him ; his food is boiled grits. The fifth moon, any person may cook for him, but he must serve himself first, and use one spoon and pan. Every new moon, he drinks for four days the *possau* (button snakeroot), an emetic, and abstains for these days from all food, except in the evening a little boiled grits (*humpetuh hutke*). The twelfth moon, he performs for four days, what he commenced with on the first. The fifth day, he comes out of his house, gathers corn cobs, burns them to ashes, and with these rubs his body all over. At the end of this moon, he sweats under blankets, then goes into water, and this ends the ceremony. This ceremony is sometimes extended to four, six, or eight moons, or even to twelve days only, but the course is the same. During the whole of this ceremony the physic is administered by the *Is-te-puc-cau-chau thluc-co* (great leader), who in speaking of the youth under initiation, says, 'I am physicking him' (*Boo-se-ji-jite saut li-to-mise-cha*), or, 'I am teaching him all that is proper for him to know' (*nouk o-mul-gau c-muc-e-thli-jite saut litomise cha*). The youth, during this initiation, does not touch any one except young persons, who are under a

like course with himself, and if he dreams, he drinks the *possau*.”¹

In the foregoing account no express mention is made of the medicine, mystery, or guardian spirit which presumably is supposed to appear to the boy in his fast; but this omission is supplied by Miss Mary Alicia Owen, in her book on the Muskogee or Musquakie Indians. She writes: “During the nine years of novitiate, the training from month to month and year to year grows more severe and continuous. The fasts that at first were deprivation from one meal lengthen, till they stretch over days and nights of abstinence from both food and water; and other hardships increase in proportion. In addition, his father has spent what he can to obtain the goodwill and assistance of the shaman towards making the boy a fine man, this assistance consisting outwardly in the shaman’s spinning round and round before the door of the sweat-lodge after he has been sweated, and singing prayers and flattery to the boy’s totem. Also the father gives as many Religion dances as he can afford, and, during the last year of the trial, has him, for eighty days, taught to lead the Religion dance. Finally, comes the nine days’ fast, during which the poor young wretch wanders solitary in the woods, dreams feverish dreams supposed to be prophetic, and one special dream which tells him what his ‘medicine’ is to be, and, sometimes, what his vocation is. Before the fast is over, it is incumbent upon him to find the thing which constitutes his medicine, obtain possession of it without causing its death or destruction, and place this part obtained in a little bag, to be worn under the left arm.”²

Miss M. A. Owen’s account of the Muskogee mode of obtaining a guardian spirit.

§ 5. Guardian Spirits among the Californian Indians

The Acagchemem Indians of San Juan Capistrano in California had also their guardian spirits, as we learn from

¹ Benjamin Hawkins, “The Creek Confederacy,” *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, iii. (Savannah, 1848) pp. 78 sq. This account is reproduced with verbal alterations by Mr. A. S. Gatschet, in his *Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. (Philadelphia, 1884) pp. 185 sq. He explains that “grits” are “maize pounded into grits.”

² Mary Alicia Owen, *Folk-lore of the Musquakie Indians of North America* (London, 1904), pp. 67 sq.

Guardian
spirits
among the
Acag-
chemem
Indians of
California.
Father
Boscana's
account.

Father Boscana, one of the old Spanish missionaries who laboured among them in the days when California still belonged to Spain. His account runs thus: "Although, ignorant as they were of the knowledge of the true God, the moral instruction given by parents to their children was contained in the precepts of Chinigchinich,¹ which were strongly impressed upon their minds, that they might become good, and avoid the fate of the evil. The perverse child, invariably, was destroyed, and the parents of such remained dishonored. At the age of six or seven years, they gave them a kind of god as protector; an animal, in whom they were to place entire confidence, who would defend them from all dangers, particularly those in war against their enemies. They, however, were not to consider this animal as the real God, for he was invisible, and inhabited the mountains and bowels of the earth; and if he did appear to them at any time, it was in the shape of an animal of the most terrific description. This was not Chinigchinich, but another called *Touch*, signifying a *Devil*. That they might know the class of animal, which the God, Chinigchinich, had selected for their particular veneration, a kind of drink was administered to them, made from a plant called *Pibat*, which was reduced to a powder, and mixed with other intoxicating ingredients. Soon after taking this preparation, they became insensible, and for three days were deprived of any sustenance whatever. During this period they were attended by some old men or women, who were continually exhorting them to be on the alert, not to sleep for fear the coyote, the bear, the crow, or the rattlesnake might come; to observe if it were furious or gentle, and to inquire of the first that should come, what were its desires. The poor Indian, thus intoxicated, without food or drink, suffering under delirium, beheld all kinds of visions; and when he made known that he had seen any particular being, who explained the observances required

¹ According to Father Boscana, this Chinigchinich was a god whom the Indians feared, venerated, and respected. He is said to have first taught in the town of Pubuna and afterwards in all the neighbouring parts, explaining the laws and establishing

the rites and ceremonies necessary to the preservation of life. See *Life in California*, by an American (New York, 1846), p. 254. For the full title of this rare and valuable work, see the following note.

of him, then they gave him to eat and drink, and made a grand feast ; at the same time advising him to be particular in obeying the commands of the mysterious apparition.”¹

§ 6. Guardian Spirits among the Indians of Washington State

The custom of possessing or claiming guardian spirits was widespread among the Indian tribes of the Chinook and Salish stocks in the State of Washington and the adjoining southern part of British Columbia. Further north it was found also among the Tinnehs. We shall take the tribes roughly from south to north.

Thus with regard to the Twana and Klallam tribes of Washington we are told that “the practical part of their religion is a compound of shamanism and spiritism, called in Chinook jargon *tamanous*, *tamahnous*, or *tamanamus*, and the word expresses their idea so completely that it has been somewhat adopted into English, for the word expresses a combination of ideas for which we have no exact English equivalent. *Tamanous* is a noun, and as such refers to any spiritual being, good or bad, more powerful than man and less powerful only than God or Satan. Hence the being may be a good or bad *tamanous*. It is also used to express the work of influencing any of their spirits by incantation. The word is also an adjective, and as such is used to describe any stick, stone, or similar article in which spirits are at times supposed to dwell, and also any man, as a medicine man, who is supposed to have more than ordinary power with these spirits ; hence we often hear of *tamanous* sticks and *tamanous* men. It is likewise a verb, and to *tamanous* is to perform the incantations necessary to influence these spirits. In some cases it is done mainly by the medicine men, but in others by any one. I do not believe that these Indians ever had any idea of the Great Spirit before the coming of the whites. . . . They firmly

Guardian
spirits
among the
Chinook
and Salish
Indians.

The *taman-*
ouses or
spirits of
the Twana
and
Klallam
Indians.

¹ Friar Geronimo Boscana, “Chinigichinich ; a Historical Account of the Origin, Customs, and Traditions of the Indians at the Missionary Establish-

ment of St. Juan Capistrano, Alta California, called the Acagehemem Nation,” in *Life in California*, by an American (New York, 1846), pp. 270 *sq.*

believe in the presence and power of malignant spirits, and much of their *tamanous* is to conquer them and to gain their favor and aid. . . .

Each person has his or her guardian spirit (*tamanous*).

"Angelic spirits they believe to be constantly around. Every man and nearly every woman formerly was thought to have one which was called his or her *tamanous*. Such a spirit was supposed to guard the man or woman who often communed with it in the dark, when alone in the woods, and, by various incantations, invoked its aid in time of need. These angels were the most useful deities they had.

"They believe that these spirits, both good and bad, may dwell at times in certain sticks or stones, hence these sticks and posts become objects of reverence. . . .

The guardian spirit (*tamanous*) obtained by a long fast and a vision.

"The first thing for a young man to do in the way of a sacred rite is to get his *tamanous*. In order to accomplish this I am told that a father would send his son into the woods a long way from home, where he was not allowed to eat or drink during a period of from ten to thirteen days, though he was allowed to bathe often and keep up a good fire. At last his *tamanous* revealed itself to him in the shape of some animal, either a bird or beast, which was afterwards sacred to him. They think that ordinarily such fasting would kill a man, but that he is kept alive by his *tamanous*. After this the Indian *tamanouses* for what he wishes very earnestly on somewhat the same principle that the Mohammedan prays. Hence they *tamanous* for wind, for gambling, and to cure the sick or cause sickness.

Power of the medicine-men, bad and good.

"A wicked medicine man can, as they believe, in an invisible manner shoot a stone, ball, or poison into the heart of a person to make him sick. They believe this so firmly that they say when the heart of one who died was opened the stone or bone has been found in it. He is also supposed to be able to send a woodpecker, squirrel, bear, or any treacherous animal to the heart of his enemy to eat his heart, plague him, make him sick, or kill him. The good medicine man finds out from his sickness what kind of animal it is and then tries to draw it forth, and while the common people make a noise, pounding on a rough drum, on sticks, halloing, singing, etc., the medicine man places his hands on some part of the body and draws forth, or says he does, the evil

spirit, and when he says he has it he holds it between his hands, invisible, and blows it up or takes it to another man who throws a stone at it and kills it." ¹

We may perhaps suppose that the animal or thing which a wicked medicine-man projects into a person's body to make him sick is the medicine-man's own *tamanous* or guardian spirit. In any case we learn that the medicine-man is merely one who has more power with the spirits (*tamanouses*) than ordinary people; his familiar spirit (*tamanous*) is stronger than theirs, or he knows better than they how to use it. But the difference between him and common folk is one of degree rather than of kind; they all alike claim to possess familiar or guardian spirits.

Sometimes these Indians conjured their guardian spirits (*tamanouses*) into material objects; for Mr. Eells tells us that he has seen "two doors of dwellings, with figures painted on them, a head board to a bed, painted and slightly carved, a carved powder charge, a figured powder horn, and a cap with the feathers of the red-headed woodpecker sewed into it, all of which are supposed to contain the spirit of the guardian angel and to protect the owner when in his house or asleep, and to assist him when hunting and travelling." ²

"When a young man went forth to obtain his *tamanous* he washed himself, much as already described, this cleansing being very essential. A Klallam doctor told me that the children, if they wished to become strong *tamanous* men, were accustomed daily, both summer and winter, to bathe, remaining in water a long time, sometimes, he said, for hours, supposing they thereby gain the favor of the *tamanous*. He said that he did so when young." ³

The guardian spirit is sometimes conjured into a material object.

Washing essential to the acquisition of a guardian spirit.

¹ Rev. Myron Eells, "The Twana, Chemakum, and Klallam Indians of Washington Territory," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the year ending June 30, 1887*, Part i. (Washington, 1889) pp. 672-675. Compare *id.* "The Religion of the Clallam and Twana Indians," *American Antiquarian*, ii. (Chicago, 1879-80) pp. 10 *sq.*, where Mr. Eells tells us that the animal which appeared to the young man in his fast "was not the spirit, but

the spirit dwelt in it."

² Rev. Myron Eells, "The Religion of the Clallam and Twana Indians," *American Antiquarian*, ii. (1879-80) p. 12.

³ Rev. Myron Eells, "The Twana, Chemakum, and Klallam Indians of Washington Territory," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the year ending June 30, 1887*, Part i. (Washington, 1889) p. 678.

Guardian
spirits
(*tamanowash*)
among the
Kliketats.

Again, in regard to the Kliketats, a group of eight tribes speaking a common language in Washington State, we are informed that they have "still a belief in familiar spirits, in Chinook *tamanowash*, whom they address when in difficulty. They consider that supernatural aid, or *tamanowash*, may be obtained for five objects, namely, the cure or infliction of disease, skill in hunting, and in gambling, courage, and invulnerability; lastly, success in the acquisition of property. A youth desirous of obtaining *Tamanowash* must adhere to strict cleanliness of person, and must abstain from sexual intercourse, as indispensable preliminaries; he must also leave the parental lodge of an evening and sleep by the shore of some distant and lonely lake, or in some other secluded place, night after night, until during sleep the *tamanowash* communicates with him. By this way of acting, on returning to the lodge in the morning the parents know whether or not the son has been successful in his night's quest. Either the ambition of the sire, the son, or of both will prompt to perseverance in trial. It is an Indian belief that when an Indian dies, or is killed, his *Tamanowash* passes to his son. Some say they have a grizzly bear as *tamanowash*, others a woodpecker, the invulnerables an oak, and so on *ad infinitum*." ¹ This account is interesting because it shews the acquired guardian spirit in the act of passing by heredity to a son and thus tending to become the totem of a clan.

At a man's
death his
guardian
spirit
passes to
his son.

Guardian
spirits
(*tamanuus*)
among the
Chinook
and Kila-
muke tribes
of the
Columbia
River.

Of the Chinook and Kilamuke tribes on the Columbia River we are told that "each Indian has his *tamanuus*, or spirit, which is selected by him at a very early age, and is generally the first object they see in going out to the woods that has animal life. Others create from their imagination one that has never met mortal eyes. The choice of a spirit, however insignificant it may appear, has a great influence on their after-life; for, by its supposed commands, they are directed to good or evil, as they conceive that a nonconformity to its wishes would involve them in a multitude of evils, for they suppose it is able to destroy health, or preserve

¹ Dr. W. F. Tolmie, of the Hudson's Bay Company service, quoted by J. K. Lord, *The Naturalist in Vancouver*

Island and British Columbia (London, 1866), ii. 247 sq.

it, or inflict miseries without end. They at times, and particularly when in the water, pretend to hold converse with it, and talk to themselves in a low, monotonous tone of voice.”¹ Again, among the Pend d’Oreille Indians of Washington, when a lad approached manhood, he “was sent by his father to a high mountain and obliged to remain until he dreamed of some animal, bird, or fish, thereafter to be his medicine, whose claw, tooth, or feather was worn as a charm.”²

§ 7. *Guardian Spirits among the Salish Indians of Vancouver’s Island and British Columbia*

Again, guardian spirits are believed in by the Cowichans, a group of Indian tribes of the Salish stock who inhabit a portion of the east and south-east coasts of Vancouver Island, and the country in the vicinity of the forty-ninth parallel of North latitude from the sea to the Cascade Mountains; they occupy the lower valley of the Fraser River as far as Spuzzum. Like other tribes in this part of America they flatten the heads of their children in infancy. With the Cowichans this flattening of the head is esteemed not only a great beauty but a mark of free birth; for slaves are not allowed to flatten the heads of their children, unless they are adopted into the tribe. “The fasting ceremony on entering manhood is one of the most interesting customs prevailing among the Cowitchans, and one on which it is very difficult to obtain correct information. The young man retires to the hills and fixes upon some spot convenient to water, in which to undergo the ordeal, and remains there as long as hunger will allow him, generally from three to five days. During this time frequent ablutions are performed, a fire is kept up, and no sleep allowed, which gradually weakens the nerves until he sees visions, in which his *Tomanoas* (guardian spirit or medicine) appears to him, usually in the shape of some beast, fish, or bird, and predicts the course of his future

Guardian
spirits
(*tomanoas*)
among the
Cowichans.

¹ Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, New Edition (New York, 1851), v.

² H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of America* (London, 1875-1876), i. 283 sq.

life. This *Tomanoas* is supposed to accompany the Indian in after life, guiding his actions for good or evil, and to it they address themselves in secret, never mentioning the name even to their nearest relations and friends. Returning to his village, half wild with the cravings of hunger, he seizes a knife, with which he rushes up and down, wounding all who come in his way, until, working himself into a state of frenzy, he sinks down exhausted, and is appropriated by the *Tomanoas* or medicine-man of his tribe, who, with dismal howls and a chorus of sticks and paddles, proclaims him a man and a warrior. The young women do not seem to retire into the woods, but sit apart in the lodge, bathing frequently, fasting, and undergoing a general purification."¹

Guardian
spirits
among the
Ahts of
Vancouver
Island.

Among the Ahts of Vancouver's Island "stories are told of men who, going into the mountains to seek their 'medicine,'—which means choosing a guardian spirit, on attaining manhood,—have associated with wolves, like the Arcadian mentioned in Pliny's legend; and, after a time, body and soul have changed into the likeness of these beasts."² "What is called the 'medicine' of the natives, is something which they seek after arriving at manhood, and which is only to be got by hard trial of privation or exposure. The Indian, taking with him neither food nor water, and only a single blanket to cover his body, ascends to the summit of a high hill not far from the encampment, and there remains for several days. He keeps a fire burning to show to the people that he is actually at the place. The longer he endures the more efficacious 'medicine' is he supposed to obtain. As might be supposed of a people

¹ Capt. Wilson, "Report on the Indian Tribes inhabiting the Country in the Vicinity of the 49th Parallel of North Latitude," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, iv. (1866) p. 281. As to the geographical situation of the Cowichans, see *ibid.* p. 278; Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 10 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate

reprint, where the name is spelled K·au'itcin); *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 355. As to the flattening of the heads, see Capt. Wilson, *op. cit.* pp. 279 sq.

² G. M. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* (London, 1868), p. 173. The Greek legend referred to in the text is found in Pliny, *Natural History*, viii. 81. See my note on Pausanias, viii. 2. 6 (vol. iv. 189 sq.).

whose life and thoughts are bound almost within the limits of their bodily perceptions, this medicine generally comes through a dream in the form of an animal, as a wolf or eagle, when the sufferer's body and mind are enfeebled and disordered by hunger and exposure. Occasionally the medicine-seeker loses his reason, and wanders about and dies, and he is then believed to have gone further in search, and his return to the village is looked for month after month. The animal, thus supernaturally revealed to the native as his 'medicine,' is supposed, throughout his life, to be connected with him as only an untrained imagination could conceive or explain, and finally, as is believed by some of the natives, to receive into its body the Indian after his departure from the earth."¹ This supposed transmigration of the dead man into the body of his tutelary animal is noteworthy.

The faith in guardian spirits seems to have been common to all the tribes of the Salish stock in British Columbia, whether on the coast or in the interior. Thus Commander R. C. Mayne, comparing the tribes of the interior with the tribes of the coast, writes as follows:—"Their medicine-feasts are also much the same, and, like the others, they all wear charm-bags round their necks. The medicine-bag charm ordinarily worn is small, but on feasts and great occasions the chiefs and medicine-men wear very large ones. As a rule, nothing can be done without the aid of the medicine-men and their mummeries. The bag I have spoken of is, I believe, generally made of the skin of some animal, bird, or reptile, as the beaver, otter, polecat, or weasel; eagle, magpie, or hawk; snake or toad. Anything—dry grass, leaves, etc.—is stuffed into it, and it is carefully sewn up and ornamented. Before a young man is admitted to be a man and a warrior, he has to get his medicine, which he does, or is supposed to do, by roaming about the woods, fasting and praying to the great spirit to help him to medicine, much in the same way, though to a less extent, as the medicine-men prepare themselves for the higher mysteries. His medicine-animal is the first animal, bird, or reptile he dreams of during this process; and, having dreamt of it, he immediately kills one, and it becomes his medicine for ever. His bag is or

R. C. Mayne on the medicine-bags of the Salish Indians.

A man kills his "medicine" animal and keeps its skin.

¹ G. M. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, pp. 173 sq., note.

should be made of this animal's skin ; but there is much trickery in all these matters."¹

Dr. F.
Boas
on the
guardian
spirits of
the Salish
Indians.

On the same subject Dr. Franz Boas writes that "the religious concepts of the Salish tribes of the interior were also much simpler than those of the coast Indians. Since the social organization is simple, and ritualistic societies are not found, the whole group of ideas connected with these concepts does not occur. The essential trait of the religious beliefs of these tribes is connected with the acquisition of guardian spirits. Each person is believed to have his guardian spirit, which is acquired by the performance of ceremonials. Only a few shamans are believed to have inherited their guardian spirits from their parents who have been particularly powerful. All animals and objects possessed of mysterious powers can become guardian spirits, whose powers are somewhat differentiated. Objects referring to death—such as graves, bones, teeth, and also natural phenomena, such as blue sky, east and west, and powerful animals—could become guardian spirits of shamans. Warriors had weapons and strong animals for their guardian spirits ; hunters, the water, the tops of mountains, and the animals they hunted, or others that were themselves successful hunters. Fishermen had for their guardian spirits canoes, paddles and water animals ; and gamblers, a variety of smaller animals, and also objects used for securing good luck or wealth. The frequent occurrence of guardian spirits that are only part of an animal—as a deer's nose, the left or right side of a thing, the head, the hand, the hair, or the tail of an animal—is remarkable."² The suggestion which has been made³ as to the reason for splitting a totem applies equally to the splitting of a guardian animal, whenever that animal is good to eat and the man desires to propitiate the creature by not devouring its flesh.

¹ Commander R. C. Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island* (London, 1862), p. 302.

² Franz Boas, "The Salish Tribes

of the Interior of British Columbia," *Annual Archeological Report*, 1905 (Toronto, 1906), p. 222.

³ See above, vol. ii. p. 536 sq., and vol. iii. p. 100.

§ 8. *Guardian Spirits among the Thompson Indians*

Among the Salish-speaking tribes of the interior who claimed to have guardian spirits are the Thompson Indians, formerly known as the Couteau or Knife Indians. They inhabit a district of Southern British Columbia watered by the Fraser River and its tributaries, the Thompson and Nicola Rivers. A full and valuable account of their system of guardian spirits has been given us by Mr. James Teit, who is conversant with their language and by patient enquiry has made himself intimately acquainted with the people. From him we learn that among the Thompson Indians boys at puberty went through a long course of training, which varied with the career which the youth had proposed to himself. Those who wished to become great hunters practised hunting and shooting in a ceremonial way. Those who desired to become great warriors prayed to the Sun and fought mimic battles. Those whose ambition it was to be gamblers danced and played with gambling sticks. Only warriors prayed to the Sun; the rest prayed to the Dawn of the Day. If a lad wished to develop into an extraordinary man, the ceremonial isolation and practice extended over years, which he spent alone with his guardian spirit in the mountains, fasting, sweating, and praying until he gained the desired knowledge. Adolescent boys began their regular training when they dreamed for the first time of an arrow, a canoe, or a woman. This generally happened between the ages of twelve and sixteen years. They were then made to run races, with their bows and arrows in their hands, until they sweated, when they were sent to wash in cold water. This was repeated four times on each of four successive days. During these days the lad's face was painted red all over, and he wore a headband of cedar or other bark, or sometimes of deer or other skin with the hair on. He also wore deer-hoof ornaments round his ankles and knees, an apron painted with designs symbolising his future occupations, and he used a tube for drinking through and a bone to scratch his head with. On the first night he had to repair to a mountain-top,

Guardian
spirits
among the
Thompson
Indians.

Mr. James
Teit's
account.

Training
of young
men.

The fast
and dream.

Use of the
sweat-bath.

light a fire, and dance and sing there all night. The fire served to announce to all that he had attained to puberty. The next three nights were similarly spent, the boy dancing, singing, and praying to the Dawn of Day, and also shooting arrows at targets in the early morning. Afterwards he left his home at intervals to spend days together in some lonely place among the mountains. There he fasted, sometimes for many days, and cleansed himself by the use of purges, emetics, and the sweat-bath. In the sweat-bath he prayed to the spirit of sweat-bathing under the title of "Sweat-bathing Grandfather Chief," begging that he might be strong, brave, agile, lucky, rich, a good hunter, a skilful fisherman, and so forth. Also he would roll naked in the dew, or wash his body with branches covered with dew. Moreover, he practised a system of gymnastics, running, leaping, and shooting at marks.¹

The animal
of which
the lad
dreamed
was his
guardian
spirit; he
killed it
and pre-
served its
skin entire.

"The ceremonial rites continued until the lad dreamed of some animal or bird. These particular animals or birds then became his protectors or guardian spirits for life, and to them he afterward prayed. Besides helping him, and protecting him from danger, they also became mediums, imparting to him power and magic, also knowledge concerning the world of the living and that of the dead. They furnished him with a song, with which he called them up. Some Indians had only one protector, while others had many; but of these usually one was chief. After receiving a guardian spirit, they painted their faces with designs symbolic of this spirit, often suggested by their dreams. They also decorated their clothing in accordance with instructions received from the guardian spirit. The lads then set out with bows and arrows to hunt the subject of their dreams. Having shot it, they took off the skin, which they preserved entire.

Sometimes
a boy
dreamed of
the same
guardian
spirit as
his father.

"Sometimes a boy would have dreams similar to those of his father, or at least about the same guardian spirit. Sometimes his father would give him a piece of the skin or a feather of his own guardian spirit to take with him into the mountains. This was supposed to help him. Often the

¹ James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, pp. 317-320 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*,

Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, April 1900).

boy dreamed about it, and it thus became one of his guardian spirits. Fathers would sometimes ask their sons about their dreams, would interpret them, and would give advice in regard to them.

"Many Indians carried about with them wherever they went a bag into which they put the skin of their guardian spirit. This bag was made of the entire skin of some bird or animal which was one of the guardian spirits of the person. Others preferred taking a part of the feathers or skin, and wearing it around their person, especially tied to their hair."¹

The Indians carried the skins of their guardian animals.

From this account we see that among the Thompson Indians in some cases the guardian spirits were hereditary, passing from father to son. However, Mr. Teit tells us that only a few shamans inherited their guardian spirits without passing through the usual ceremonies at puberty; to such favoured persons the guardian spirits of their parents presented themselves uncalled for in dreams and visions.²

Thus the guardian spirits were sometimes hereditary.

The guardian spirits of the Thompson Indians varied with the man's profession; some were appropriate to shamans, others to warriors, others to hunters, others to fishermen, and others to gamblers. Many, however, might be possessed by men of different occupations. For example, water was a guardian spirit of shamans, warriors, hunters, and fishers; the sun, the thunder or the thunder-bird, the tops of mountains, the grizzly bear, wolf, eagle, and raven were guardian spirits of shamans and warriors; the grizzly bear, wolf, coyote, owls of all kinds, and the raven were guardian spirits of shamans and hunters; the loon, all kinds of ducks, and all or almost all kinds of fish were guardian spirits of shamans and fishermen. On the other hand, each profession had certain guardian spirits which specially or even exclusively belonged to it. Among those which specially belonged to shamans were the moon, stars, the Milky Way, the Pleiades, the Morning Star, sunset, wind, rain, rainbow, snow, ice, lake, cascade, fire, cold, heat, snow-capped mountains, the otter, badger, dog, skunk, weasel, ermine, chicken-hawk, swan, crane, snakes, lizards

The guardian spirits of the Thompson Indians varied with a man's profession.

Guardian spirits of shamans.

¹ James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, pp. 320 sq.

² James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 354.

bird's down, the cedar, fir, yellow pine, burnt trees, stumps, tobacco, and pipe. The following were guardian spirits of shamans only:—night, fog, blue sky, east, west, woman, adolescent girl, child, hands of men, feet of men, privates of men, privates of women, the bat, the land of souls, ghosts, grave-poles, cairns at graves, dead men's hair, teeth, and bones. Amongst the guardian spirits which belonged specially or exclusively to warriors were blood and all kinds of weapons, including the arrow, bow, knife, toma-hawk, gun, bullet, and arrow-head. Among the guardian spirits which belonged specially or exclusively to hunters were the black bear, wolverine, lynx, marten, mink, deer, elk, beaver, hoary marmot, crow, magpie, blue grouse, deer's tail, deer's nose, and hunting snares. Among the guardian spirits which belonged specially or exclusively to fishermen were paddles and fishing utensils, such as nets, spears, lines, hooks, weirs, and parts of weirs. On the other hand canoes were guardian spirits of hunters as well as fishermen. The guardian spirits of gamblers, runners, etc., included the following:—creek, spring, stone, dawn of day, horse, muskrat, common marmot, rock-rabbit, big-horn sheep, mountain-goat, buffalo, antelope, cariboo, porcupine, woodpeckers of all kinds, whip-poor-will, blue jay, willow grouse, ptarmigan, prairie-chicken, plover, goose, humming-bird, frog, some kinds of flies, horsefly, wasp, bee, mosquito, ant, spider, wood-worm, feathers, sweat-house, tools of various kinds, moccasins, red and black paint, dentalia shells, fir-branch, pine-cones, and fir-cones. Guardian spirits of women were the mountain goat, basket, kettle, root-digger, and packing-line.¹

Some animals which were not supposed to have any mysterious power did not become guardian spirits of men. Such were, for example, the mouse, chipmunk, squirrel, rat, fool-hen, and butterfly. Only few birds and hardly any trees or herbs could become guardian spirits.

Knowledge of the names of animals gave power over them. The Thompson Indians believe that all animals have names of their own, which may be revealed by the guardian spirits. The knowledge of these names gave a person more power over the animals. Thus, if a man knew the name of

¹ James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, pp. 354 sq.

the grizzly bear and addressed him by it, the bear would at once become gentle and harmless. This knowledge was not imparted to others, except perhaps by a father to his son.¹

Among the guardian spirits of the Thompson Indians two classes seem especially remarkable. One of them is the class of artificial objects, such as weapons, fishing tackle, tools, sweat-house, baskets, kettles, packing-lines, and so forth. The other is the class of guardian spirits which are only part of an animal or thing, such as a deer's nose, bird's down, blood, the nipple of a gun, the left or right side of anything, the head, the hand, the hair, and the tail of an animal. Some Indians had guardian spirits of an unusual colour or of some particular colour, such as a grey tree, a white stump, a white horse, a black dog, a spotted dog, a spotted fish, a black fox, a blue sky, a red cloud, a black fog, a red fish, and so on.

Some of the guardian spirits are artificial objects, others are parts of animals or of things.

"It is evident from the above list that each person partook of the qualities with which his guardian spirit was endowed. For this reason certain guardian spirits were also considered more powerful than others. Thus a man who had the grisly bear or thunder for his protector would become a much better and fiercer warrior than another who had a crow, a coyote, or a fox. . . . Only warriors whose guardian spirits gave them the mystery of the scalp would take or wear scalps. In order to obtain this mystery, or, as it is expressed, to 'know' scalps and become proof against them, some warriors washed themselves in water in which arrow-heads had been placed, or prayed to the weapons for knowledge. If they wore a scalp and did not know its mystery, evil might befall them. A few men wore as many as ten or twelve scalps attached to their 'horns,'² their hair, their belt, and their weapons. Scalps were looked upon as spirits by warriors who took them regularly. . . . Warriors who had the arrow, knife, or other weapon as their chief guardian spirit, were protected against hostile weapons; for instance, if an arrow struck them, which was not often the case, the blood was vomited up, and the

Each person partook of the qualities of his guardian spirit.

Invulnerability conferred by certain guardian spirits.

¹ James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, p. 355.

² The "horn" was a braid of hair

which, stiffened with white clay, stood upright on the top of the head. See James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 226.

wound healed in a short time. They seldom wore armor, and generally took the most dangerous places in battle. . . . Some men committed suicide in the attempt to test the powers of their guardian spirits to bring them to life again. It has happened that a man who boasted of the powers of his guardian spirit was shot by some one desirous of testing the power of the guardian spirit of the boaster, or in order to find out if the man was bullet or arrow proof."¹

Dance
of the
guardian
spirits
before war.

Before they started on the war-path, the Thompson Indians often took sweat-baths for several days and prayed to their guardian spirits for success and protection. They also used to dance a circular dance, against the sun's course, in which the dancers, arrayed in paint and feathers and fully armed, went through a mimic battle. In this dance each man imitated the sounds of the animal which was his guardian spirit, shouting, grunting, and whooping withal, while the drums beat an accompaniment.²

Shamans
used their
guardian
spirits
to work
wonders.

Shamans accomplished their supernatural feats by the help of their guardian spirits, who instructed them by means of dreams or visions. Women as well as men could become shamans. Some shamans had staffs painted with symbols of their guardian spirits. They were thought both to cause and to cure such sickness as was the effect of witchcraft or of the loss of the soul. Shamans could shoot their enemies with their guardian spirits; the victim fell sick at once and complained of headache.³

§ 9. *Guardian Spirits among the Lillooets*

Guardian
spirits
among the
Lillooets.

Another tribe of the Salish stock who have guardian spirits are the Lillooets. Their country is for the most part a long narrow valley in the south-west interior of British Columbia, beginning at Cayuse Creek, where it opens into the Fraser River, and extending through the mountains to Harrison Lake. Along the lakes and streams of this valley the greater part of the tribe have their homes.⁴ As among

¹ James Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, pp. 356 sq.

² James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 356.

³ James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 360.

⁴ James Teit, *The Lillooet Indians* (Leyden and New York, 1906), p. 195 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*).

the Thompson Indians, young men went through a course of training and obtained guardian spirits. The attainment of puberty was marked by many dreams. Then the youth began his training. He painted his face red the first four days and afterwards yellow. Also he painted his neck, chest, arms and legs yellow. He repaired to the mountains, where he built a sweat-house, sweated, fasted, and prayed. Thus he staid for a space of two, three, or four days or longer, if he could endure it without growing too weak. At home he sat most of the time apart from adults and women. Each evening he left the house, returning shortly after day-break. He retired to some lonely spot, where he slept or spent the night walking, running, shooting, and praying. Each morning he washed himself with fir-branches at a spring or in running water. On each of four nights he had to build a large fire on a mountain-top, and by its light he shot at small figures of deer made of bark or grass, praying that he might become an expert archer. At intervals also he repaired to the mountains and cleansed himself by sweating in a sweat-house, by purging himself with medicine, and by vomiting. During the intervals between their excursions to the mountains lads who were in training contended with each other by day in running and shooting. Also they burned and cut each other in the arms, chest and legs to prove their endurance of pain. The Indians said that this custom of cutting each other with knives till they bled freely served to let out the bad blood and would make the sufferer insensible to fatigue, able to sustain the loss of blood, and capable of seeing and smelling blood without fainting. Most lads also slashed the points of their fingers in order to become lucky in war, the chase, and other avocations. These customs of cutting themselves and one another were also practised by the Thompson Indians and by the Shuswap. The mode of obtaining the guardian spirit was the same as in the Thompson tribe. Until they obtained their spiritual guardian lads prayed both to the Dawn of Day and to the Dusk of Evening. The course of training usually lasted from one to four years; but such as wished to become shamans or to excel in certain kinds of work continued to train at intervals for many years.

The
training of
young men.

The sweat-
bath and
the fast.

The
burning
and cutting
of each
other.

The guardian spirit generally came to them in their first year.¹

Animals
and things
which were
guardian
spirits
to the
Lillooets.

The classes of animals and things which served the Thompson Indians as guardian spirits served also the Lillooets in the same capacity. The raven was a common guardian spirit. Persons who had him for their spiritual patron enjoyed prophetic gifts, especially they could foretell death and the weather. Some of the Lower Lillooet Indians had the seal as a guardian spirit. The strongest guardian spirits for warriors were the knife, gun, ball, arrow, thunder, sun, red-winged flicker, and hawks of three kinds. For hunters the most powerful guardian spirits were the wolf, lynx, wolverine, grizzly bear, deer, and beaver. The most potent for shamans were the dead, the raven, the golden eagle, the mink, and the owl. Some men had the thunder-bolt or thunder arrow-head as their guardian. Men who had the spirit of the sweat-house for their guardian spirit made a sweat-house for themselves of elk-skin supported on wands, and inside it they placed four large stones, which were heated to make the steam for the bath. Men who had a particular kind of snake (the *lapilst*) for their guardian spirit always wore its tail, or the entire skin stuffed or blown out, attached to some part of their person.²

Guardian
spirit
dance.

Young men often performed a "guardian spirit dance" at the suggestion of their elders. Each of them in turn rose and sang his song in presence of all the people. They also danced and mimicked their guardian spirit by motion, gesture, and cry. Similar "guardian spirit dances" used to be in vogue also among the Thompson Indians and the Shuswap.³

Guardian
spirits of
Lillooet
shamans.

Some powerful shamans of the Lower Lillooet Indians had the dead as their guardian spirits and obtained from them their knowledge. To this end they trained by sleeping in burial-grounds at intervals extending over several years. Shamans bewitched their enemies by shooting them with their guardian spirit. They sharpened a feather, stick, or stone and tied it to some hair taken from the head of their intended victim. Also they tied to it some hair or feathers

¹ James Teit, *The Lillooet Indians*, pp. 265-267.

² James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 283.

³ James Teit, *op. cit.* pp. 285 sq.

from the animal that was their guardian spirit. Then they shot the magical object into their victim's body. Like an elfin-arrow it left no mark, but the person wounded by it fell sick at once and died, unless another shaman succeeded in discovering and extracting the fatal bolt before it was too late.¹

§ 10. *Guardian Spirits among the Shuswap*

Another Indian tribe of the Salish stock who claimed to have guardian spirits are the Shuswap or Shushwap. Their country is in the interior of British Columbia, to the north-east of that of the Thompson tribe. Dr. Franz Boas has given us an account of their guardian spirits as follows:—

Guardian
spirits
of the
Shuswap.
Dr. F.
Boas's
account.

"The shaman is initiated by animals, who become his guardian spirits. The initiation ceremonies for warriors and shamans seem to be identical, the object of the initiation ceremonies being merely to obtain supernatural help for any object that appeared desirable. The young man, on reaching puberty, and before he had ever touched a woman, had to go out on the mountains and pass through a number of performances. He had to build a sweat-house, in which he stayed every night. In the morning he was allowed to return to the village. He had to clean himself in the sweat-house, to dance and to sing during the night. This was continued, sometimes for years, until he dreamt that the animal he desired for his guardian spirit appeared to him and promised him its help. As soon as it appeared the novice fell down in a swoon. 'He feels as though he were drunk, and does not know whether it is day or night, nor what he is doing.' The animal tells him to think of it if he should be in need of help, and gives him a certain song with which to summon him up. Therefore every shaman has his own song, which none else is allowed to sing, except when the attempt is made to discover a sorcerer. Sometimes the spirit comes down to the novice in the shape of a stroke of lightning. If an animal initiates the novice it teaches him its language. One shaman in Nicola Valley is said to

Use of the
sweat-bath.

Appear-
ance of the
guardian
spirit in a
dream.

¹ James Teit, *The Lilloet Indians*, p. 287.

Invulner-
ability con-
ferred by
guardian
spirit.

... speak the 'coyote language' in his incantations. . . . After a man has obtained a guardian spirit he is bullet and arrow proof. If an arrow or a bullet should strike him he does not bleed from the wound, but the blood all flows into his stomach. He spits it out, and is well again. 'Braves,' who have secured the help of spirits, are carried to the fighting ground. No woman must see them when on their way, as else they would lose their supernatural power. When an attack is going to be made on a village the guardian spirit of the warriors will warn them. In dreaming or in waking they see blood flying about, and this is a sign that some one will be murdered. Before going on a war expedition warriors would fast and abstain from sleep for a whole week, bathing frequently in streams. It was believed that this would make them nimble-footed.

Guardian
spirits of
shamans.
Procedure
of the
shaman in
healing the
sick.

"Men could acquire more than one guardian spirit, and powerful shamans had always more than one helper. The principal duty of the shaman was to cure the sick." In doing so he wore a head-dress made of a mat about two yards long by one yard wide, so that the whole length of the mat hung down his back. "As soon as the shaman puts on the headdress he 'acts as though he was crazy,' i.e. he puts himself into a trance by singing the song he had obtained from his guardian spirit at the time of initiation. He dances until he perspires freely, and finally his spirit comes and speaks to him. Then he lies down next to the patient and sucks at the part of the body where the pain is. He is supposed to remove a thong or a feather from it, which was the cause of the disease. As soon as he has removed it he leaves the hut, takes off his mat, and blows upon the object he has removed from the body, which then disappears."¹

¹ Franz Boas, "The Shushwap," in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 93 sq. (Report of the British Association, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint). Compare G. M. Dawson, "Notes on the Shushwap People of British Columbia," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for the year 1891*, ix. (Montreal, 1892) Transactions, section ii. p. 13: "Young men

on reaching manhood were accustomed to separate themselves and go away alone into some solitary part of the country, where they would sometimes remain for three or four months. They might hunt or trap, but must avoid contact with other people and keep away from habitations. . . . They also meditated and dreamed dreams till each discovered his particular guardian spirit."

Many more details as to the guardian spirits of the Shuswap are given by Mr. James Teit in his valuable monograph on the tribe.¹ From him we learn that boys began to train from the time that their voice changed or they first dreamed of women, arrows, and canoes. Most boys did not live apart from the people, but separated themselves at irregular intervals, extending from two or three days to upwards of as many weeks at a time. During their absence they trained themselves with the object of obtaining a guardian spirit and of acquiring the requisite knowledge for the profession they had chosen, such as that of the shaman, warrior, hunter, gambler, and so forth. Their training lasted from one to eight or ten years. During their first period of seclusion they fasted as long as they could, generally from four to ten days. Some lads built their sweat-house in a wild or lonely spot to which they repaired almost every evening, and after sweating and training all night they returned home at daybreak. Twins did not train to acquire guardian spirits, as they were supposed to possess them already. Young men prayed to the Dawn of Day, but some also prayed occasionally to the Earth, the Sun, and the Darkness (or Night). Among the western bands of the Shuswap many addressed themselves directly to animals, birds, weapons, and other material objects, rarely to the Dawn of Day, the Earth, the Sun, and the Darkness. The training consisted in running, jumping, shooting with arrows, and so forth. Some of the youths would set boulders rolling down the mountain-side and try to keep up with them as they bounded from crag to crag; also they climbed the mountains at evening, trying to overtake the shadow as it ascended the hillside when the sun went down.² The lads moreover purged themselves by drinking certain drugs, and they made themselves vomit by thrusting willow-twigs down their throats. They did not eat fat nor any fresh fish, except the tail; and almost all cut their bodies at some time during their period of training, for this cutting of the

Mr. James Teit on the guardian spirits of the Shuswap.

The training of boys.

Use of the sweat-bath.

Prayers to the Dawn, Darkness, animals, etc.

Use of purgatives and emetics.

The novices cut their bodies.

¹ James Teit, *The Shuswap* (Leyden and New York, 1909), pp. 588-590, 601, 605-611, 612 sq. (*The Jesup North-Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*).

² James Teit, *The Shuswap*, pp. 588 sq.

body was an important part of the preparation of warriors, hunters, and runners. The novice ran till he was hot, then cut the points of his eight fingers with a sharp arrow-stone, after which he sweat-bathed. Others usually cut four half-circles or four straight lines, not very deep, on the outside of each leg, between the ankle and the knee, with a stone knife or dagger, afterwards piercing the inside of each leg in four places between the ankle and the knee with the point of a dagger or, instead, cutting four dot-like cuts or four crosses. The novice made these cuts in very cold clear water, and afterwards sweat-bathed. Meanwhile he prayed that he might be able to bear pain well and that his wounds, if he received any, might quickly heal. The cutting of the finger-tips was supposed to let out all bad blood. Further, future warriors slashed their sides and breast, and future gamblers cut the tips of their tongues, some of them also swallowed the blood. This was supposed to make them lucky.¹

Pictures of
guardian
spirits on
rocks.

All boys and some girls at puberty painted pictures on rocks during the middle or toward the end of their training. Most of the pictures represented the things seen in their dreams, and the painting of them was supposed to hasten the attainment of a guardian spirit or of other desirable objects.²

Chastity
required of
boys and
girls.

"Both girls and boys were carefully watched from childhood, and not allowed to smoke or have sexual connection until after their periods of training. To indulge in the latter during their training would have a disastrous effect on their future, would render of no avail the training they had undergone, and would make it impossible to obtain a *manitou* or become proficient in 'mystery' for a very long time. It would also make them heavy-footed, slow, and short-winded in after years."³

Some
guardian
spirits were
inherited
by men
from their
fathers.

Among the Shuswap a few men inherited guardian spirits from their fathers, but spirits so inherited were deemed to be not so powerful as those which a man acquired for himself. For example, a man named Six-wilexken inherited from his father fire, water, the owl, and

¹ James Teit, *The Shuswap*, pp. 589 sq.

² James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 590.

³ James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 590.

the coyote as guardian spirits, and these spirits often appeared to him in dreams and advised him. "These protectors, however, were never of much value to Sixwilexken, for they did not really belong to him, and therefore he did not know the proper way to use them. Water, besides coming to him from his father, was also acquired by himself when training, and consequently he understood it perfectly, but the others he did not understand."¹

"Most men had several guardians, but generally one was much more powerful than the others. Those of some men were wholly helpful, and could not be used to harm any person ; while others had exactly the opposite properties. In some parts of the tribe the dog, coyote, and water were considered the most powerful of all guardian spirits. Other very powerful ones were the dead, cannibal, fox, tobacco, grisly bear, wolf, eagle, and pipe. The tobacco, pipe, and fox guardians were inseparable. A person obtaining the one also obtained the others. In the same way the coyote and the cannibal were associated. The scalp guardian was often associated with the cannibal. Guardian spirits generally thought to possess considerable power, and much used, were the thunder, loon, pinto horse, white horse, weapons of all kinds, hunger or famine, mountain-goat, otter, beaver, hare, owl, fire, rain, blood, woman, black bear, deer, scalp, man, boy. The woman guardian was sometimes called the 'singing woman.' She was not an ordinary woman, and was acquired in conjunction with the black bear or the deer."² Indeed the woman appears to have been a deer who changed into human form ; for we read of a young man in training to whom a deer appeared and gave him advice. Afterwards he dreamed of a woman with her face painted with white and yellow stripes, who told him that she was the deer he had seen, and that she would help him and make him great ; whenever he wanted her aid, he was to paint his face with white and yellow stripes like hers, and then she would appear to him and help him. Similarly the guardian spirit called the 'man' was a fox, who could assume the form of a man. He was often called the 'smoking man.'³

but these were not so powerful as the personally acquired spirits.

Most men had several guardian spirits, some of which were more powerful than others.

The woman guardian.

The man guardian.

¹ James Teit, *The Shuswap*, p. 605.

² James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 606.

³ James Teit, *op. cit.* pp. 606 sq.

Some guardian spirits were especially powerful for shamans, others for warriors, and others for gamblers.

"Of the guardians, the thunder, weapons, blood, and scalp were most powerful for warriors. The dead and the wolf were powerful guardians of shamans, while for other people their assistance was of less value. The cannibal had power to assist particularly the shaman and the warrior. The loon, otter, pinto and white horse, were generally acquired by shamans. The woman, black bear, and deer were said to be powerful for gamblers. Some men acquired guardian spirits of a certain number, which seem to have possessed qualities of their own sufficiently different from that of the units of which they were composed to mark them as distinct. Among these were seven straws, seven trees, twins, two lakes, two boys, four plants, twenty coyotes. Guardians in the form of fish were very rare."¹ A boy and twins were very lucky guardians for gamblers.²

Men partook of the character of their guardian spirits.

"Persons partook largely of the character of their guardians; for instance, a man who had the goat for his guardian could travel on steep rocks better than other people. A man who had the swan for his guardian spirit could make snow fall by dancing with swan's down on his head, or by throwing swan's down on the water."³ Similarly, a shaman who had the rain for his guardian spirit could procure rain. For that purpose he painted his face with red stripes or dots or with both, perhaps in imitation of the clouds and rain-drops; and having done so, he went out of the house and walked round in a circle with the sun, singing his rain-song and saying, "My guardian spirit will go around the world until it meets rain and will bring it here." Then he told the people, "If my guardian spirit finds it quickly, rain will fall soon, probably to-morrow; but if he cannot find it quickly, it may be two or three days before rain falls."⁴

Advice given by guardian spirits.

Guardian spirits advised men in sickness how to get well, and told them what to do in order to be successful in hunting and gambling.⁵ Most men painted their faces and bodies as they were directed by their guardian spirits in dreams; many also arranged their clothes, ornaments, and hair in accordance with the directions of their spiritual

¹ James Teit, *The Shuswap*, p. 607.

² James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 609.

³ James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 607.

⁴ James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 601.

⁵ James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 607.

patrons. Some warriors painted their bodies the colour that their guardian's body was believed to be.¹

"Parts of animals, such as the heart, hoof, bone, hair, tail, etc., were claimed as protectors by certain men, but generally they only represented the guardian in about the same way as a hawk's feather in a man's head-band represented the hawk as one of the man's guardians. A man was sometimes told by the guardian spirit to hold certain parts of animals sacred; and thus, according to the way some Indians look at it, these particular parts of the animal were of prime importance, for they represented the means by which the guardian power exercised its mysterious influence. Thus a deer's tail, although called a man's guardian, might, in the first place, be only a symbol, and have no special powers apart from the whole deer; or it might be the mystery part of the guardian power by which alone the latter could exercise its functions. In this case the part was more important than the whole, but still not altogether distinct nor independent of it; while, in the first case, the part was subordinate and formed an unimportant part of the whole, having no practical value excepting as a symbol. It seems, however, that there was a third class of things called guardians, which, although parts of a whole, were guardian spirits in the full sense of the word, and were looked upon as independent beings, with powers of their own, distinct from those of the whole object or animal of which they were part. Probably the best example of this class is blood. Only a very few warriors had the mystery of the scalp. They scalped their enemies, and wore the scalps or scalp-locks on their persons. On their return from war they held a scalp dance. . . . The men having the scalp as their guardian often had the cannibal as well. . . . Some people, besides their ordinary guardians, had other protectors which they impersonated in dances."²

"Once at least, during the winter, the people gathered in the largest underground house, and each in turn sang his mystery-song,—either the most powerful song obtained from his guardians, or the one best adapted for the purpose of

Parts of animals held sacred as guardians.

The mystery of the scalp.

In winter the people gathered together and sang their mystery-songs.

¹ James Teit, *The Shuswap*, pp. 608 sq.

² James Teit, *op. cit.* pp. 609 sq.

the ceremony. This is said to have been done for the purpose of discovering whether any sickness were approaching, whether any one had been bewitched, or if any other evil were threatening. As nearly all the men were possessed of some shamanistic power, their spirits watched; and if they saw or found any influence that would be harmful to the community, they reported it in their song. Thus the people were warned, and prepared to defend themselves. Each man, in his song, told whatever was wonderful or important that had happened to his spirit since last they sang the mystery-songs. A very few of the men danced when they sang. Another object in holding this ceremony was to train all the youths in the singing of their mystery-songs, to give them self-confidence, to find out how they were progressing in their training, what their guardians were, and who among them was likely to become greatest."¹

A shaman dies if his guardian spirit is destroyed or prevented from returning to him.

"A shaman will die if his guardian spirit is destroyed, or if it is imprisoned, so that he cannot get it back. A person could also be bewitched by taking possession of the soul and imprisoning it in a medicine-bag. Some men had 'medicine-places' where their guardian lived,—as, for instance, the place of sunrise, or the place of sunset; and when they bewitched a person by taking his soul, they sent it to these places, where it was kept captive by their guardian spirit. In such cases the shaman had to put on his mask, and, travelling in spirit to the place, attempted with the aid of his guardians, to take back the soul forcibly from its captors. If he failed in his task, he became sick himself, and felt like a man who had received a severe thrashing."²

Such guardian spirits resemble external souls.

The belief that a shaman dies when his guardian spirit perishes is akin to the belief in the external soul, of which we have had examples in the bush-souls of West Africa,³ and of which we shall find more instances in the *naguals* of Central America.⁴

¹ James Teit, *The Shuswap*, p. 610.

² James Teit, *op. cit.* pp. 612 sq.

³ Above, vol. ii, pp. 552, 593 sqq.

⁴ Below, pp. 443 sqq.

§ 11. *Guardian Spirits among other Salish Tribes*

Other Indian tribes of the Salish stock who had guardian spirits (sulias) among the Stseelis and Skaulits, which occupy reservations on the Harrison River, a tributary which flows into the Fraser River about a hundred miles from its mouth. The guardian spirits, which they called *sulias*, were apparently obtained as a rule in the usual way by dreams, which the young men dreamed during their course of training at puberty. At such times the Stseelis lads made much use of the sweat-house, lanced their bodies and limbs with knives "to let the bad blood out and make them strong," and forced long rods down their throats to oblige them to vomit.¹ With regard to these guardian

Mr. C. Hill-Tout's account of the *sulias*.

"Those who had one or more of the animals commonly hunted for food as their *sulia* were always successful hunters of those animals. For example the man who had a deer *sulia* could always find and kill plenty of deer. And it was the same with respect to other animals, both birds and fish. The fisher whose *sulia* was a salmon never lacked for these fish. . . . A *sulia* whose material form was that of an edible object enabled the owner of it to be eminently successful in his quest for that object; but among the Stseelis success in hunting or fishing could be conferred upon the hunter or fisher by other *sulia* than those which inhabited or took the forms of the animals hunted; though it usually came in that way. Certain *sulia* of a mythological character also gave success to their *protégés* in their undertakings. The *protégé* of a certain one-legged being was noted for his success as a deer hunter. This man believed that his strange *sulia* used to drive the deer into the lake for him, where they were easily despatched. The bow and arrow *sulia* also conferred the

Men were always successful hunters of the animals which they had for their guardian spirits (*sulias*).

¹ Ch. Hill-Tout, "Ethnological Report on the Stseelis and Skaulits Tribes of the Halokmelem Division of the Salish of British Columbia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv. (1904) pp. 311, 316, 323 *sqq.* The writer does not, so far as I see, explain how these tribes obtain their

guardian spirits; but by referring to the guardian spirit as a "dream totem," "dream *sulia*," etc., he leaves us to infer, as I have done in the text, that the guardian spirit was the being or thing of which the lad dreamed at puberty.

When a man's *sulia* was a material inanimate thing and it broke, his life was in danger.

power upon its owner to kill whatever he shot at ; but this kind of *sulia* had one serious drawback. If an arrow broke, the owner's life was in danger. It would appear that this disability belongs to all *sulia* having the outward or material form of an inanimate object that was fracturable, such as spears, paddles and the like. There is deep significance in this. It seems to suggest that the life of the owner of such a *sulia* was bound up, or intimately connected, with the well-being or existence of those objects under which his *sulia* manifested itself ; and one seems to catch here an echo of the 'soul-box' belief. I sought to learn as much as possible concerning the relation which existed, or was supposed to exist, between the individual and his protective *sulia*, but could gather little beyond what I have recorded, and the following story : Once a man who had a she-bear for his *sulia* went out hunting bear. He followed one to its den in a cave. As he sought to enter the cave after the bear, the latter, who was really his *sulia*, caught hold of him and wanted him to stay and live with her as her husband. This the man refused to do, whereupon she said to him that when he died he should come and live with her, and be her husband.

Men did not pray to their *sulias*. The *sulia* was a spirit, though it might appear in the form of an animal.

"According to François a man paid regard to his *sulia* by following his instructions, but did not pray to him in the sense in which we employ that word, nor feel under any special obligation to him for his help and protection. Anything that the man could do would be a small matter in the eyes of such a mystery being as his *sulia*. Nor, as far as I could learn, did the hunter pay any regard or show respect to his prey because his *sulia* appeared to him in his visions in that form. The real *sulia* was a 'spirit' or 'mystery being' ; and though it might take the form of a deer, or a bear, or any other animal, it could not be hurt or killed, even if the animal were slain. . . . He also stated that not everybody acquired a *sulia*, only those who excelled in their special lines, such as great hunters, fishers, warriors, runners and the like ; and that women as a rule never acquired *sulia* unless they were *seurwa* or witches."¹

¹ C. Hill-Tout, "Ethnological Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv. (1904) pp. 324 sq.

According to this account, a Stseelis man not only did not respect the animals in which his guardian spirit was embodied, but actually hunted and killed them more successfully than did other men who had not these animals for their guardians. In this respect the attitude of the Stseelis to their guardian spirits differed from that of most other American Indians and resembled the attitude of the Arunta and other Central Australian tribes to their clan totems ; for among these Central Australian tribes, as we have seen, the right and power to hunt and kill certain animals appear to be the special privilege of men who have these particular animals for their totems.¹ Akin to this is another belief of the Salish tribes which Mr. Hill-Tout has recorded. He tells us that many of the Indians believe themselves to be descended from certain mythical creatures, half animals, half men, "and claim in consequence power over the animal descendants of them to-day whom they look upon as related to themselves. Thus the people of the Mountain-goat or Sturgeon ancestry believe they can secure animals of these species more readily than other people can, because of the supposed relationship existing between them ; and they had esoteric formulas and ceremonies which they employed when they wished to capture them and which were thought to cause the fish or animals to yield themselves readily to their human kinsmen."²

Thus the attitude of the Stseelis to his guardian animal (*sulia*) was like that of a Central Australian to his totem ; he had special power to hunt and kill it.

Among the Salish tribes of the coast, as well as of the interior, of British Columbia, the belief in guardian spirits would seem to have been universal ; but on this subject we have little exact information, probably because the tribes on the coast have been more modified by civilisation and have therefore retained less of their ancient customs and traditions than the more secluded tribes of the interior. On this subject Mr. C. Hill-Tout, who has investigated the relics of savagery among the coast Salish, writes as follows :—

Among the coast Salish also the belief in guardian spirits appears to have been universal, according to Mr. C. Hill-Tout.

"Belief in protecting spirits constitutes the chief feature of the religion of the Salish. Such beliefs were

The François referred to in the text was one of Mr. Hill-Tout's Indian informants.

¹ See vol. i. pp. 104-112, 214-242.

² C. Hill-Tout, "The Salish Tribes of the Coast and Lower Fraser Delta," *Annual Archaeological Report*, 1905 (Toronto, 1906), p. 230.

The Salish
believed
that nature
was peopled
with spirits
and they
felt the
need of
obtaining a
spiritual
protector.

not confined to this stock; they were held in one form or another by practically all the aboriginal tribes of the New World when we first came in contact with them. It has its source, of course, in those animistic, anthropomorphic conceptions common to primitive man the world over. The Salish in common with other tribes in the same plane of culture as themselves, peopled their environment with mysterious beings and sentient agencies of beneficent and maleficent character, mostly of the latter. The land, water and air teem with mysteries; they are surrounded on all sides with capricious beings that have power to harm or destroy them. They are at any moment of their lives liable to come under the influence of these—to be made their victims or their prey; consequently they felt a vital need of some protecting, guiding influence in their lives; and hence arose the practice of seeking and acquiring tutelar spirits.

The
guardian
spirit was
obtained in
a dream,
which came
through
fasting,
bathing,
and
purgation.

"The general method of acquiring these guardian spirits was by means of dreams and visions. These were not the ordinary dream or vision but others of a mystic order, which came to the novice or person seeking the spirits, only after long and special preparation. The seeker goes apart by himself into the forest or mountains in some solitary spot close to a lake or some other body of water, and imposes upon himself a rigorous course of training, which is called *kwakwaiyisit* by the Delta and some of the Island tribes and by other names in other divisions. This training consists of prolonged fasts, frequent bathings, forced vomitings and other exhausting bodily exercises. With the body thus enervated the mind becomes abnormally active and expectant and dreams and visions and hallucinations are as natural to the novice in such a state as breathing; and we can readily understand how real must seem to him the visions of his looked-for spirit helper.

The
guardian
spirit may
be any-
thing in
nature,
animate or
inanimate;
anything

"Whatever object appears to him on these occasions, or rather what he conceives to be the spirit of the object, becomes his totem or tutelary spirit. It may be anything almost in nature—plant, bird, beast, fish, a tool, weapon or any other inanimate object, or natural phenomena. As, under the view he takes, everything in nature is possessed

of a spirit and has mystery power, the spirit of a stick or stone can protect and lend him aid as well as the spirit of living things. Usually, however, he recognizes some kind of hierarchical order among these ghostly helpers. Some things or objects were more 'powerful' to aid than others, and some aided along special lines in one direction and others in another. Some conferred great hunting powers, others great running or fighting powers. Others again assisted the 'medicine' men in their cures. If therefore the seeker after mystery powers was not satisfied with the first 'spirit' that came to him, or rather with the powers it bestowed, he would enter upon a second course of training and await the coming or vision of a second helper, or even of a third or a fourth, spending years perhaps in his seeking.

may be endowed with mystery power.

But some guardian spirits are more powerful than others.

"Between the individual and his protecting spirit or spirits a very close and mysterious relationship is supposed to exist. He does not pray to his totem in the sense in which we use this word, but expects and looks for its aid and protection when needed. The totem is supposed to warn him by dreams and visions of impending danger and to assist him in difficult undertakings, and indeed in all the issues of his life."¹

Close relationship between a man and his guardian spirit.

§ 12. *Guardian Spirits among the Kwakiutl*

North of the great bulk of the Salish tribes are the Kwakiutl on the coast of British Columbia, and among them also we find a system of guardian spirits, with this

Guardian spirits among the Kwakiutl.

¹ Ch. Hill-Tout, "The Salish Tribes of the Coast and Lower Fraser Delta," *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto, 1906), pp. 229 sq. Mr. Hill-Tout calls the guardian spirit a "personal totem." The Siciatl of Sechelt Peninsula, in British Columbia, may serve as an example of the changes which have come over the Indians of the coast. They are devout Catholics, with an imposing church which they built at their own expense and now maintain generously; they have a commodious town-hall, a handsome band-stand facing the bay, and a

convenient system of water-works. Each house has its own garden, in which European fruits and vegetables are grown. The men engage in fishing or timber-cutting throughout the year. Some of them are expert hunters and export much venison to the Vancouver market. Yet even among these civilised Indians reminiscences of guardian spirits have been detected. See C. Hill-Tout, "Report on the Ethnology of the Siciatl of British Columbia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv. (1904) pp. 20 sq., 26 sqq.

difference, however, that though a lad still acquires his guardian spirit by fasting and washing, his choice among the spirits is not unlimited; he can only obtain as his patron one or more of a certain limited number of spirits which are hereditary in his clan. On this subject our authority is Dr. Franz Boas, who writes as follows:—

Dr.
F. Boas
on the
guardian
spirits
of the
Kwakiutl.

“We have now to deal with another class of legends which relate entirely to spirits that are still in constant contact with the Indians, whom they endow with supernatural powers. In order to gain their help, the youth must prepare himself by fasting and washing, because only the pure find favor with them, while they kill the impure. Every young man endeavors to find a protector of this kind. It is clear that this idea corresponds exactly to the *manitou* of the Algonquin Indians, and that we have to deal here with the elementary idea of the acquisition of a guardian spirit, which has attained its strongest development in America. Its specific character on the North Pacific Coast lies in the fact that the guardian spirit has become hereditary. This is the case among the northern tribes of British Columbia. It is also the case among the Kwakiutl and among the Chinook. When the youth prepares to meet a guardian spirit, he does not expect to find any but those of his clan. This is probably the reason for the relatively small number of such spirits—for among the Indians of the plains, among whom each man has his individual spirit, their number is unlimited—and it has also given occasion for the development of a more elaborate mythology relating to these spirits.”¹

The clan
legend and
the gift of
the spirit.

“Owing to the fact that these spirits are hereditary, their gifts are always contained in the legend detailing their acquisition by the ancestor of a clan. The principal gifts in these tales are the magical harpoon which ensures success in sea-otter hunting; the death bringer which, when pointed against enemies, kills them; the water of life which resuscitates the dead; the burning fire which, when pointed against an object, burns it; and a dance, a song,

¹ Franz Boas, “The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians,” *Report of the*

United States National Museum for 1895 (Washington, 1897), pp. 393 sq.

and cries which are peculiar to the spirit. The gift of this dance means that the *protégé* of the spirit is to perform the same dances which have been shown to him. In these dances he personates the spirit. He wears his mask and his ornaments. Thus the dance must be considered a dramatic performance of the myth relating to the acquisition of the spirit, and shows to the people that the performer by his visit to the spirit has obtained his powers and desires. When nowadays a spirit appears to a young Indian, he gives him the same dance, and the youth also returns from the initiation filled with the powers and desires of the spirit. He authenticates his initiation by his dance in the same way as his mythical ancestor did.

"The obtaining of the magical gifts from these spirits is called *tlokoala*, while the person who has obtained them becomes *naualaku*, supernatural, which is also the quality of the spirit himself. The ornaments of all these spirits are described as made of cedar bark, which is dyed red in the juice of alder bark. They appear to their devotees only in winter, and therefore the dances are also performed only in winter. For this reason they may conveniently be called the winter ceremonial."¹

Among the spirits which thus appear to Kwakiutl young men and endow them with supernatural powers four principal ones may be distinguished, namely (1) *Winalagilis* ("making war all over the earth"), (2) *Baxbakualanu Xsiwae* ("the first one to eat man at the mouth of the river"), (3) *Matem*, who lives on the top of steep mountains, and (4) the Ghosts. Of these the first (*Winalagilis*) confers various supernatural powers; he can make his votaries invulnerable, or at least insensible to the pain of wounds so that they cannot be killed however much they may be hacked and slashed; or again he can give his devotees power to catch the invisible spirit of disease, which is constantly flying about in the air in the form of a worm, and when they have caught it they can throw it at their enemies, who die of its effects instantaneously. The second of the spirits

The dance of the spirit. The dancer wears the mask and ornaments of the spirit and personates it.

Ornaments of red cedar bark. The dances only performed in winter.

Four principal guardian spirits of the Kwakiutl.

The gifts of the spirits are invulnerability, swallowing fire, flying, reviving from the dead, etc.

¹ Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the*

United States National Museum for 1895 (Washington, 1897), p. 396.

(*Baxbakualanu Xsiwae*) makes his disciples into cannibals (*Hamatsas*) by instilling into them a craving for human flesh; or he enables them to handle and swallow fire without being burned; or he gives them the knack of smashing people's skulls; and there are other gifts and graces of similar sorts with which he endows them. The third spirit (*Matem*) is a bird, and he gives the youths the power of flying. The fourth class of spirits (the Ghosts) bestow on their votaries the useful gift of resurrection or the power of returning to life after they have been killed.¹

§ 13. *Guardian Spirits among the Haidas and Tlingits*

No regular system of guardian spirits among the Haidas and Tlingits.

Patron deities among the Haidas.

Spirits which inspire the members of secret societies among the Haidas.

There is little or no evidence that a regular system of guardian spirits, such as we have described, prevails among the Haidas and Tlingits, both of whom have or had a system of clan totemism. Among the Haidas, it is true, we hear of "patron deities" such as Property-Woman, Master Carpenter, He-who-jumps-about-on-One-Leg, or Master Hopper, Death-by-Violence, the Slave Powers, the Spirit of Mourning, the Spirit of Theft, the Strength-Spirit, and the Medicine-Spirit; but these do not appear to have been guardian spirits of individuals in the strict sense of the word; though a man by eating certain medicines, especially a plant called *xat*, could sometimes see Property-Woman passing by and thereby grow rich.² Again, members of a secret society among the Haidas were believed to be inspired by a particular spirit such as the Dog-eating Spirit, the Grizzly-bear Spirit, the Wolf Spirit, the Fire-throwing Spirit, the Gambling Spirit, and so forth. But these spirits also appear to have differed from the guardian spirits of individuals such as we have found them in other Indian tribes.³ Much more analogous to the personal guardians or *manitoos* of individuals were the spirits which

¹ Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 394 sq.

² J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida* (Leyden

and New York, 1905), pp. 29 sqq. (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*).

³ J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* pp. 160 sqq.

were supposed to animate Haida shamans. As to the mode in which the shaman acquired the spirit or spirits Dr. G. M. Dawson writes thus: "The office of *ska-ga*, shaman or medicine-man, is not, like the chieftaincy, hereditary, but is either chosen or accepted in consequence of some tendency to dream or see visions, or owing to some omen. The would-be doctor must go through a severe course of initiation. He must abstain from connexion with women, and eat very little ordinary food, and that only once a day, in the evening. He goes into the woods and eats 'medicine,' of which the *Moneses uniflora* was pointed out to me as one of the chief constituents. This plant is hot and bitter to the taste. A course of this character continued for some months, or even for a year, causes the body to become thin, and the mind may eventually be somewhat deranged, or at least the *ska-ga* pretends to see strange things. He speaks mysteriously, and soon takes an acknowledged place in the tribe."¹ This mode of acquiring a spirit through a vision brought about by fasts and maceration of the body is identical with the mode in which among so many tribes a youth at puberty obtains his guardian spirit or *manitoo*. Personal cleanliness was an essential condition to obtaining a spirit. Indeed, "whether a man were a shaman or not, he could increase his physical power, or obtain property, success in hunting, fishing, war, etc., by rigid abstinence from food and drink, by remaining away from his wife, bathing in the sea, taking sweat-baths, etc. He would drink warmed salt water often, and take fresh water afterwards, when all the contents of his stomach were ejected, leaving him so much the 'cleaner.'"²

A Haida medicine-man acquires his spirit or spirits by a course of fasting and chastity.

Personal cleanliness essential to the acquisition of a guardian spirit.

Every Tlingit, it is said, has his own guardian spirit called *tu kinajek*, but how he acquires it we are not told. If he is a bad or unclean man, the spirit may leave or even kill him.³ However, among the Tlingits, as among the Haidas, the way in which a shaman acquires the spirits essential to the exercise of his profession closely resembles

Guardian spirits among the Tlingits.

Mode in which a Tlingit shaman

¹ G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1878* (Montreal, 1880), p. 122 B (*Geological Survey of Canada*).

² J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, p. 40.

³ A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer* (Jena, 1885), p. 292.

acquires
the spirits
of his
profession.

The
mystery of
the otter's
tongue.

The spirit-
mask.

Spirits love
cleanliness
and the
sound of
rattles and
drums.

the way in which ordinary men elsewhere obtain their guardian spirits or *manitoos*. When a Tlingit wishes to become a shaman or medicine-man, he betakes himself to a forest or a mountain far from the haunts of men. There he stays for two, three, or four weeks, living on the root of the *Panax horridum*. The length of his stay depends on the speed or tardiness with which the spirits manifest themselves to him. When at last they come, the chief spirit sends to the novice a river-otter in whose tongue the whole mystery and power of the medicine-man's craft are believed to be embodied. When the otter meets the man, the two stand still, and the man utters the single syllable O! O! O! O! four times in different notes; whereupon the otter falls down on its back, obligingly stretching out its tongue, which the future shaman snips off and deposits in a basket specially made for the purpose. This precious talisman he carefully conceals, for were an uninitiated person to find it he would go mad on the spot. The skin of the otter is stripped off and kept by the shaman as a badge of office, but the flesh is buried in the ground. If, however, after a long stay in the wilderness the would-be shaman cannot summon up spirits, he repairs, still fasting, to the grave of a dead medicine-man, spends the night with the corpse, and takes one of its teeth or a little finger in his mouth, in order to be able to conjure the spirits and so gain possession of the magic otter's tongue. After that, lean and famished, he returns home to give proof of his newly acquired skill in conjuring. His rank and reputation depend on the number of spirits whom he has at his bidding. For every one of them he has a special name, a special song, and a special wooden mask, which he puts on when he personates the being so represented. The words which he utters while he wears a spirit-mask are believed to be inspired by the spirit. It is only in the winter and at the time of the new or the full moon that these revelations of the spirit take place.¹ All spirits love cleanliness and the sound of the rattle and the drum. Therefore the shaman who is to summon them up must

¹ H. J. Holmberg, "Über die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ*, iv. (Helsingfors, 1856), pp. 348-353; A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 284 sqq.

have practised abstinence for months beforehand: the hut in which the invocation is to take place must be carefully cleaned; and the songs must be sung and the dances danced with great precision to the beat of the drum.¹

§ 14. *Guardian Spirits among the Tinnehs or Dénés*

The Tinnehs or Dénés of Alaska and of North-West British America had, like so many Indian tribes, their guardian spirits. Thus with regard to the eastern Tinnehs we are told that "an inferior species of 'totemism' obtains among them. Each hunter selects, as a species of familiar spirit, some animal, and invariably a carnivorous one. According to their custom, the man can then neither eat nor skin, and if avoidable, not even kill the object of his choice. The taking of the 'totem' is not, so far as I am aware, the occasion of any religious ceremony, as is the case among some of the plain tribes. Pictures of various animals used in the olden day to be distributed among the natives by the traders, each individual receiving that of his totem. When a hunter had been unsuccessful he pulled this picture out of his medicine bag, laid it before him, and taking some tobacco from the same receptacle, paid adoration to the spirit by smoking and making it a speech. After this proceeding he returned with renewed ardor to the chase, and generally with success."²

Guardian spirits among the Tinnehs or Dénés.

Pictures of guardian spirits to which adoration was paid.

Again, the Catholic missionary Father Petitot tells us that the Tinnehs have "what is called *nagualism* or *todemism* or worship of the beast, a form of fetishism the most abject and the most material that could be found, since it makes of the animal a god or an instrument of the divinity, while it makes of God an animal or a brutal incarnation. They call their fetishes *elkinsi*, *ellone*, *allon on*, according to their dialects. . . . The Slave Indians give the name of *ellone* to the elan, the Hareskins to the reindeer, and the Montagnards to the

Father Petitot on the guardian spirits of the Tinnehs.

¹ A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 292.

² "Notes on the Tinneh or Chepe-
wyan Indians of British and Russian
America," *Annual Report of the Board*

of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the year 1866 (Washington, 1867), p. 307. In this article the notes on the Eastern Tinnehs are by Mr. Bernard R. Ross, of the Hudson's Bay Company.

beaver, all, therefore, to the animal on which they principally subsist and which thus becomes the efficient cause of their life. The worship called *nagualism*, if the name of worship can be applied to certain vain practices, consists, (1) in wearing on the person a relic of the animal-genius which has revealed itself to an Indian in a dream; (2) in resorting to a certain secret practice for the purpose of pleasing the animal, because the animal itself has prescribed in a dream the practice to the person whom it is good enough to take possession of; (3) in abstaining with the greatest care from injuring, tracking, killing, and especially eating the flesh of the *nagual*, which is then called *été, ata, ay, a, ey* according to the dialects. It is simply the taboo of the Polynesians. Almost all the savages, even after baptism, have retained a repugnance for their old taboo. They no longer venerate it, they even consider it evil, but they continue to refrain from it for that reason, and we do not put any constraint on them. Time will efface these childish fears.”¹

Father
Morice
on the
guardian
spirits
of the
Western
Tinnehs or
Dénés.

Another Catholic missionary, Father A. G. Morice, has given us an account of the guardian spirits of the Western Tinnehs or Dénés. He says: “They also attached to dreams the same importance as did most people of antiquity. It was while dreaming that they pretended to communicate with the supernatural world, that their shamans were invested with their wonderful power over nature, and that every individual was assigned his particular *nagwal* or tutelary animal genius. Oftentimes they painted this genius with vermilion on prominent rocks in the most frequented places, and these rough inscriptions are about the only monuments the immediate ancestors of the Dénés have left us.”² Again, Father Morice writes: “The individual or personal totem is well known as being some material object or being, most generally some animal, ordinarily revealed in dreams to a person who is bound thereafter to look upon it as sacred and to be especially revered and protected. In return for this reverence on the part of the person, the totem is

¹ Le R. P. E. Petitot, *Monographie des Dènè-Dindjé* (Paris, 1876), p. 36.

² Father A. G. Morice, “The Western Dénés, their Manners and

Customs,” *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute, Toronto*, Third Series, vol. vii. Fasciculus 1 (Toronto, 1889), p. 161.

believed to particularly help and powerfully protect its human relative, as the individual is supposed to be.”¹ Elsewhere Father Morice has explained the belief and custom more fully as follows:—

“Alongside of these, however, was another class of spirits, which had on earth, in the animate or inanimate world, representatives wherein were embodied, as it were, some of their own marvellous powers over nature. In the estimation of the Dénés, and I think I may say practically of all the North American Indians, all the present entities in nature were at one time endowed with human-like faculties. Even trees spoke and worked and fought, and the fowls of the air and the animals of the earth were then men like ourselves, though possessed of potent virtues which are not ours. This magic, though now somewhat reduced in strength, has remained in the brute creation, and is the means whereby man can communicate with the spirit world, and by whose aid he is enabled to succeed in his quest after happiness and the necessities of life. . . .

“Now, those spirits, which are personified by the representatives of the vegetable or animal kingdoms, occasionally manifest themselves to man, and give evidence of their friendly dispositions by adopting individuals and protecting them through life, in return for some consideration shown their present concrete forms or symbols. In a word, they are the link which connects man with the invisible world, and the only means of communing with the unseen: *these are the personal totems* of the Dénés, and, I cannot help thinking, of most of the American aborigines as well.

“It has been said that totemism is a purely social institution. I feel absolutely no hesitation in denying this, in so far at least as the Dénés are concerned. Totemism among them is essentially and exclusively connected with their religious system, and I am inclined to believe that the gentile totem is nothing else than an extension to the entire clan of an institution which was originally restricted to the individual.

¹ Father A. G. Morice, “Notes, Archaeological, Industrial, and Sociological, on the Western Dénés,” *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, iv. (1892-93) p. 203.

The guardian spirit revealed in a dream.

"The personal totem revealed itself usually in dreams, when it appeared to its future *protégé* under the shape of an animal, etc., which was to be thenceforth his tutelary genius. Sometimes the totem animal was met in the woods under striking circumstances, and even at times went so far as to speak to the Indian.

Intimate connection between a man and his guardian spirit.

"Thenceforth the most intimate connection existed between the two. The native would be careful to carry on his person and publicly expose in his lodge the spoils of that animal, its entire skin or part of it, which he would not suffer to be treated lightly. Occasionally he would even carve a rough representation of the totem. He would treasure any object—such as a stone or a vegetable excrescence,—between which and his totem he fancied he saw a striking resemblance. He would paint its form or symbol in bright vermilion on conspicuous rocks along lakes or rivers, etc. Under no circumstance would anything

No man will kill or eat his guardian animal.

induce him wilfully to kill, or at least to eat the flesh of the being the prototype of which had become, as it were, sacred to him. In times of need he would secretly invoke its assistance, saying: 'May you do this or that to me!' Before an assault on his enemies or previous to his chase of large game, he would daub its symbol on his bow and arrows, and if success attended his efforts, he would sometimes thank it by destroying in its honor any piece of property on hand, food or clothing, or in later times tobacco, which he would throw into the water or cast into the fire as a sacrifice."¹

Sacrifices to the guardian spirits.

§ 15. *Guardian Spirits among the Eskimo*

Guardian spirits among the Eskimo. Mr. W. H. Dall's account.

Further, the system of guardian spirits is found at the extreme north-west of America among the Eskimo or Innuït of the Yukon district in Alaska. On this subject Mr. W. H. Dall, one of our best authorities on Alaska, writes thus:—

"The totemic system is not found among the Innuït. Each boy, when arrived at the age of puberty, selects an

¹ Rev. A. G. Morice, "The Canadian Dénés," *Annual Archaeological Report*, 1905 (Toronto, 1906), pp. 204 sq.

animal, fish, or bird, which he adopts as a patron. The spirit which looks after the animals of that species is supposed to act henceforth as his guardian. Sometimes the animal is selected in early childhood by the parents. If he has long-continued want of success in his pursuits, he will sometimes change his patron. They do not abstain from eating or using the flesh and skin of the animal which they have chosen, as do some tribes of Indians. They always wear a piece of the skin or a bone of that animal, which they regard as an amulet, and use every precaution against its loss, which would be regarded as a grave calamity. When desiring assistance or advice they do not themselves seek it, but employ a shaman to address their patron spirit. These customs do not extend to females.”¹

§ 16. *Guardian Spirits among the Central American Indians*

The Indians of Central America seem also to have had very commonly their guardian spirits, which amongst them are best known under the name of *naguals*. The earliest account of the custom is given by the Spanish historian Herrera. It applies to the Indians of the province of Cerquin in Honduras, and apparently refers to the state of things in the year 1530. The account runs thus:—

“The Devil deluded them, appearing in the shape of a lion, or a tiger, or a coyote, a beast like a wolf, or in the shape of an alligator, a snake, or a bird, that province abounding in creatures of prey, which they called *naguales*, signifying keepers or guardians; and when the bird died, the Indian that was in league with him died also, which often happened and was looked upon as infallible. The manner of contracting this alliance was thus: the Indian repaired to the river, wood, hill, or most obscure place, where he called upon the devils by such names as he thought fit, talked to the rivers, rocks, or woods, said he went to weep, that he might have the same his predecessors had, carrying a cock or a dog to sacrifice. In that melancholy fit he fell asleep, and either in a dream or waking saw some one of

Guardian
spirits
(*naguals*)
amongst them
among the
Central
American
Indians.

Herrera's
account.
The *nagual*
was an
animal
whose
life was
thought
to be so
bound up
with the
life of a
man that
when one
of the two
died the
other died
also.

¹ W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources* (London, 1870), p. 145.

the aforesaid birds or other creatures, whom he entreated to grant him profit in salt, cacao, or any other commodity, drawing blood from his own tongue, ears, and other parts of his body, making his contract at the same time with the said creature, the which, either in a dream or waking told him, 'Such a day you shall go abroad a-sporting, and I will be the first bird or other animal you shall meet, and will be your *nagual* and companion at all times.' Whereupon such friendship was contracted between them, that when one of them died, the other did not survive, and they fancied that he who had no *nagual* could not be rich."¹

The Indians believed that the death of their *nagual* would entail their own. Legend has it that in the first battles with the Spaniards on the tablelands of Quetzaltenango the *naguals* of the Indian chiefs fought in the shape of serpents. The *nagual* of the head chief was especially conspicuous because it had the form of a great bird resplendent in green plumage. The Spanish general, Pedro de Alvarado, killed the bird with his lance, and in the same moment the Indian chief sank dead to the ground.²

Nor did this superstition perish with the Spanish conquest and the nominal conversion of the Indians to Christianity. In the seventeenth century the Englishman Thomas Gage, who was curate of a parish among the Pokonchis of Guatemala about 1630,³ has told us that many of these Indians "are deluded by the devil to believe that their life dependeth upon the life of such and such a beast (which they take unto them as their familiar spirit), and think that when that beast dieth they must die; when he is chased, their hearts pant; when he is faint, they are faint; nay, it happeneth that by the devil's delusion they appear in the shape of that beast (which commonly by their choice is a buck, or doe, a lion, a tiger, or dog, or eagle), and in that

Thomas
Gage's
account of
these
animal
doubles.

¹ Antonia de Herrera, *General History of the Continent and Islands of America*, translated into English by Capt. John Stevens, iv. (London, 1726) pp. 138 sq. I have modernised the translator's spelling, punctuation, and use of capitals.

² Otto Stoll, *Die Ethnologie der Indianerstämme von Guatemala* (Ley-

den, 1889), p. 58, citing as his authorities Fuentes, i. p. 50; Milla, *Historia*, p. 17. I have not seen the works of Fuentes and Milla.

³ D. G. Brinton, "Nagualism, a Study in Native American Folk-lore and History," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xxxiii. (Philadelphia, 1894) p. 32.

shape have been shot at and wounded.”¹ The credulous curate relates at great length how a certain Indian was said to be able to turn himself into a lion or rather a puma, and how once, when a puma had been shot, the man appeared with a bruised face and accused the shooter of having wounded him; the writer also waxes eloquent on a terrific battle fought between two rival chiefs in the likeness of a puma and a jaguar respectively.²

Towards the end of the seventeenth century Francisco Nuñez de la Vega, Bishop of Chiapas and Soconusco, found the same superstition still rampant among his flock and fulminated against it as a work of the Devil. From his long denunciations, which have been collected and translated by D. G. Brinton, I will extract a few passages:—

“There are certain bad Christians of both sexes who do not hesitate to follow the school of the Devil, and to occupy themselves with evil arts, divinations, sorceries, conjuring, enchantments, fortune-telling, and other means to forecast the future. These are those who in all the provinces of New Spain are known by the name of *Nagualists*. They pretend that the birth of men is regulated by the course and movements of stars and planets, and by observing the time of day and the month in which a child is born, they prognosticate its condition and the events, prosperous or otherwise, of its life; and the worst of it is that these perverse men have written down their signs and rules, and thus deceive the erring and ignorant.

“These *Nagualists* practise their arts by means of Repertories and superstitious Calendars, where are represented under their proper names all the *naguals* of stars, elements, birds, fishes, brute beasts and dumb animals; with a vain note of days and months, so that they can announce which corresponds to the day of birth of the infant. This is preceded by some diabolical ceremonies, after which they designate the field or other spot, where, after seven years will have elapsed, the *nagual* will appear to ratify the bargain. As the time approaches, they instruct the child to

Nuñez de la Vega's account of *naguals*.

A child's *nagual* was discovered by means of a calendar, in which the names of all the *naguals* of beasts, birds, fish, stars, etc., were recorded.

¹ Thomas Gage, *A New Survey of the West Indies*, third edition (London, 1677), p. 334.

² Thomas Gage, *op. cit.* pp. 383-389.

deny God and His Blessed Mother, and warn him to have no fear, and not to make the sign of the cross. He is told to embrace his *nagual* tenderly, which, by some diabolical art, presents itself in an affectionate manner even though it be a ferocious beast, like a lion or a tiger. Thus, with infernal cunning they persuade him that this *nagual* is an angel of God, who will look after him and protect him in his after life. To such diabolical masters the intelligent Indians apply, to learn from these superstitious Calendars, dictated by the Devil, their own fortunes, and the *naguals* which will be assigned to their children, even before they are baptized. . . .

Trans-
formation
of men into
animals,
etc.

A man's
life bound
up with
that of his
nagual.

The native
Reper-
tories or
Calendars,
by which
the Indians
discovered
their
naguals.

"At present, all are not so subject to the promptings of the Devil as formerly, but there are still some so closely allied to him that they transform themselves into tigers, lions, bulls, flashes of light and globes of fire. We can say from the declaration and solemn confession of some penitents that it is proved that the Devil had carnal relations with them, both as *incubus* and *succubus*, approaching them in the form of their *nagual*; and there was one woman who remained in the forest a week with the demon in the form of her *nagual*, acting toward him as does an infatuated woman toward her lover. As a punishment for such horrible crimes our Lord has permitted that they lose their life as soon as their *nagual* is killed; and that they bear on their own bodies the wound or mark of the blow which killed it; as the curas of Chamula, Copainala, and other places have assured me." ¹

With regard to the Repertories or Calendars by means of which the Indians determined their children's *naguals*, Bishop Nuñez de la Vega says: "The Indians of New Spain retain all the errors of their time of heathenism preserved in certain writings in their own languages, explaining by abbreviated characters and by figures painted in a secret cypher the places, provinces, and names of their early rulers, the animals, stars, and elements which they

¹ Francisco Nuñez de la Vega, *Constituciones diocesanas del Obispado de Chiappa*, Ninth Pastoral Letter, quoted and translated by D. G. Brinton, in his "Nagualism, a Study in Native

American Folk-lore and History," *Proceedings of the American Philological Society*, xxxiii. (Philadelphia, 1894) pp. 26 sq., 29.

worshipped, the ceremonies and sacrifices which they observed, and the years, months, and days by which they predicted the fortunes of children at birth, and assign them that which they call the *naguals*. These writings are known as Repertories or Calendars, and they are also used to discover articles lost or stolen, and to effect cures of diseases. Some have a wheel painted in them, like that of Pythagoras, described by the Venerable Bede ; others portray a lake surrounded by the *naguals* in the form of various animals."¹

Thus, whereas according to Herrera the Indian found his own *nagual* or guardian spirit by dreaming, according to Nuñez de la Vega it was determined for him at birth by his parents, who cast his horoscope by means of a sacred Calendar or Almanack. It is obvious that the former method, which agrees with the mode adopted by the North American Indians in procuring their *manitoos* or guardian spirits, is the more primitive of the two, since the casting of a horoscope by an astrological calculation based on a written document implies a considerable advance in culture. However it was acquired, it is plain that the animal *nagual* with whose life the life of a man was thought to be bound up partook of the nature of an external soul, and was identical in principle with the animal doubles or bush souls, of which we have met with many examples in West Africa.²

Relics of *nagualism* seem to have lingered among the Central American Indians down to the middle of the nineteenth century ; for the German traveller K. Scherzer reported at that time that the Indians of Santa Catalina Istlavacan, in Guatemala, still received at birth the name of some animal, which was commonly regarded as their guardian spirit for the rest of their life. The name was bestowed by the heathen priest, who usually heard of a birth in the village sooner than his Catholic brother.³

Different accounts of the way in which the *nagual* was obtained.

Relics of *nagualism* in the nineteenth century.

¹ Quoted by D. G. Brinton, in his "Nagualism, a Study in Native American Folk-lore and History," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xxxiii. (1894) p. 25.

² See above, vol. ii. pp. 552, 593 *sqq.*

³ K. Scherzer, "Die Indianer von

Santa Catalina Istlavacana (Frauenfuss), ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte der Urbewohner Central-Amerikas," *Sitzungsberichte der philosoph.-histor. Classe der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna), xviii. (1850) p. 235. Much more evidence bearing

§ 17. *Guardian Spirits among the South American Indians*

Guardian
spirits
among the
Roocooyen
Indians of
French
Guiana.

The
Indians
will not eat
the flesh
of their
guardian
animals.
But the
medicine-
spirits
only com-
municate
with the
medicine-
men.

The Roocooyen Indians of French Guiana, in South America, have also their guardian spirits. They believe that every species of animal, plant, and thing has its medicine-spirit or mystery-spirit; the term used by them to express medicine or mystery is *piay*, and like other Indian tribes of Guiana they apply the same word to a medicine-man or sorcerer. Thus, for example, there is a medicine-spirit of the species of birds known as *hoccas* or crested curassows (*Crax tomentosa*); there is a medicine-spirit of ravens; there is a medicine-spirit of peccaries; there is a medicine-spirit of tapirs; and there is a medicine-spirit of manioc. Every Indian chooses a medicine-spirit for himself, only one; it becomes his protector, his guardian angel, and he will never eat of the flesh of the corresponding animal; for example, if he has the medicine-spirit of tapirs for his guardian, he will not eat tapirs. The medicine-spirits communicate only with the medicine-men. Common people have, indeed, their medicine-spirits; they invoke them, they believe in them, and they abstain from eating their representatives, but the spirits do not communicate with them. On the other hand the medicine-spirits keep the medicine-men informed on many subjects; it is from them that the medicine-men get all their power and through them that they perform all their operations. The more powerful the medicine-spirit, the more powerful is the medicine-man who has it for his patron; for example, the medicine-spirit of ravens is more powerful than the medicine-spirit of manioc, and a medicine-man who had the manioc spirit for his guardian has been known to change it for the raven-spirit. The medicine-spirits live in the sky after the fashion of Indians; they have a large house and a chief called Cooloon, who sends down the water of which he has no need above, and the water so sent down is the rain.¹

more or less on the subject has been collected, mostly from Spanish sources, by D. G. Brinton in the memoir to which reference has already been made (*Proceedings of the American Philo-*

sophical Society, xxxiii. (Philadelphia 1894) pp. 11-73).

¹ Henri Coudreau, *Chez nos Indiens, quatre années dans la Guayane française* (Paris, 1895), pp. 204 sq.,

Further, it would seem that the Indians of Cundinamarca, Guardian spirits among the Indians of Cundinamarca. an old province now comprised in the State of Colombia, had also their guardian spirits. For concerning them we read that "besides the divinities of whom we have spoken, each Indian had a lake, a mountain, a rock, or some other object, which had revealed itself to him by the trembling with which he had been seized in passing near it; when he wished to implore its help, he fasted for a certain number of days. The strictest of them abstained from flesh and fish and ate only herbs without any seasoning. During the whole time that this fast (which they called *saga*) lasted, they lived in the most complete retirement, did not wash, and did not go near their wife. They then applied to some priest (*chique*) who had observed the same fast, and they sent him their offering, which was usually the figure of some animal in gold. The priest repaired to the spot which had been indicated, and after having removed his garments and wrapped the offering in cotton, he addressed a prayer to the divinity, then cast the offering into the water or buried it, according to the nature of the spot; then he went away backwards till he came to the place where he had left his garments. He who had sent him gave him for his trouble two pieces of cotton cloth and a little gold. After that he assembled his relations and friends, with whom he celebrated an orgy."¹

§ 18. *Observations on American Guardian Spirits*

The foregoing account of guardian spirits among the American Indians suggests several observations. In regard to geographical diffusion, the system of guardian spirits is found among tribes which have not, or at least which are not reported to have, the system of clan totemism. Tribes with guardian spirits but without clan totems are the Blackfeet, Dacotas, the Californian Indians of San Juan Capistrano, the Salish of British Columbia, the Central

The diffusion of guardian spirits compared with the diffusion of clan totems.

209. That the *hocco* is the *Crax tomentosa* is mentioned by R. Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch. Guiana* (Leipsic, 1847-1848), ii. 47. As to the curassows, see Alfred Newton, *Dictionary of Birds* (London, 1893-96), pp. 126 sq.

¹ H. Ternaux-Compans, *Essai sur l'ancien Cundinamarca* (Paris, n.d.), pp. 44 sq. The writer refers to the Spanish historian P. Simon, the greater part of whose work was still in manuscript when Ternaux-Compans wrote in the first half of the nineteenth century.

American Indians of Honduras and Guatemala, and some South American tribes, particularly the Roocooyens of French Guiana. To the American aborigines who have guardian spirits but not clan totems are probably to be added the Innuït or Eskimo of the Yukon district in Alaska.¹ On the other hand some tribes which have clan totems are not reported to have guardian spirits of the kind here dealt with. Such are the Pueblo Indians, the Haidas, and perhaps the Tlingits. It is quite possible that these apparent discrepancies between the range of guardian spirits and the range of clan totems are due simply to defects in our information; still, taking the evidence as it stands, we must conclude that the two systems do not coincide with each other throughout, but that, while they do coincide to a great extent, they also overlap. These facts point both to a connection and to a difference between clan totems and guardian spirits, and the indication is confirmed by a comparison of the things themselves.

When the guardian spirit is an animal, the votary will not eat its flesh. In this respect the guardian spirit resembles a clan totem.

1. For in the first place, when the guardian spirit appears in the form of an animal, the man often, perhaps generally, abstains from injuring animals of that species and from eating their flesh.² In this respect, therefore, the guardian spirit closely resembles the clan totem. It is true that the rule does not universally hold good; one very remarkable exception is the custom of killing the animal of which a man has dreamed at puberty and thereafter preserving its skin or some other part of its body as a talisman.³ Again, according to Mr. C. Hill-Tout, the guardian spirit (*sulia*) of a Stseelis Indian is precisely the animal which he kills with the greatest facility. Thus, if his guardian spirit (*sulia*) is a deer, he kills plenty of deer; if it is a salmon, he catches plenty of salmon; and so with respect to other animals, birds and fish.⁴ However, few guardian spirits are quite so long-suffering and complaisant; most of them even appear to entertain a strong, though perhaps unreasonable, objection to be killed and eaten

¹ For reported traces of clan totems among the Eskimo see above, pp. 368 sq.

² See above, pp. 52, 379, 393, 439, 440, 442, 448.

³ See above, pp. 375, 382, 399,

411, 414.

⁴ C. Hill-Tout, "Ethnological Report on the Stseelis and Skaulits Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiv. (1904), p. 324. See above, pp. 429-431.

by their votaries, and far from aiding in the quest for themselves and their brethren they visit the rash hunter who has shot or wounded them with their severe displeasure. It would seem, therefore, that the self-sacrificing guardian spirits of the Stseelis stand somewhat by themselves. Leaving them out of account, we may say that in general, whenever the guardian spirit takes the form of an animal, the conduct of the votary towards his patron strongly resembles the conduct of a man towards his clan totem.

2. Some of the guardian spirits consist not of whole animals but of parts of animals; and in such cases the votary is only bound to abstain from eating a particular part of the creature, while he is free to partake of all the rest.¹ This is a point of resemblance between guardian spirits and those clan totems which I have called split totems; and it seems not improbable that the same motive which has led men to split their animal totem has led them also to split their animal guardian spirit, whenever the animal was good to eat.²

The guardian spirit, like the clan totem, is sometimes a part of an animal.

3. In many cases a man is believed to acquire the qualities of his guardian spirit. For example, if it runs or flies quickly, so can he; if it is far-sighted, so is he; if it is impenetrable, he is invulnerable; if it is fierce and warlike, he is the same.³ We have seen that among some peoples men are supposed to be endowed with the physical and mental qualities of their clan totems.⁴ In this respect, therefore, the guardian spirit again resembles the clan totem.

A man acquires the qualities of his guardian spirit just as he does those of his totem.

4. Amongst the Central American Indians and to some extent among the Shuswaps the guardian spirit appears to partake of the nature of an external soul, the man and his guardian being united by such a bond of sympathy that the death of the one entails the death of the other.⁵ Traces of similar beliefs with regard to clan totems have met us among the tribes of Central Australia and the Siena of the Ivory Coast.⁶ This is another link between the guardian spirit and the clan totem.

In some cases the guardian spirit, like the totem, partakes of the nature of an external soul.

¹ See above, pp. 376, 412, 417, 427.

² As to split totems see above, pp. 57, 100; vol. i. pp. 10, 11, 14; vol. ii. pp. 536 *sq.*

³ See above, pp. 385, 386 *sq.*, 400, 417, 426.

⁴ See above, pp. 55 *sq.*; vol. ii. pp. 8 *sq.*

⁵ See above, pp. 428, 443 *sqq.*

⁶ See above, vol. i. pp. 124-130, vol. ii. pp. 551 *sqq.*

5. Amongst several tribes of North-West America the guardian spirit which has been acquired by a father is transmitted by him to his children ; in other words, it has become hereditary in the male line.¹ Now when guardian spirits in the form of animals have become hereditary, it is difficult to distinguish them from the totems of families or clans.

But on the other hand the guardian spirit has a more truly religious character than the totem. It is apparently regarded as a real spirit, distinct from its material embodiment, and prayers and sacrifices are offered to it.

6. But while there are many points of resemblance between the guardian spirit and the clan totem, there are also some points of difference. Apart from the important and obvious difference in the modes of acquisition, the one being usually obtained by the person in a dream, the other inherited from his father or mother, we can hardly fail to note the much more deeply religious character of the guardian spirit. Putting aside differences of detail, such as necessarily occur in an institution spread over so very wide an area, we gather that on the whole the guardian spirit is more or less clearly distinguished from its material embodiment, whether that is an animal, a plant, a stone, a weapon, or what not ; and that to this spirit the man turns with confidence in time of trouble, praying to it to help him and sacrificing his property and even his own flesh and blood to it in order to secure its favour. This is very different from totemism in the strict sense of the word. In spite of the loose modes of speech in which many writers indulge on this subject totemism is not properly a religion at all ;² totems are not viewed as higher powers whose favour has to be wooed by prayer and sacrifice. On the contrary they are regarded as material, not spiritual ; as the brothers or sisters, not the lords and masters, of men and women ; and far from supplicating their good graces, men sometimes compel them by magic ceremonies to multiply and be killed for the support of the community. Thus a wide gulf divides the guardian spirit from the clan totem : with the guardian spirit we have passed from magic to religion.

Both the mode and the time of acquiring a guardian

¹ See above, pp. 408, 412, 414 *sq.*, 424 *sq.*, 434.

² When I first published *Totemism* in 1887 I made the mistake of regarding totemism, in one of its aspects, as a system of religion. See above, vol. i. pp. 4 *sqq.* Moreover, I failed to discern

the fundamental difference of principle between magic and religion. It was the epoch-making researches of Spencer and Gillen in Central Australia which first revealed the important part played by magic in totemism. Compare vol. i. pp. 105, 116-118.

spirit are remarkable. The mode is usually the vision of a fancy distempered by hunger, solitude, and exposure, the product of a sick mind in a sick body. The time is commonly the arrival of puberty, that mysterious season big with so many far-reaching consequences, when the vital principle in the individual is for the first time ripe for reproducing itself, when the glimmering light of life, the smouldering torch, is fanned into a glow, ready to be handed on to the next in that long chain of runners which stretches back into the darkness of an immeasurable past and forward into the darkness of an immeasurable future. No wonder that to the savage, whose ignorance on this profound subject is hardly deeper than our own, the attainment of manhood and womanhood should be fraught with a strange significance; no wonder that he should deem it to be encompassed by snares and pitfalls innumerable, and should seek in his simple fashion to keep his feet from falling into them by means of many quaint rites and curious observances, of which we have not as yet succeeded in fathoming the meaning. Among these rites and observances not the least quaint and curious is the acquisition of a guardian spirit in dreams.

It is scarcely necessary to point out what an immense source of confidence and strength this faith in guardian spirits must be to its votaries.¹ To take a simple example, it seems to be a common article of belief that by the acquisition of a guardian spirit a man becomes invulnerable.² Consider how such a belief, firmly held, must animate men in battle, how it might nerve even a coward to deeds of heroism. We may surmise that this superstition accounts for part at least of the dauntless courage with which many savages have faced European troops armed with the most deadly weapons of precision. It is possible that thousands of the dervishes who within our own lifetime have hurled themselves with magnificent bravery on the serried fire-vomiting British squares in Africa and India have gone to their death, not merely with visions of Paradise opening to their eyes above the bayonets and the smoke, but

The guardian spirit is commonly acquired by a dream at puberty.

Faith in guardian spirits is a great source of confidence and strength. The belief in invulnerability, for example, which it creates may be of the highest value to a fighting race.

¹ Compare Dr. A. C. Haddon, in *Report of the British Association*, Belfast, 1902, p. 743.

² See above, pp. 385, 386 *sq.*, 417 *sq.*, 422, 435.

in the firm persuasion that they were in possession of infallible talismans which rendered their bodies impenetrable to lead and steel. To a fighting race such a creed may be of priceless value ; it may convert them into a nation of conquerors. Yet superstition is a two-edged weapon which as often cuts the hand that wields it as the head against which it is swung. The blind courage with which it inspires its partisans may lead them to death as easily as to victory ; instead of destroying others they may themselves be destroyed.

The disintegrating influence of individualism, which such a faith promotes, may be counteracted by religious associations or secret societies.

But while the faith in personal guardian spirits is unquestionably a spring of confidence and courage to the individual, it has its inconveniences and even dangers to society. For it tends to make each man a tower of strength to himself and therefore independent of his fellows ; it loosens the social bonds and dissolves the community into its elements. The disintegrating tendency of a religion which exalted the salvation of the individual above the welfare of the state was one of the main forces which brought about the disruption of the Roman empire.¹ Yet some of the savages with whom we are concerned have to a certain extent ingeniously contrived to obviate the danger arising from the selfish nature of personal guardian spirits ; for they have united all persons who have the same guardian spirit in a sacred league or association, thus combining the advantages of individualism with the benefits of society. These sacred associations or secret societies will be considered in the following chapters.

Similarity of the processes of acquiring a guardian spirit and becoming a shaman.

Another observation suggested by our review of guardian spirits among the American Indians is that in many tribes the process by which a man becomes a shaman or medicine-man is practically the same as that by which common people acquire their guardian spirits. From this it seems to follow that in some communities shamans or medicine-men differed originally rather in degree than in kind from their fellows ; they did not form a separate class or profession, but merely claimed to possess in a fuller measure than others that spiritual power to which every adult fancied himself capable of attaining.

¹ I have explained this more fully elsewhere (*Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition, pp. 250 *sqq.*).

Further, it is worth while remarking that the implicit faith which savages repose in the alleged dreams of others as well as in their own must place an instrument of incalculable power in the hands, not only of crack-brained visionaries, but also of cool-headed, ambitious, and unscrupulous schemers. Such men have only to disguise their own artful machinations under the specious form of revelations received in visions to have them accepted and put into practice by their simple-minded fellows. We can scarcely doubt that in savage communities many men have risen to the highest positions of influence and authority by adroitly playing on the superstitious faith of the multitude in the truth of dreams.

The implicit faith which savages repose in the alleged dreams of others gives a powerful handle to imposture and ambition.

If, reviewing all the facts, we ask how totemism and the faith in guardian spirits are related to each other, the answer will largely depend on the view we take of the origin of both. If the origin of totemism is to be sought, as I incline to believe, in a crude attempt to explain the mystery of conception and childbirth, and if the origin of the faith in guardian spirits is to be sought in dreams and the vagaries of a disordered fancy, it might seem at first sight that the two things, to wit, totems and guardian spirits, are distinct, and that, however much their fully developed forms resemble each other, they ought not to be confounded. Yet it deserves to be borne in mind that conceptional totemism itself, like the system of guardian spirits, may be in large measure a product of dreams ; or, to be more explicit, we may suppose that a pregnant woman often judges of the nature of the creature which has entered into her womb, not merely by what she has seen or heard in her waking hours, but also by the visions of sleep, and that she may determine her child's totem accordingly ; in short, under a system of conceptional totemism a child's totem may frequently be the thing of which its mother dreamed at the time when she first felt her womb quickened. If that were so, it would clearly forge another and a strong link in the chain of evidence which binds the totem to the guardian spirit, since a man's guardian spirit is commonly the thing of which he dreamed at puberty. In point of fact, it would seem that women often give the rein to superstitious fancies

The question of the relation between guardian spirits and totems turns largely on the view we take of the origin of both. It is possible that totems as well as guardian spirits have often originated in dreams.

about their offspring in consequence of dreams which they had during their pregnancy.¹ Whatever may be thought of this hypothesis, the resemblances between totems and guardian spirits are unquestionably both many and close; and when guardian spirits are hereditary in a family, it becomes difficult to distinguish them from totems.

But so long as the relation between totems and guardian spirits is doubtful, it seems best not to call them both by a common name.

Nevertheless, so long as the relation between totems and guardian spirits is still to some extent obscure, as it admittedly is, we shall do better not to prejudge the question of their affinity by applying to both of them the generic name of totem. As I am responsible, I believe, for that application, it is incumbent on me provisionally to withdraw the expression "individual totem" as a term for the guardian spirits of individuals, and to express the regret which I feel at having too hastily assumed the two things to be different species of a common genus. If future research should establish the link, at present doubtful, between the two, it will be easy to reinstate the expression "individual totem" or "personal totem" as an alternative name for the guardian spirits of individuals.

For a similar reason it is desirable to find another name for the so-called "sex totem."

For a similar reason it is desirable to find another name for what I have called the "sex totem"; because the connection between the "sex totem" and the clan totem is still more obscure than the connection between the clan totem and the guardian spirit. Dr. A. C. Haddon has proposed to substitute the expression "animal brethren" for "sex totem."² But the proposed term would not be distinctive, because it would apply equally to the clan totems in all the cases where the totems are animals. Until a better term has been found, the expression "sex totem" may be allowed to pass muster, and no very serious harm is likely to follow from its temporary retention, since the customs and beliefs to which it applies are apparently restricted to a comparatively small area in South-East Australia. Perhaps the phrase "sex patron" might be preferable.

¹ See some evidence in my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition, pp. 71 sqq. No doubt it would be easy to col-

lect many more instances of such fancies.

² *Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1902, pp. 744 sq.

CHAPTER XIX

SECRET SOCIETIES AMONG THE INDIANS OF THE UNITED STATES

§ 1. *Secret Societies in General*

IN many tribes of North American Indians there exist certain religious associations, dancing bands, or secret societies, as they may be variously called, which present some points of resemblance to totemic clans, though they differ from them in at least one fundamental respect, in as much as they are not necessarily, like totemic clans, groups of kinsfolk, each member of which is born into his respective group, but corporations composed of members who have voluntarily joined their respective bodies at some time in their life, and who need not be blood relations one to the other. I have already called attention to these sacred associations in America and have briefly characterised them.¹ They belong to a class of secret or religious societies which meet us among many savage races in many parts of the world, and which are especially prevalent in Melanesia and West Africa. The whole subject of these associations has lately been discussed by Professor Hutton Webster in an able and erudite treatise.² From a comprehensive survey of the institution he infers that such societies, with the sacred dances or dramas which form the main part of their ritual, have been developed out of those rites of initiation, which in many savage communities young people of both sexes

Religious
associa-
tions,
dancing
bands, or
secret
societies
among the
North
American
Indians.

Theory
that such
societies
have been
developed
out of
totemic
clans.

¹ Vol. i. pp. 46 *sq.*

Hutton Webster, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology and Anthropology in the University of Nebraska (New York, 1908).

² *Primitive Secret Societies, a Study in Early Politics and Religion*, by

are obliged to submit to before they are allowed to marry ; and these rites of initiation themselves he would deduce from the structure and functions of totemic clans. However rites of initiation on the one hand and secret societies on the other may have originated, and however they may be related to each other, certain it is that both are found flourishing among totemic peoples, rites of initiation conspicuously among the totemic tribes of Australia, secret societies among the totemic tribes of North America. The coincidence suggests a natural, though not a necessary, inference that both institutions are intimately connected with totemism. The exact nature of these connections has not yet been fully explained ; and while the researches of Professor Webster have certainly thrown light on the relation of totemism to secret societies, the more fundamental question of the relation of totemism to rites of initiation remains very obscure. I have not attempted to deal with it in this work. A separate treatise would be required to discuss it. Indeed so long as we are still in the dark as to the exact meaning of most of these initiatory rites, for example the rite of circumcision and kindred mutilations,¹ it would obviously be vain to expect that we should understand how they are related to totemism. A comprehensive investigation of the ceremonies observed by both sexes, especially the males, at puberty is needed to supply a large gap in the science of primitive man.

Religious
associa-
tions or
secret
societies
appear to
be more
closely
related to
totemism
in North
America
than
elsewhere.

If, after passing over in silence the secret societies of Melanesia and West Africa, I now propose to give some account of the similar societies in North America, it is because the relation of the institution to totemism in that continent is, or seems to be, a good deal clearer than in Melanesia and Africa. Indeed it might speciously be held that in America we possess in the system of guardian spirits a connecting link between totemism and secret societies which is either absent or not so conspicuous elsewhere. Whether such a view will ultimately prove to be well founded or not, it has, in the present state of our knowledge, a sufficient degree of

¹ I have hazarded a suggestion on this subject elsewhere ("The Origin of Circumcision," *The Independent Re-*

view, November 1904, pp. 204-218), but I attach little weight to my conjecture.

plausibility to warrant me in taking some notice of the sacred associations, dancing bands, or secret societies of the North American Indians. But as the relation of these bodies to totemism is admittedly problematical and at best indirect, I shall not attempt a complete survey of them, but shall content myself with illustrating their nature by typical examples. The prevalence of secret societies or dancing bands is well attested among tribes of the great Siouan and Algonkin stocks in the heart of North America, among the Pueblo Indians of the South-West, and again among the tribes of the North-West Pacific coast. Further, they exist among some of the Californian Indians, who lack the organisation in totemic clans. I have already given some account of the sacred associations of the Pueblo Indians;¹ it remains to do the same for the other tribes. As it is desirable to adopt a uniform terminology, I shall call these bodies secret societies, though the description is not so strictly applicable to them as to the similar associations in Melanesia and Africa, where a much greater degree of mystery shrouds their doings than in North America. Indeed among the American Indians no secret is made of the society to which a man belongs, and the mummeries of the members are often, perhaps generally, a public pageant at which the whole tribe may assist as spectators. Sacred or religious associations might be a more exact description of these corporations in North America. Yet for the sake of recalling their essential relation to similar, though more secret, bodies elsewhere, the general designation of secret societies may be retained.

Such societies exist among the tribes of the Siouan and Algonkin stocks, the Pueblo Indians, some Indians of California, and the tribes of the North-West Pacific coast.

§ 2. *Secret Societies among the Siouan or Dacotan Indians*

"Among the Siouan family of Indians," says Miss Alice C. Fletcher, "there are societies, religious in character, which are distinguished by the name of some animal. Each society has a ritual composed of chants and songs to be sung during different parts of the ceremonies, having words describing in simple and direct terms the act which accompanies the music. These musical rituals, it is often

Miss A. C. Fletcher on the Secret Societies of the Siouan Indians.

¹ See above, pp. 229 *sqq.*

Membership of these societies was not determined by kinship but by participation in a common vision.

claimed, have been received in a mysterious or supernatural manner, and are therefore regarded as possessing a religious power. . . . Some societies admit women to membership, through their own visions, or occasionally by those of their husbands, but more generally by means of the visions of male relatives. . . . Membership in these societies is not confined to any particular gens, or grouping of gentes, but depends upon supernatural indications over which the individual has no control. The animal which appears to a man in a vision during his religious fasting determines to which society he must belong."¹ And elsewhere Miss Fletcher tells us that the structure of these religious societies "was based upon the grouping together of men who had received similar visions. Those who had seen the Bear made up the Bear society; those to whom the Thunder or Water beings had come formed the Thunder or the Pebble society. The membership came from every kinship group in the tribe, blood relationship was ignored, the bond of union being a common right in a common vision. These brotherhoods gradually developed a classified membership with initiatory rites, rituals, and officials set apart to conduct the ceremonials."²

The societies are commonly, but not always, named after animals.

Of these two accounts the second implicitly corrects a somewhat too sweeping statement made in the first. The secret societies of the American Indians are commonly, but not always, designated by the names of animals; for being based on visions or hallucinations and named after the things which have appeared, or are alleged to have appeared, to visionaries in an abnormal state of mind, their names and their mysteries may be just as varied as the fancies of a famished and superstitious savage. In this respect the mysteries of the societies resemble the guardian spirits of individuals, and the reason for the resemblance is manifest; both are figments of dreams.

For example, among the Dacotas there is a Society of

¹ Miss Alice C. Fletcher, "Elk Mystery of the Ogallala Sioux," in *Ann. Rept. Peabody Museum, 1884*, pp. 276, 277, quoted by the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the*

Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1894), p. 497.

² Miss Alice C. Fletcher, *The Import of the Totem, a Study from the Omaha Tribe* (Salem, Mass., 1897), p. 7.

Those who have Visions or Revelations from Ghosts; the members of the society can draw pictures of ghosts with impunity and they, or some of them, have the features of their faces drawn awry by ghosts. Again, there is a Dacotan Society of Those who have Revelations from the Buffalo. A member of the society has been known to have visions of buffaloes and to decorate himself accordingly, putting cockleburs in his hair or a little red hoop on his head, just as he saw the buffalo in his dream adorned with cockleburs or a little red hoop. Again, there is a Dacotan Society of Those who have Revelations from Goats. Goats are very mysterious, because they walk on cliffs and other high places without falling down. Hence people who dream of goats or have revelations from them imitate the actions of the animals, scrambling up and down steep places where other people would break their necks, and leaving no mark behind them.¹

The Ghost Society and the Goat Society among the Dacotas.

The Omahas, a tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock, had also their Society of Those who have Supernatural Communications with Ghosts. The persons so favoured called themselves Ghosts, and when they danced they painted their bodies grey, no doubt in imitation of ghosts.² There is another Omaha Society of Those who have Supernatural Communications with Wolves. Members of this society in dancing wear wolf skins and mimick the actions of wolves.³ Similarly members of the Society of Those who have Supernatural Communications with Grizzly Bears dance in imitation of grizzly bears and wear skins of grizzly bears or necklaces of their claws.⁴ So members of the Omaha Society of Those who have Supernatural Communications with Horses mimick the gait and actions of horses in their dance, and they wear horses' mains round their necks and horses' tails sticking out stiffly behind.⁵ Similarly members of the Omaha Society of Those who have Supernatural Communications with Buffaloes pranced about in the character of buffaloes with the skin and horns of the animal's head on

Societies of the Ghosts, Wolves, Grizzly Bears, Horses, Buffaloes, Thunder, etc., among the Omahas.

The Grizzly Bear dance.

The Horse dance.

The Buffalo dance.

¹ Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), pp. 497 sq.

² *Id.* "Omaha Sociology," *Third*

Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1884), p. 353.

³ *Id.*, *op. cit.* pp. 348 sq.

⁴ *Id.*, *op. cit.* p. 349.

⁵ *Id.*, *op. cit.* p. 348.

Rain-
making
ceremony
of the
Buffalo
Society.

The
Wacicka
Society.

Its dance
in spring.

their own heads and the tails fastened to their belts. According to one account, when the corn was withering through long drought the members of the Buffalo Society used to come to the rescue by making rain. This they did by dancing round a vessel full of water and spurting the water into the air in imitation of rain; then they upset the vessel, spilt the water on the ground, and falling down lapped it up, bemiring their faces in the act.¹ Again, the Omahas had an order or society of Thunder shamans composed of such as had dreams or visions of the Thunder-being, the Sun, Moon, or other celestial phenomena.² But the principal society of the Omahas bore the name of *Wacicka*, the meaning of which appears to be uncertain. Under other names the society seems to have existed in other tribes, including the Dacotas, the Winnebagoes, and the Ojibways or Chippewas. The society danced in the spring of the year, beginning on a fine day when the grass was about six inches high. It is said, though it is also denied, that lewd rites formed part of this vernal dance, and our informant, the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, thought that the report was confirmed by the Ponka phrase, "My little sister (or my female friend), grass abounds. Let us delight in each other." If he is right in this view, we may conjecture that the rites, like those of the King and Queen of May among ourselves, were originally intended to promote the growth of vegetation by sympathetic magic. In the dance the dancers carried bags made of the skins of otters or other animals, and some of them mimicked the cry of the otter or that of the flying squirrel by means of a whistle. With these bags they pretended to shoot at each other.³

This pretence of shooting at each other introduces us to

¹ Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 347 sq. I do not know whether the American buffalo (bison), like the Indian buffalo, loved to wallow in mud; if it did, we could understand why members of the Buffalo Society grovelled in the mire at this ceremony. The same habit of the animal might also explain why the duty of making rain fell to the lot of the

Buffalo Society; to the Indian fancy the buffalo rolling in the wet mud might seem to be calling for rain.

² *Id.* "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 395.

³ *Id.* "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 342-346.

a very remarkable feature in this society, namely, the power of death and of resurrection claimed by the members. On this subject I will quote the testimony of an experienced missionary, Dr. S. R. Riggs, who laboured long among the Dacotas and has bequeathed to us valuable works on these Indians. The *Wakan Wacipi* or Mystery Dance of the Dacotas is the equivalent of the *Wacicka* Society of the Omahas. On this subject Dr. Riggs says: "This is a secret organization, which is entered through mysterious death and mysterious resurrection. As it appears to have been confined mainly to the eastern portion of the Dakota Nation, it is supposed to have been derived from some other Indians at no very remote date. The Dakota themselves, however, claim that it was communicated to them by the great Unktehi or god of the waters. It is a form of religion which has doubtless largely supplanted older forms of worship. The badge of the order is the *wakan* sack, or sack of mystery. The great water god ordained that this should be the skin of the otter, raccoon, weasel, squirrel, loon, or a species of fish and of snakes. It should contain four kinds of medicine and represent fowls, quadrupeds, herbs, and trees. Thus grass roots, the bark of tree roots, swan's down, and buffalo hair are the symbols which are carefully preserved in the medicine sack. . . . After the proper instruction in the mysteries, the neophyte practiced watchings and fastings and was purified for four successive days by the vapor bath. Then came the great day of initiation. The ceremonies were public. A great deal of cooked provisions was prepared. At the sacred dance which I witnessed four decades ago, there were half a dozen large kettles of meat. The arrangements for the dance consisted of a large tent at one end, whose open front was extended by other tents stretched along the sides, making an oblong with the outer end open. Along the sides of this inclosure sat the members, perhaps a hundred in number, each one having his or her 'sack of mystery.' At a given signal from the officiating old men, all arose and danced inward until they became a solid mass, when the process was reversed and all returned to their seats. Near the close of the performance those who were to be initiated were shot by

Power of death and resurrection claimed by members of the *Wakan Wacipi* Society.

Dr. Riggs's evidence.

The badge of the Society is the medicine-bag or mystery-sack.

The initiation ceremony.

The dance of the medicine-bag.

the 'sacks of mystery,' and falling down they were covered with blankets. Then the mysterious bean or shell which they claimed had produced death, was extracted by the same mysterious power of the sack of mystery, and the persons were restored to a new life. But this new life came only after the throes and the bitterness of death. Then he has a 'sack' given him, and is thenceforth a member of the order of the sacred mysteries."¹

Carver's
account of
the dance
of the
medicine-
bag.

Com-
munication
of a spirit
which kills
and brings
to life
again.

Simulated
death of
the novice.

The re-
suscitation
of the
novice.

The earliest account of a ceremony of this kind with which I am acquainted is that of Captain J. Carver, who travelled in the region of the great lakes between 1766 and 1768. Amongst the Naudowessies, a Siouan or Dacotan tribe, he witnessed the initiation of a candidate into the *Wakon-Kitchewah* or Friendly Society of the Spirit, which apparently answered to the *Wacicka* of the Omahas and the *Wakan Wacipi* of the Dacotas. At the ceremony the officiating priest told the candidate "that he himself was now agitated by the same spirit which he should in a few moments communicate to him; that it would strike him dead, but that he would instantly be restored again to life; to this he added, that the communication, however terrifying, was a necessary introduction to the advantages enjoyed by the community into which he was on the point of being admitted. As he spoke this, he appeared to be greatly agitated; till at last his emotions became so violent, that his countenance was distorted, and his whole frame convulsed. At this juncture he threw something that appeared both in shape and colour like a small bean, at the young man, which seemed to enter his mouth, and he instantly fell as motionless as if he had been shot. The chief that was placed behind him received him in his arms, and, by the assistance of the other two, laid him on the ground to all appearance bereft of life.

"Having done this, they immediately began to rub his limbs, and to strike him on the back, giving him such blows, as seemed more calculated to still the quick, than to raise

¹ S. R. Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography* (Washington, 1893), pp. 227-229. For a fuller account see G. H. Pond, "Dakota Superstitions," *Collections of the Min-*

nesota Historical Society for the year 1867 (Saint Paul, 1867), pp. 35, 37-40 (quoted by me in *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, iii. 432 sq.); also below, pp. 468 sq.

the dead. During these extraordinary applications, the speaker continued his harangue, desiring the spectators not to be surprized, or to despair of the young man's recovery, as his present inanimate situation proceeded only from the forcible operation of the spirit, on faculties that had hitherto been unused to inspirations of this kind. The candidate lay several minutes without sense or motion; but at length, after receiving many violent blows, he began to discover some symptoms of returning life. These, however, were attended with strong convulsions, and an apparent obstruction in his throat. But they were soon at an end; for having discharged from his mouth the bean, or whatever it was that the chief had thrown at him, but which on the closest inspection I had not perceived to enter it, he soon after appeared to be tolerably recovered.

"This part of the ceremony being happily effected, the officiating chiefs disrobed him of the cloathes he had usually worn, and put on him a set of apparel entirely new. When he was dressed, the speaker once more took him by the hand, and presented him to the society as a regular and thoroughly initiated member, exhorting them, at the same time, to give him such necessary assistance as, being a young member, he might stand in need of. He then also charged the newly elected brother to receive with humility, and to follow with punctuality the advice of his elder brethren. All those who had been admitted within the rails, now formed a circle around their new brother, and the music striking up, the great chief sung a song, celebrating as usual their martial exploits. . . .

"The whole assembly were by this time united, and the dance began; several singers assisted the music with their voices, and the women joining in the chorus at certain intervals, they produced together a not unpleasing but savage harmony. This was one of the most agreeable entertainments I saw whilst I was among them. I could not help laughing at a singular childish custom I observed they introduced into this dance, and which was the only one that had the least appearance of conjuration. Most of the members carried in their hands an otter or martin's skin, which being taken whole from the body, and filled with

The novice clothed in new garments.

The dance of the medicine-bag; pretence of killing people by presenting the medicine-bag at them.

wind, on being compressed made a squeaking noise through a small piece of wood organically formed and fixed in its mouth. When this instrument was presented to the face of any of the company, and the sound emitted, the person receiving it instantly fell down to appearance dead. Sometimes two or three, both men and women, were on the ground together; but immediately recovering, they rose up and joined again in the dance. This seemed to afford even the chiefs themselves infinite diversion. I afterwards learned that these were their *Dei Penates* or Household Gods. After some hours spent in this manner the feast began; the dishes being brought near me, I perceived that they consisted of dog's flesh; and I was informed that at all their public grand feasts they never made use of any other kind of food."¹

Power
of the
medicine-
bag to kill
and to
make alive
again.

In the ceremonies here described by Carver the presentation of a squeaking skin at the dancers and their consequent simulation of death were clearly intended to illustrate the magical power of the medicine-bag to kill and to make alive again. If there could be any doubt as to this interpretation of the rite, it would be removed by the following account of a medicine feast held among the Winnebagoes, another Indian tribe of the Siouan or Dacotan stock. The informant, Mr. J. E. Fletcher, was Indian Sub-agent at Turkey River. He says:—

Medicine
feast and
dance
among the
Winne-
bagoes.
The
Medicine
Society.

"This feast is an ancient custom or ceremony; it is accompanied with dancing, and is sometimes called the medicine dance. The members or communicants of this feast constitute a society having secrets known only to the initiated. . . . They have no regular or stated times for holding this feast; and all the members do not attend at the same time, but only such as are invited by the master of the feast. Persons desirous of joining this society will, in some cases, use the most rigid economy for years, to enable them to lay up goods to pay the initiating fee. This fee is not fixed at any stipulated amount; those who join pay according to their ability. . . . When one or more persons make application to join the society, preparations

¹ J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, Third Edition (London, 1781), pp. 271-278.

are made for a feast and dance, which is held in an arched lodge, or bower, constructed of poles, and covered with tent-cloth and other materials. The size of the bower is made to conform to the number of persons to be invited, and this number depends much on the ability of the person who makes the feast. The width of a bower is about sixteen feet, the length varying from ten to seventy-five yards. The members of the society sit on each side of the bower, the centre being reserved for dancing. Candidates for admission into this society are required to fast three days previous to being initiated. At some period during this fast they are taken by the old medicine men to some secluded secret spot, and instructed in the doctrines and mysteries of the society ; and it is said that the candidates are during this fast subjected to a severe sweating process, by covering them with blankets, and steaming them with herbs ; the truth of this saying is not here vouched for, but the appearance of the candidate, when brought forward to be initiated in public, corroborates it.

Preparations for initiation to the Society.

Fasting and sweating of the candidates.

“ The public ceremony of initiation usually takes place about 11 o'clock, A.M. The public exercises of dancing, singing, praying, and exhorting, which precede the initiations, commence the previous morning. Before the candidates are brought forward, the ground through the centre of the bower is carpeted with blankets and broadcloth laid over the blankets. The candidates are then led forward and placed on their knees upon the carpet, near one end of the bower, and facing the opposite end. Some eight or ten medicine men then march in single file round the bower with their medical bags in their hands. Each time they perform the circuit they halt, and one of them makes a short address : this is repeated until all have spoken. They then form a circle and lay their medicine bags on the carpet before them. Then they commence retching and making efforts to vomit ; bending over until their heads come nearly in contact with their medicine bags, on which they vomit, or deposit from their mouth a small white sea-shell about the size of a bean ; this they call the medicine-stone, and claim that it is carried in the stomach and vomited up on these occasions. These stones they put in the mouth of their

Public ceremony of initiation.

Pretence of vomiting the medicine-stone over the medicine-bag.

Pretence of
killing the
novices by
thrusting
the
medicine-
bags at
them.

medicine bags, and take up their position at the end of the bower opposite to and facing the candidates. They then advance in line, as many abreast as there are candidates ; holding their medicine bags before them with both hands, they dance forward slowly at first, and uttering low guttural sounds as they approach the candidates, their step and voice increasing in energy, until with a violent 'Ough!' they thrust their medicine bags at their breasts. Instantly, as if struck with an electric shock, the candidates fall prostrate on their faces—their limbs extended—their muscles rigid and quivering in every fibre. Blankets are now thrown over them, and they are suffered to lie thus a few moments : as soon as they show signs of recovering from the shock, they are assisted to their feet and led forward. Medicine bags are then put in their hands, and medicine stones in their mouths ; they are now medicine men or women, as the case may be, in full communion and fellowship. The new members, in company with the old, now go round the bower in single file, knocking down members promiscuously by thrusting their medicine bags at them.”¹

The
instrument
of death
and re-
surrection
seems to
be a small
white shell,
which the
initiated
are thought
to have
in their
bodies, and
which,
being pro-
jected into
the body
of another,
first kills
him and
then re-
stores him
to life.

From these accounts it would seem that the instrument of death and resurrection is a small white shell, which initiated men are supposed to have in their bodies, and which being projected into the body of another person first kills him and then restores him to life. This is confirmed by the Dacotan legend of the origin of the medicine-bag ; for it is said that Onktehi, the great spirit of the waters, “produced myriads of little shells, whose virtue is to restore life to those who have been slain by the medicine-bag. Having taken this precaution, the god chose four other candidates and repeated the experiment of initiation with success, for after killing them with the bag he immediately resuscitated them by throwing one of the shells into their vital parts, while he chanted certain words assuring them that it was only sport and bidding them rise to their feet. That is why to this day every initiated Dacota has one of these shells in his body.” Hence at the initiation ceremony, after feigning to be killed by the medicine-bag and to come

¹ J. E. Fletcher, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iii. (Philadelphia, 1853), pp. 286 sq.

to life again, the candidate "convulsed, strangling, struggling, and agonizing, heaves up the shell which falls from his mouth on a sack placed in readiness to receive it."¹ To the same effect we are told that in the Otter Dancing Society of the Winnebagoes, which appears to be only another name for their Medicine Society as described by Mr. J. E. Fletcher, "the members of this order shot at one another with their otter-skin bags, as has been the custom in the *Wacicka* dancing society of the Omaha. Some have said that they waved their otter-skin bags around in order to infuse the spirit of the otter into a bead in its mouth, and that it was by the spirit of the otter that they knocked one another down. Each one who practised this dance professed to keep some small round object in his breast to cough it up before or during the dance, and to use it for shooting one of his companions in the neck. He who was thus shot did in turn cough up the mysterious object, and at the end of the dance each member swallowed his own shell or pebble."²

In the following account of the Dakota "clans," it seems clear that the so-called "clans" are religious associations or secret societies of the kind with which we are here concerned. The writer was a Mr. Philander Prescott, formerly United States Interpreter at St. Peters. He says:—

Philander Prescott's account of "clans" or rather religious societies among the Dakotas.

"As for clans, there are many, and there are secret badges. All that can be noticed, as to clans, is, that all those that use the same roots for medicines constitute a clan. These clans are secretly formed. It is through the great medicine-dance, that a man or a woman gets initiated into these clans. Although they all join in one general dance, still the use, properties, etc., of the medicine that each clan uses is kept entirely secret from each other. They use many roots of which they know not the properties themselves; and many of them have little if any medicinal properties in them. These clans keep up constant feuds with each other; for each clan supposes that the other possesses supernatural powers, and can cause the death of

¹ G. H. Pond, "Dakota Superstitions," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society for the year 1867* (Saint Paul, 1867), quoted in *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, iii. 433.

² Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 429.

Men
initiated
into the
medicine-
dance and
society
have a
sacred
animal
which they
will not kill
nor eat. If
they do so,
trouble
will befall
them.

any person, although he may be living at a remote distance from it. These clans have been kept up from time immemorial, and are the cause of most of the bloodshed among the Sioux. If a person dies, it is laid on some one of a different clan; and from that time, revenge is sought by the relations of the deceased, and all the supernatural powers are set to work to destroy the supposed offender. If this fails, then medicine is tried; and if that does not succeed, then the more destructive weapons, such as the knife, axe, or gun, are made use of, and often prove effectual."¹ "The men, when initiated into the great medicine-dance and clan, have some animate object of veneration, which they hold to as sacred through life. Whatever it may be, they cannot or dare not kill it, or eat any part of the flesh thereof. Some fix on a wolf, some a bear, some a deer, a buffalo, an otter; others different kinds of birds, or different parts of animals; some will not eat the tail or rump-piece, others the head, the liver, and so on. Some will not eat the right wing, some the left, of a bird; the women also are prohibited from eating many of the parts of the animal that are forbidden. When they enter into the clan, any person that breaks any of these rules, by eating anything forbidden, brings upon himself trouble of some kind. The offence is the same, even if accidentally committed. If an Indian has bad luck in hunting, he at once says some one has been breaking their laws, either by eating some parts of the animal forbidden, or they have stepped over it, or on it, particularly a woman; if she steps over any of the things held sacred, a great trouble is soon expected in the family; therefore precaution is taken, as soon as possible to appease the animal held in veneration, for they think that diseases arise from some animal entering in spirit into their system, which kills them."²

Amongst the Mandans, another Indian tribe of the

¹ Philander Prescott, "Contributions to the History, Customs, and Opinions of the Dakota Tribe," in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the*

United States, ii. (Philadelphia, 1853), p. 171.

² Philander Prescott, *op. cit.* p. 175.

Siouan or Dacotan stock, all the men were divided according to their age into six classes or societies, each distinguished from the other by badges and by the code of rules which they observed. Each society had its dance and accompanying song, and though the dances were on the whole similar in all the classes, the songs differed. The six societies or classes, according to the Prince of Wied, were these:—

1. *The Mad Dogs*, or *The Dogs whose Name is Unknown*. These consisted of lads from the age of ten to fifteen years. They wore a war-pipe (*ihkoshka*) made of the wing-bone of the wild goose. In dancing, three of them had a long and broad piece of red cloth hanging down behind them from the neck to the ground. When boys wished to join the society in order to become men, they applied to members of the society, addressed them as "Fathers," and purchased the privilege of joining the society by presents of blankets, powder, lead, horses, or other property, which their fathers paid for them.

2. *The Crows or Ravens*.—These were young men from twenty to twenty-five years of age. Members of this society wore raven feathers on their heads and a double war-pipe, composed of two wing-bones of a wild goose fastened together. Entrance into this society was also obtained by purchase. The purchasers had to give a feast lasting forty nights in the medicine-hut, and during all that time they had to place their wives at the disposal of the members of the society.

3. *The Soldiers*.—These were the most distinguished warriors. They wore a large pipe made of the wing-bone of a crane, and in the dance they painted the upper part of their faces red and the lower part black. They formed a kind of police, and the conduct of all important affairs, such as migrations, buffalo-hunting, and so forth, was entrusted to them.

4. *The Dogs*.—These wore in the dance a great hat of various colours, with many feathers of the raven, magpie, and horn-owl attached to it; also they carried a great war-pipe made of the wing-bone of a swan. Three of them had red strips of cloth hanging down their backs. Any man might throw a piece of flesh into the ashes of the fire or on

All the males among the Mandans were divided according to their ages into six societies, each with its badge and dance. The Mad Dogs.

The Crows or Ravens.

The Soldiers.

The Dogs.

the ground for these three and say, "There, dog! eat it up!" and the three men were then obliged to fall upon the flesh and devour it raw like dogs or beasts of prey.

The
Buffaloes.

5. *The Buffaloes*.—In the dance they wore the skin of the head and the long mane of a buffalo with its horns on their heads; at their backs they had imitations of buffalo tails. Two chosen members of the society wore on their heads complete masks representing buffalo heads with horns. These two might never flee before the enemy; and in dancing they always kept on the outside of the band and mimicked all the movements and sounds of the buffalo.

The Stags.

6. *The Black-tailed Stags*.—This consisted of all men over fifty years of age. They all wore a chaplet of grizzly bear's claws.

Sexual
licence at
initiation.

Membership of all these societies was bought and sold. The buyer had always to place his wife at the disposal of the seller during the festival which celebrated his initiation. If he was unmarried, he had to borrow a friend's wife for the purpose. A man would often come with three or four women, who granted their favours to the members of the society on the evening of the dance.¹ This custom may possibly be a relic of sexual communism, such as was kept up in some Australian tribes at marriage or puberty and in Fiji at the rite of circumcision.²

Societies
among the
Hidatsas
or Minne-
tarees.

The Hidatsas or Minnetarees, another Siouan or Dacotan tribe of the Missouri valley, were divided into bands or societies, which differed for men and women. Each society had its own songs, dances, and ceremonies, which were to a certain extent secret. Amongst the men's societies were the Foxes, the Dogs, and the Little Dogs; amongst the women's societies were the Fox-Women and the Geese. The members of the Fox-Women's society were usually from fifteen to twenty years old. Each society held ceremonial processions, in which the performers followed one another in a circle, tripping along with very short steps and singing as they

¹ Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America* (Coblenz, 1839-1841), ii. 138-143. The writer does not mention the ages of the men of the third, fourth, and fifth societies;

presumably they ranged from twenty-five to fifty.

² See vol. i. pp. 311-313, 419, 484, 545, vol. ii. 145 *sqq.*

moved. These processions were commonly called "medicine-dances" by the whites.¹

Lists of the Minnetaree bands or societies, together with their characteristic badges, have been recorded by the Prince of Wied. The societies of the men were as follows:—

1. *The Stone Society* or *The Society of the Little Rock*.—The Stones. It consisted of boys from ten to eleven years of age, who wore feathers on their heads.

2. *The Society of the Great Swords*.—The members were The Great Swords. lads of fourteen or fifteen years of age. In the dance they carried swords. As swords were rare among the Indians and were procured only from traders, this society was probably of modern origin.

3. *The Society of the Ravens*.—The members were youths The Ravens. of seventeen or eighteen years of age.

4. *The Society of the Little Prairie Foxes*.—They wore The Prairie Foxes. skins of otters and wolves.

5. *The Society of the Little Dogs*.—They wore feathers on their heads and strips of red or blue cloth across their shoulders. The Little Dogs.

6. *The Society of the Old Dogs*.—They were equipped The Old Dogs. like the preceding with the addition of a wolf's skin, a rattle (*shishikue*), and a war-pipe.

7. *The Society of the Bow-lances*.²—They carried feathers The Bow-lances. on their heads and bow-lances in their hands.

8. *The Society of the Foes*.—They carried muskets. The Foes.

9. *The Society of the Buffaloes*.—They wore on their The Buffaloes. heads the skin of a buffalo's head, with the horns; round their bodies they had bands of cloth with bells fastened to them and to their legs; and as weapons they carried spears, guns, and shields.

10. *The Society of the Ravens*.—These were the oldest The Ravens. men. Each carried a long spear wrapt in red cloth with raven feathers hanging from it. They wore feathers on their heads and finely decorated garments.

¹ Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* (Washington, 1877), pp. 46 sq., 153, 155 sq., 189, 192, 197.

² Some of the American Indians carried spears bent into the form of bows by means of string tied to the

two ends of the weapon. These unserviceable implements were apparently more for ceremony than for use. See G. A. Dorsey, *The Cheyenne, I. Ceremonial Organization* (Chicago, 1905), pp. 20, 24 sq.

The Hot Water. 11. *The Society of the Hot Water*.—This was identical with the first society. The members danced naked among glowing coals and took meat out of a pot of boiling water. Their hands, part of the forearms, and the feet were painted red.

Women's Societies. Among the Minnetarees the societies of the women were as follows:—

The Wild Geese. 1. *The Society of the Wild Geese*.—This consisted of the oldest women. In dancing they carried wormwood and a cob of maize.

The Foes. 2. *The Society of the Foes*.—They wore long pendants of shells and beads on their temples and a feather across the front of the head.

The Skunks. 3. *The Society of the Skunks*.—Their faces were painted black with a white stripe down the nose in imitation of the skunk.¹

Societies among the Crows. The same authority, Prince Maximilian of Wied, tells us that bands or societies existed also among the Crows, "as among all the Indians of the Missouri." The Crows belong to the Siouan or Dacotan stock. Their societies were named as follows: 1. the Buffalo Bulls; 2. The Prairie Foxes; 3. The Ravens; 4. The Shorn Heads; 5. The *Padachische*; 6. The Stone Tomahawks; 7. The Little Dogs; 8. The Great Dogs. Each society had its own dance. Admission to a society was by purchase, and the buyers on this occasion gave up their wives to the sellers, as among the Mandans.²

Sexual licence at initiation.

Societies among the Assiniboina. The Assiniboina, another Siouan or Dacotan tribe, were divided into eight societies, none of which, curiously enough, took its name from an animal. The societies were:—1. The People of the Girls; 2. The People of the Rocks or Stones; 3. The People of the Open Water (*Les gens du large*); 4. The People of the Canoes; 5. The People of the Woods; 6. The People of the Age; 7. The People of the Bones; and 8. The People of the Mountains.³

¹ Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America* (Coblenz, 1839-1841), ii. 217-219. It will be noticed that there are two Societies of Ravens among the men. The writer calls both of them *Die Rabenbande*, La

Bande des Corbeaux, but the native names which he gives are different for the two societies.

² Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, i. 401.

³ *Id.*, *op. cit.* i. 440 sq.

§ 3. *Secret Societies among the Algonkin Indians*

The custom of religious associations, dancing bands, or secret societies was found also among the Indian tribes of the great Algonkin stock; indeed, according to the Prince of Wied it was common to all the Indian nations of North America. These associations, bands, or societies had each their own name and code of rules, their own dance and song, and served in part like police to maintain order in the camp, on the march, in hunting, and so forth.¹ Amongst the Blackfeet, an Algonkin tribe, the Prince of Wied heard of seven such bands or societies, namely:—

Religious
associations
or secret
societies
among the
Algonkins.

Societies
among the
Blackfeet.

1. *The Mosquitoes*.—These were boys, many of them not more than eight or ten years old. Some young men, and occasionally even one or two old men, belonged to this society. The members had no police duties. Their business was to play youthful pranks; when the fancy took them they would run about the camp pinching and scratching men, women, and children, just like mosquitoes. They had no respect for persons, but would tweak a grave and reverend senior by the nose as fast as look at him. For these outrages there was no redress. Resistance was useless; it only brought the whole swarm, like hornets, upon the sufferer. With this society the young began their career in life, rising to the higher orders as they grew older. The little imps wore as a badge of their order an eagle's claw fastened by a leathern strap to the wrist; and they had a special way of painting themselves, as indeed had the members of all the societies.

The Mos-
quitoes.

2. *The Dogs*.—These consisted of young married men. Their special badge was not known to the Prince.

The Dogs.

3. *The Prairie Foxes* or *Prairie Dogs*.²—This was a police society composed of married men. The badge of their order was a baton like a shepherd's crook, wrapt in otter's skin and adorned at intervals with eagle feathers.

The
Prairie
Foxes.

4. *Those who Carry the Raven*.—Their badge was a long pole covered with red cloth and decorated with a long row

The Raven
Carriers.

¹ Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, i. 576.

² “*Die Prairie-Füchse, Les Chiens de prairie.*”

of close-set raven feathers. They discharged police duties, looking to the maintenance of order.

The Bulls
with Thin
Horns.

5. *The Bulls with the Thin Horns*.—In dancing they wore horns on their caps. Their tents were pitched in the middle of the tribal circle. In case of tumults arising it was their duty to help the Soldiers to restore order.

The
Soldiers.

6. *The Soldiers*.—These were the most esteemed warriors. They acted as police in camp and on the march. In public councils they gave the casting vote on questions of peace and war, of shifting the camp, of migrating after the game, and so forth. Their badge was a wooden tomahawk with hoofs of the buffalo cow fastened to the handle.

The
Buffalo
Bulls.

7. *The Buffalo Bulls*.—This was the highest in rank of all the societies. In their medicine-dance the members wore a cap from which hung down the long front hair and mane of a buffalo. Also they carried a rattle of buffalo hoofs, which they rattled in the dance. They were too old to do police duties; for they had passed through all the other societies and were looked upon as living in retirement.

Admission
to the
societies
was by
purchase.

To all these societies new members were elected and had to pay their footing. Medicine-men and other distinguished persons had to pay more than common folk. If the wife of one of the members committed adultery, the society would assemble, and after smoking in one of their tents would drag the woman from her tent at night, abuse her at their pleasure, and cut off her nose. The husband could not protect her even if he wished. He was compelled to divorce his erring spouse.¹

Medicine-
dance
of the
Blackfeet
women :
imitation
of buffalo
cows.

The medicine-dance of the Blackfeet women was peculiar. It was not held annually. Some men danced in it with the women. A great wooden hut was built, and all the women who were to dance arrayed themselves in their gayest finery. The rest of the women and the men looked on, the men beating drums and rattling rattles to the steps of the dancers. On the last day, when the dance was over, an imitation of a buffalo park was given. Men, women, and children arranged themselves in two lines which diverged at an acute angle from the medicine-hut. Then out of the hut came women crawling on all fours and

¹ Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, i. 575-579.

imitating the gait and action of buffalo cows. Some men mimicked buffalo bulls, but were at first repelled by the women. Then fires were lit to windward, as used to be done in buffalo hunts, and the women, still playing the part of buffalo cows, snuffed the smoke and retreated into the hut. That ended the festival. This dance was sometimes danced in summer, whenever the fancy took them.¹

A later account of the Blackfeet societies has been given us by Mr. G. B. Grinnell, who knows the tribe well. Before he wrote in 1893 many or all of the societies had united in a sort of federation known as All Comrades (*I-kun-uh-kah-tsi*). "This association of the All Comrades consisted of a dozen or more secret societies, graded according to age, the whole constituting an association which was in part benevolent and helpful, and in part military, but whose main function was to punish offences against society at large. All these societies were really law and order associations. The *Müt-siks*, or Braves, was the chief society, but the others helped the Braves."²

By the year 1893 many of the societies of the Blackfeet had, with the changed conditions of life, ceased to exist or had even been forgotten. They were a part of the old wild free life of the Indians; and when the buffaloes disappeared, and the Blackfeet, instead of roving over the prairies after the herds, had settled about a government agency and tried to pick up a living in a humdrum way by regular work, they no longer cared to maintain the societies. However, in the Pi-kun-i tribe Mr. Grinnell was able to obtain the following list of societies composing the association or federation of the All Comrades (*I-kun-uh-kah-tsi*). In this list the societies are arranged in the order from boyhood to old age:—³

¹ Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, i. 575 sq.

² G. B. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (London, 1893), pp. 220 sq.

³ G. B. Grinnell, *op. cit.* p. 221.

Mr. G. B. Grinnell's account of the Blackfeet societies. The Association of All Comrades.

List of societies composing the Association of All Comrades.

SOCIETIES OF THE ALL COMRADES

Society.	Composed of
Little Birds . . .	Boys from fifteen to twenty years old.
Pigeons	Men who have been to war several times.
Mosquitoes . . .	Men who are constantly going to war.
Braves	Tried warriors.
All Crazy Dogs . .	Men about forty years old.
Raven Bearers . .	{ Old men. Dogs and Tails are different societies, but they dress alike and dance together and alike.
Dogs	
Tails	
Horns (among the Blood Blackfeet)	{ Obsolete among the Piegans, but still exists among the Bloods.
Kit-foxes (among the Piegan Blackfeet)	
Catchers or Soldiers .	In 1893 this society had been obsolete for 25 or 30 years, perhaps more.
Bulls	In 1893 this society had been obsolete for 50 years.

"The societies known as Little Birds, Mosquitoes, and Doves are not really bands of the All Comrades, but are societies among the boys and young men in imitation of the *I-kun-uh-kah-tsi*, but of comparatively recent origin. Men not more than fifty years old can remember when these societies came into existence. Of all the societies of the *I-kun-uh-kah-tsi*, the *Sin-o-pah*, or Kit-fox band, has the strongest medicine. This corresponds to the Horns society among the Bloods. They are the same band with different names. They have certain peculiar secret and sacred ceremonies, not to be described here. The society of the *Stum-iks*, or Bulls, became obsolete more than fifty years ago. Their dress was very fine,—bulls' heads and robes.

Admission
to the
societies
was by
purchase.

"The members of the younger society purchased individually, from the next older one, its rights and privileges, paying horses for them. For example, each member of the Mosquitoes would purchase from some member of the Braves his right of membership in the latter society. The man who has sold his rights is then a member of no society, and if he wishes to belong to one, must buy

into the one next higher. Each of these societies kept some old men as members, and these old men acted as messengers, orators, and so on. The change of membership from one society to another was made in the spring, after the grass had started. Two, three, or more lodge coverings were stretched over poles, making one very large lodge, and in this the ceremonies accompanying the changes took place.

"In later times, the Braves were the most important and best known of any of the All Comrades societies. The members of this band were soldiers or police. They were the constables of the camp, and it was their duty to preserve order, and to punish offenders."¹ Among the property of the Brave society were two stone-headed arrows, one rattle, and one shield called "shield you don't sit down with." The man who carried the rattle was called Brave Dog; and the man who carried the shield was forbidden to sit down for four days and four nights after he received it; during the whole of that time he had to run about the camp or the prairie whistling like a rabbit. Why he did so, we are not told.²

Corresponding to the All Comrades association of the Blackfeet was the association called the Warriors' Association among the Arapahoes, another Algonkin tribe. It consisted of eight degrees or orders, including nearly all the men of the tribe above the age of seventeen or thereabout. Those who were not enrolled in one of the orders were little respected and might not take part in public ceremonies or go on the war-path with the rest. Each of the first six orders had its own peculiar dance, and the members of the principal orders had also their peculiar staff or badge of rank. The six orders were these:—

1. *The Fox men*.—This was the lowest order. It consisted of young men up to the age of about twenty-five years. They had no special duties or privileges, but they danced the Fox dance.

2. *The Star men*.—These were young warriors about thirty years old. They danced the Star dance.

¹ G. B. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (London, 1893), p. 222.

² G. B. Grinnell, *op. cit.* p. 223.

The Club
men.

3. *The Club men*.—These were all men in the prime of life and formed an important part of the Warriors. The four leaders carried wooden clubs and in an attack it was their duty to gallop ahead, strike the enemy with the clubs, then ride back and lead the charge. The post was one of great danger, but also of great honour, and there were always candidates for a vacancy. The rest of the order carried sticks with a horse's head rudely carved on one end. In desperate battles they were expected to plant these sticks in front of the line and fight there to the death.

The Spear
men.

4. *The Spear men*.—They acted as policemen in the camp, on the march, and on the hunt. They saw to it that the tribal customs were observed and the chief's orders obeyed. They were regarded as the representatives of the law and were never resisted in the discharge of their duties and the infliction of punishment.

The Crazy
men.

5. *The Crazy men*.—These were men over fifty years of age. They were not expected to go to war. Their duties were religious and ceremonial. They danced the Crazy dance, which well deserved its name. Their insignia consisted of a bow and a bundle of blunt arrows.

The Dog
men.

6. *The Dog men*.—The four leaders of this society were the generals and directors of battle. In forming the line of cavalry for the charge they dismounted, anchored themselves to the ground by means of their lances, and stayed there till the battle was won or lost. No man might retreat without their orders; and even after they had given the order to retire, they might not themselves budge till some of their own order had ridden up to them, dragged their lances out of the ground, and scourged them away. If in the confusion of the retreat they were forgotten by their comrades, they were expected to die at their posts. They took little part in the fight, but the mere sight of these men driving their lances into the ground wound up the warriors to a pitch of desperate bravery.

The Nuna-
hawu.

7. *The Nunahawu*.—The meaning of this word is unknown. This was a secret order. The members had no dance, and none but themselves witnessed their ceremonies. They did not fight, but accompanied the war parties, and every night in secret performed rites and offered prayers for victory.

8. *The Water-pouring men*.—This was the highest order, and numbered only seven men, among whom were the oldest warriors of the tribe. They poured water over the hot stones in the sweat-house to make the steam for the sweat-bath; hence their name. Their ceremonies were performed in a large sweat-lodge, which, when the whole tribe camped together, stood in the centre of the tribal circle between the entrance and the lodge in which the sacred medicine-pipe was kept.¹

With reference to the Crazy dance, which was danced by the Cheyennes as well as by the Arapahoes, a Cheyenne poet in a moment of fine frenzy composed a song, of which the following is a literal translation:—

The buffalo head—Ya-ha-ya!
The half buffalo—
(repeat ad libitum).

This beautiful composition alludes in a graceful manner to the costume of some of the dancers in the dance.² The Crazy dance is described as follows by Mr. James Mooney:—

“Men, women, and children took part in the ceremony dressed in skins or other costume to represent various animals, as buffalos, panthers, deer, and birds, with one bear, two foxes, and seven wolves, besides two ‘medicine wolves.’ Each strove to imitate the animal personated in action as well as in appearance. It was the business of the two foxes to be continually running and stumbling over the others in their efforts to escape from the crowd. The dance, whose essential feature was the doing of everything by contraries, had its parallel among many eastern tribes, particularly among the old Huron and Iroquois. It was considered the most picturesque and amusing dance among the prairie tribes. The ‘half buffalo’ of the song refers to the robe worn by certain of the dancers, which consisted of the upper half of a buffalo skin, the head portion, with the horns attached, coming over the head of the dancers. The dance was an exhibition of deliberate craziness in which the performers strove to outdo one another in nonsensical and

The water-pouring men.

The Crazy Dance of the Arapahoes and Cheyennes.

Mr. J. Mooney's description of the Crazy Dance.

¹ James Mooney, “The Ghost-Dance Religion,” *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part ii. (Washington, 1896) pp. 986-989.

² James Mooney, *op. cit.* pp. 1032 sq.

frenzied actions, particularly in constantly doing the exact opposite of what they were told to do. It was performed only in obedience to a vow made by some person for the recovery of a sick child, for a successful war expedition, or for some other Indian blessing. It lasted four days, the performers dancing naked the first three days and in full dance costume on the fourth. The leaders in the absurdities were two performers whose bodies and cheeks were painted with white clay, and whose ears were filled with hair shed by the buffalo, which was believed to confer strong 'medicine' powers. They carried whistles, and shot at the spectators with blunt arrows. Almost every license was permitted to those two, who in consequence were really held in dread by the others. Among other things the crazy dancers were accustomed to dance through a fire until they extinguished it by their tramping. This was done in imitation of the fire-moth, called *ahakña*, 'crazy,' by the Arapaho, which hovers about a flame or fire and finally flies into it. They also handled poisonous snakes, and sometimes, it is said, would even surround and kill a buffalo by their unaided physical strength. The Cheyenne dance differed somewhat from that of the Arapaho. It was last performed in the south about ten years ago."¹

The
Festival of
Dreams or
the Mad
Festival
celebrated
by the
Canadian
Indians
towards the
end of
winter.

This Crazy Dance was apparently akin to the Festival of Dreams or the Mad Festival, which the Canadian Indians celebrated towards the end of winter. It might be proclaimed in the last days of February and might last three or four weeks. The whole population of the village seemed to go mad. Men, women, and children would rush about almost naked and apparently insensible to the cold; sometimes they would disguise themselves with masks and paint. In a state of frenzy they ran from hut to hut smashing and upsetting everything, and pouring cold water or hot ashes on the inmates. Each of these maniacs had dreamed, or pretended to dream, of something, and he would not leave a house till one of the inmates had guessed his dream and carried it out in practice; and if this was not done at once, the dreamer redoubled his fury and threatened to burn and destroy

¹ James Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance of the Bureau of Ethnology, Part ii. Religion," *Fourteenth Annual Report* (Washington, 1896) p. 1033.

everything. The dream might be that the dreamer was to receive a present, and in that case the person who guessed it was bound to present the dreamer with the thing dreamed of, cost him what it might ; for it was believed that the dreamer's life depended on his getting what he had dreamed of. But he would not say in plain words what the thing was which he had seen in sleep ; he would only hint at it in dark enigmatic language or perhaps only by means of gestures. At the end of the festival the Indians said that they cast madness out of the village. The early Jesuit missionaries who described this strange festival compared it very justly both to the Saturnalia of ancient and to the Carnival of modern times ; they noted that it fell at the same time of the year as the Carnival.¹ The resemblance between the three festivals was probably more than superficial.²

Corresponding to the Warriors' Association of the Arapahoes was the Warriors' Association (*Nûtqiu*) of the Cheyennes, another Algonkin tribe of the great prairies. The association comprised six societies, which were named as follows : 1. Dog men ; 2. Fox men or Flint men ; 3. Pointed-lance men or Coyote warriors ; 4. Red Shield or Buffalo Bull warriors ; 5. Bowstring men ; 6. Crazy Dogs.³ These societies were not graduated according to age and rank. A man of any age might become a member of any society. Each society was ruled by a chief and four assistants, and had its own paints, costumes, songs, and dances. Four of the societies admitted four maidens to their lodge ; these maidens were generally daughters of chiefs. The warriors called the maidens of their own society " sisters " and might not marry them ; but they were free to marry the maidens of another society. These maidens

The Warriors' Association of the Cheyennes, comprising six societies.

The four maidens of the societies.

¹ *Relations des Jésuites*, 1656, pp. 26-29 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858) ; Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains* (Paris, 1724), i. 367-369 ; Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), vi. 82 sqq.

² I have collected and discussed examples of such Saturnalia in *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, iii. 70 sqq., 138 sqq.

³ James Mooney, in *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 256. The names of the Cheyenne societies are given somewhat differently by Mr. G. A. Dorsey, who substitutes Hoof-Rattle Warriors and Wolf Warriors for Fox Men and Crazy Dogs. See G. A. Dorsey, *The Cheyenne, I. Ceremonial Organization* (Chicago, 1905), pp. 3, 15-29 (*Field Columbian Museum, Publication 99*).

- occupied prominent places in all dances and they sat in the midst of the circle in front of the chiefs at all councils. Apparently they were expected to remain chaste.¹ The Coyote Warriors were so called because the head chief carried a sacred hide of the coyote with the hair left on, and because, moreover, the Coyote Warriors imitated the coyote in speed, cunning, and endurance. They could outstrip their fellow-tribesmen in running long distances.
- The Red Shield Warriors. The Red Shield Warriors took their name from a large red shield of buffalo hide with the tail of the buffalo hanging from it. And because they wore the scalp of a buffalo as a head-dress they were sometimes called the Buffalo Warriors.
- The Dog Men. The Dog men told a story how their society originated with the help of dogs. The dog is the emblem of the society, and the members hold the animal sacred. The Bowstring Warriors were unmarried and used an inverted mode of speech. They fought desperately, their bodies painted red, and they carried stuffed screech-owls on their heads. Every one of these warriors took with him into battle a curiously constructed bow-spear, the emblem of their society, which none but members of the society might touch. The implement was a combination of a spear and a bow, and to all appearance was equally ill adapted to serve as the one and the other. The Wolf society, as the most recent of the six societies is called by one of our authorities, is said to have been founded by an Owl-man, who fell in with wolves which had the power of transforming themselves into men.²

The *Midewiwin* or Great Medicine Society of the Ojibways. The great Algonkin tribe of the Ojibways had a celebrated society called the *Midewiwin*, that is, the Society of the Shamans (*Mides*), which was popularly known as the Grand Medicine Society. It had its equivalent in the Medicine or Mystery Societies of other tribes, such as the *Wacicka* Society of the Omahas and the *Wakan Wacipi* Society of the Dacotas.³ Membership of the society was supposed to confer on the initiated a high degree of spiritual power; and the ceremony of initiation, as in the case of the

¹ G. A. Dorsey, *The Cheyenne, I. Ceremonial Organization*, pp. 16, 53-55. 18, 19, 20 *sqq.*, 24 *sq.*, 26 *sqq.*, 54 *sq.*

² G. A. Dorsey, *op. cit.* pp. 16-

³ See above, pp. 462 *sqq.*

other Medicine Societies which have been referred to, consisted essentially in a pretence of death and resurrection, the candidate feigning to be killed by the powerful "medicine" or charms of the society and afterwards to be restored to life by the same means.¹

It is believed that the society was instituted by a powerful and benign spirit named *Dzhe Manido* or *Minabozho*, who is only second to *Kitshi Manido*, the Great Spirit. It was he who interceded with the Great Spirit that the Indians might learn how to provide themselves with the good things of the earth, and how to ward off disease and death, and it was he who taught them the medicinal virtues of plants. The method which he followed in his instructions is dramatically rehearsed at the initiation of a candidate into the society, and amongst the members are handed down the traditions as to the origin of the world and of mankind. The members of the society, called *Midē*, are of both sexes and unlimited in number. The idea of joining the society may be suggested to a lad during the fast at puberty, when he obtains his guardian spirit. But it need not be so suggested. In any case a candidate applies to one of the priests of the society for admission, and if the application is granted he receives an instructor, who informs him as to the course of training and the entrance fees which have to be paid. The course of instruction preparatory to admission to the society may last for several years; many men have impoverished themselves by the payment of fees and the preparations for the feast to which the priests are invited. The sacred symbol of the society is a small white shell.²

¹ H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. 420-441; J. G. Kohl, *Kitschi-Gami* (Bremen, 1859), i. 59-76; W. J. Hoffman, "The Midewiwin or Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibwa," *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 143-300. Compare W. W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society* (Saint Paul, Minn., 1885), pp. 65 sqq. Mr. Hoffman's elaborate account of the society and its

rites is based on his personal investigations among the Ojibways in the years 1887, 1888, and 1889, when he obtained his information from the chief *Midē* priests, living at Red Lake and White Earth reservations, as well as from other members of the tribe (*op. cit.* p. 155).

² W. J. Hoffman, "The Midewiwin of the Ojibwa," *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 163 sq.; *id.* "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual*

The initiation ceremony comprised a pretence of death and resurrection.

The society is said to have been instituted by a powerful spirit called *Minabozho*.

Application for admission.

Course of instruction.

The sacred white shell.

Four orders
or degrees
in the
Society.

There are four orders or degrees among the members of the society, and a member may rise through them from the lowest to the highest. The higher his order or degree, the greater is his supernatural or magical power supposed to be.¹ "The amount of influence wielded by *Midē* generally, and particularly such as have received four degrees, is beyond belief. The rite of the *Midewiwin* is deemed equivalent to a religion—as that term is commonly understood by intelligent people—and is believed to elevate such a *Midē* to the nearest possible approach to the reputed character of *Minabozho*, and to place within his reach the supernatural power of invoking and communing with *Kitshi Manido* himself."²

Training
of the
candidate.

During his training the candidate is taught by his preceptor the songs or rather incantations which form part of his stock in trade, and he learns the magical or medicinal uses of herbs, plants, and trees.³ For four days before the ceremony of initiation he purifies himself in the sweat-house.

Purifica-
tion by the
vapour-
bath.

This purification is absolutely essential.⁴ "In all ceremonies, prophetic or medico-magical, great reliance is placed on the vapor-bath. This bath consists of a tight lodge, which is filled with vapor by casting water on heated stones. It is entered with sacred feelings, and is deemed a great means of purification. Secret arts are here often disclosed between *Medais* of high power, which could not be imparted in other places, or positions, believed to be less subject to the influence of sanctifying power. They are called *Madodiswon*—their use, a consecrated practice, in order to ask something which is wished not to be made public, some private request. Vapor-baths are not a matter of luxury or sensuality among the Indians of North America; their use belongs to the Medicine rite. They are prohibited to the vulgar, and not authorised, and are used in consecrated cases, and according to prescribed forms, which must not be departed from."⁵

Sanctity of
the vapour-
bath.

Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Part i. (Washington, 1896) pp. 66 sq. From J. G. Kohl's account (*Kitschi-Gami*, i. 59 sqq.) we learn that even an infant in the cradle might, on the application of its father, be initiated into the society. Perhaps this was a later development.

¹ W. J. Hoffman, "The Midewiwin

of the Ojibwa," *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 164, 225 sq.

² W. J. Hoffman, *op. cit.* p. 274.

³ W. J. Hoffman, *op. cit.* pp. 191-201.

⁴ W. J. Hoffman, *op. cit.* p. 204.

⁵ H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. (Philadelphia, 1856) pp. 423 sq.

The ceremony of initiation takes place in a temporary structure erected for the purpose; it is a large oblong enclosure, the walls of which consist of poles wattled with branches and leafy twigs. It is only partially roofed. The structure is called the *Midawin* or *Midewigan*; amongst the whites it goes by the name of the Grand Medicine Lodge. The ceremonies are public and may be attended by women as well as by men, but the ritual is unintelligible to the uninitiated.¹ The essential part is the pretence of killing the candidate and bringing him to life again. One after another the priests present their medicine-bags at him as if to shoot him. These bags are made each of the skin of a particular animal, which may be any of a great variety of species, such as the otter, the raccoon, the weasel, the wolf, the red fox, the grey fox, a snake, the great owl, and so forth; and they often retain the shape of the animal, with its head, tail, and even the feet still attached. In the bag are kept the owner's sacred possessions, such as the magic red powder used in the preparation of the hunter's incantations, also amulets and fetishes of various sorts. Above all they contain the *migis*, the sacred white shell, the symbol of the society; and when the bags are presented at the candidate, they are supposed to project the shell into his body. At the last discharge he falls forward apparently lifeless to the ground. Then the priests lay their medicine-bags on his back, and after a few moments one of the sacred shells drops from his mouth. The seemingly dead man now shews signs of life, but when the chief priest replaces the shell in his mouth, he instantly falls to the ground as before. But the priests bring him back to life again by marching round him and touching his body in various places with their medicine-bags. When the candidate has quite revived, he receives a new medicine-bag made of an otter-skin, or perhaps the skin of a mink or weasel. In it he places his sacred white shell (*migis*), and immediately puts its magical virtue to the proof by pretending

The Grand
Medicine
Lodge.

Initiation
ceremonies.

The
medicine-
bags.

The sacred
white shell
(*migis*),
the symbol
of the
society.

Pretence
of killing
the candi-
date and
bringing
him to life
again.

¹ W. J. Hoffman, "The Midewiwin of the Ojibwa," *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 187 sq.; H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the*

United States, v. (Philadelphia, 1856) p. 428, with Plate 32; J. G. Kohl, *Kitschi-Gami* (Bremen, 1859), i. 60 sq., 66 sq.

to shoot every person present in the lodge with it. Each person so menaced obligingly falls forward as if shot dead by the magic power of the shell. Formerly the person so shot was expected to lie motionless and apparently lifeless till one of the initiated members of the society brought him or her to life again by presenting his medicine-bag at his or her body; but in modern times, apparently, the rigour of this rule has been relaxed, and after lying still for a few minutes each of the slain is permitted to effect his own resurrection without the help of the magical bag. When they all have been shot and all have revived, they make a pretence of swallowing and spitting out their shells, after which they replace them in their medicine-bags. A feast at the expense of the new members immediately follows.¹ The ceremonies of admission to the three higher orders or degrees of the society are very similar; they all repeat the rite of the mimic death and resurrection.²

In this ritual the sacred white shell seems to be an instrument both of life and of death, like the mistletoe of Balder.

In this ritual the part played by the sacred white shell is somewhat ambiguous. Its entrance into the body seems to kill, and the person killed by it appears to revive as soon as he has succeeded in disgorging it. Hence J. G. Kohl was informed "that these shells signify the sickness, the evil which is inherent in man, but which by zealous effort and by common religious worship he is able to discharge and put away from himself."³ On the other hand Mr. Hoffman appears to regard the shell (*migis*) as an implement of life rather than of death; for he speaks of "shooting the sacred *migis*—life—into the right breast of the candidate."⁴ We may perhaps suppose that the shell is charged with the double virtue of life and of death, and that in this respect it resembles the sacred mistletoe which, though it was said to

¹ W. J. Hoffman, "The Midewiwin of the Ojibwa," *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), pp. 213-218, 220; H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. (Philadelphia, 1856) pp. 428-433; J. G. Kohl, *Kitschi-Gami*, i. 64-68, 69, 71. As to the sacred shell (*migis*), Mr. Hoffman says: "The *migis* referred to in this description of the initiation consists of a small white shell, of almost any

species, but the one believed to resemble the form of the mythical *migis* is similar to the cowrie, *Cypraea moneta*, L." (*op. cit.* p. 220).

² W. J. Hoffman, *op. cit.* pp. 224 *sqq.*, especially pp. 225 *sq.*, 234 *sq.*, 248, 265.

³ J. G. Kohl, *Kitschi-Gami*, i. 71.

⁴ W. J. Hoffman, "The Midewiwin of the Ojibwa," *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1891), p. 215.

contain Balder's life, yet proved the instrument of his death when it was discharged full at his body.¹

The Menominees, an Algonkin tribe of Wisconsin, have or had a Grand Mystery Society called *Mitawit*, which appears to have been substantially identical with the *Midewiwin* society of the Ojibways. It is said to have been founded by the mythical being *Manabush* or Great Rabbit, who is clearly identical with the Ojibway *Minabozho*, the founder of the *Midewiwin* society. The members were shamans, and consisted of men and women, and also a few young boys and girls, who had been initiated into the mysteries either directly or by proxy. Formerly, the society comprised four orders or degrees, which differed from each other in rank; and the members of each order had a distinctive mode of painting their faces. Admission to the society had to be paid for. The ceremonies of initiation resembled those of the Ojibways; the candidate had to go through a pretence of being killed and brought to life again. The magical instrument of death and resurrection was the medicine-bag. It was made of the skin of an animal, such as the mink, beaver, otter, or weasel, and contained various mysterious objects, particularly the sacred shell (*konapamik*) with which the candidate was shot at initiation. The initiatory rites were performed in a medicine lodge called *mitawikomik*, a temporary structure erected by medicine-women. It was sixty or seventy feet long by twenty feet wide. The framework consisted of poles bent and fastened together at the top so as to form a series of arches, and the whole was covered with rush-mats. At initiation the medicine-men pretended to shoot the candidate with their medicine-bags, and at the last shot the young man fell forward apparently lifeless. Afterwards a shell dropped from his mouth, whereupon he gradually revived. A

The Grand Mystery Society (*Mitawit*) of the Menominees.

Four orders of the society.

Ceremonies of initiation: pretence of killing the candidate and bringing him to life.

Power of the medicine-bag and of the sacred shell.

¹ Fr. Kauffmann, *Balder, Mythus und Sage* (Strasburg, 1902), pp. 19-24, 45-48. Compare *The Golden Bough*,² iii. 236 sqq., where in treating of this legend I was prevented from using the full force of the evidence in favour of my hypothesis by reason of a mistake, as it now appears to be, in the German

translation of the Edda which I consulted. I only inferred that Balder's life was hidden for safety in the mistle-toe (*op. cit.* iii. 349 sq., 446 sqq.); but if Professor Kauffmann is right, what I merely inferred is expressly stated in our most ancient authority for the Balder legend, namely the *Voluspá*.

medicine-bag was then presented to him, and armed with it he went about the lodge shooting at people with the bag, just as the medicine-men had shot at him. The persons aimed at by him moaned and sank to the ground, but soon recovered themselves. The Menominees believed that on swallowing his sacred shell a medicine-man gained the power of transferring its mysterious virtue to his medicine-bag merely by breathing upon it. This pretence of swallowing the shells was carried out by the medicine-men at the initiatory rites.¹

§ 4. *Secret Societies among the Arickarees*

The six
societies
of the
Arickarees.

The Arickarees or Arikaras, a tribe of the Caddoan family, speaking a language closely akin to that of the Pawnees,² had also their dancing-bands or secret societies. When the Prince of Wied visited the tribe in 1833 he found six such societies among them, as follows :—³

1. *The Bears*.—These were old people, who in dancing wore as badges some parts of a bear, such as pieces of the skin or a necklace of claws.

2. *The Mad Wolves*.—They wore a wolf-skin down their back with a slit through which they thrust their head and an arm.

3. *The Foxes*.—They wore fox-skins on various parts of their bodies.

4. *The Mad Dogs*.—In dancing they carried rattles in their hands.

5. *The Mad Bulls*.—These were the most distinguished

¹ W. J. Hoffmann, M.D., "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1896) pp. 66-138, especially pp. 68, 71 sq., 75 sq., 83 sq., 99-102. As to the meaning of the name *Manabush* ("Great Rabbit"), see *ibid.* p. 114 note ². With regard to the mythical being whom the Algonkins called *Menibozho*, *Manibozha*, *Manabosho*, *Manabush*, *Michabo*, etc., the Great Hare, see *Relations des Jésuites*, 1670, p. 93 (Canadian reprint, Quebec, 1858); Charlevoix, *Histoire*

de la Nouvelle France (Paris, 1744), vi. 64; W. W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (St. Paul, Minn., 1885) pp. 56, 79; P. Jones, *History of the Ojebways*, pp. 32 sqq.; D. G. Brinton, *Myths of the New World* (New York, 1876), pp. 175 sqq.

² *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 83. See also above, p. 146.

³ Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das innere Nord-America* (Coblenz, 1839-1841), ii. 240 sq.

men. In the dance they wore a buffalo's scalp with the horns.

6. *The Soldiers*.—They discharged the same duties as the Soldiers among the Mandans.

§ 5. *Secret Society among the Maidus of California*

The Maidu tribe of Central California have or had a secret society called *Ku-meh*, literally "the assembly-house" or "dance-house." Boys were initiated into it at the age of twelve or a little younger. Not all the youths joined it, though the older members tried to persuade them to do so, telling them that if they did not they would be devoured by wild beasts, or would fall over precipices, or be drowned, and that they would go the left-hand way into darkness. After a novice had been initiated the old men laid their right hands in turn on his left shoulder; and a new name, the name of his manhood, which was generally the name of his father or of some other near relative, was added to his baby name. For ten days after the ceremony he must refrain from all flesh meat, and might eat nothing but acorn-porridge.¹

Fuller information as to the society has been collected and published by Mr. Roland B. Dixon.² From him we learn that among the Maidus of the Sacramento Valley the Secret Society was a very important institution. Its leaders were the leaders of the tribe or community, and regulated the dance organisation. When the old men of the order decided that certain boys or young men should be initiated, they went to their houses, dragged them out, and carried them to the dance-house, a large circular, semi-subterranean and earth-covered structure, which played a great part in the life of the community. The choice of the boys or men to be initiated was supposed to be made by the spirits, who communicated their wishes to the old men. When the boys or men to be initiated were brought into the dance-house, a

The secret society of the Maidus of California.

Importance of the society.

The dance-house.

Initiation ceremonies.

¹ S. Powers, *Tribes of California* (Washington, 1877), pp. 305 sq. (*Contributions to North-American Ethnology*, vol. iii.).

² Roland B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu* (New York, 1905), pp. 322-333 (*Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. xvii. Part iii.).

The novices received new names.

shaman gave each of them a wand, which was hung up in the dance-house until the end of the initiation ceremonies. After that the shaman rubbed sacred meal, compounded of acorns and birch-seed, into the hair of the candidates, and having made them lie down he ran round them several times with a lighted brand in his hand. For some time after the ceremony the novices might not eat flesh, and they must use a scratching-stick for their heads. They remained in seclusion in the dance-house; and if they were obliged to quit it for any occasion they covered their heads with blankets or skins till their return. They were taught the various dances, and when they had learned them all they received new names, which were supposed to have been imparted to the shaman by the spirits. With his new name the novice received the badges of the society, which were a netted cap and a plume-stick. For several weeks after initiation the head of the newly initiated member might not be washed nor the sacred meal removed which was clotted among his hair.¹

Each Maidu village had its branch of the secret society and its Grand Master, who was generally a shaman.

Each Maidu village or group of villages had its branch of the Secret Society, and each branch was presided over by a leader or Grand Master, as we may call him. His functions were to some extent judicial, for he was expected to settle all such disputes as could not be settled in other ways; he also took a prominent part in warlike expeditions and often led them in person. As a rule the Grand Master was a powerful shaman, and in that capacity was greatly feared, for his magical powers were believed to exceed those of common shamans.² Indeed we are told that "the shaman was, and still is, perhaps the most important individual among the Maidu. In the absence of any definite system of government, the word of the shaman has great weight: as a class they are regarded with much awe, and as a rule are obeyed much more than the chief."³ The Grand Master of the Secret Society, who is also a shaman, possesses charms which kill a man merely by touching his bare skin;⁴ indeed he can inflict disease and death

The Grand Master of the Secret Society is thought to

¹ Roland B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, pp. 322-327. As to the dance-houses, see *ibid.* pp. 168 *sqq.*

² Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* pp. 272

327 *sq.*, 332.

³ Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* p. 267.

⁴ Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* p. 272.

on whole villages. He possesses a sacred cape made of feathers, shells, and bits of stone with a small stone mortar in the middle of it. This cape was used by him in the secret incantations by which he brought sickness and death on hostile villages; for taking the cape and certain roots with him he would go to windward of the doomed village, and laying the cape on the ground would put the roots under the mortar and ignite them. Then as the smoke blew towards the houses of the enemy, he would say, "Over there, over there, not here! Do not come back this way. We are good. Make those people sick. Kill them, they are bad people." If the people in the village got wind of the spells thus cast upon them, they took elaborate precautions to annul their deadly influence by fumigating all the houses, dancing, singing, shaking cocoon rattles, and other approved methods of counteracting an enemy's magic. When the magical cape was not in use, the Grand Master kept it hidden in a mat or bag far away from the village; for it was certain death for any one but himself to touch the mysterious object. At his death it was always buried or burned with him. But the Grand Master worked magic for the good of his own people as well as for the injury of his enemies. He was believed to make rain when it was needed, and to ensure a good supply of salmon and a plentiful crop of acorns, which formed the staple food of the tribe. Indeed he took to himself all the credit for good crops and fine seasons. Every day at dawn he was supposed to stand on the roof of the dance-house and to sing songs in imitation of the matutinal chorus of the earliest birds.¹

be able to inflict disease and death on whole villages by his incantations.

The magical cape.

The Grand Master also made rain and ensured a supply of salmon and acorns.

The Maidu Indians used to dance many elaborate ceremonial dances in their dance-houses, and though we are not told that the dances belonged specially to the members of the Secret Society, we may, on the analogy of other Indian tribes, reasonably infer that some of them did so. Certainly the date of the principal dance was settled by the Grand Master of the society.² Some of these dances have a special interest for us, because like

The ceremonial dances of the Maidu.

¹ Roland B. Dixon, *The Northern Californian Indians*, see below, pp. 494 *sqq.* As to the acorn food of the Maidus and other

² Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* p. 288.

Some of these dances were magical rites intended to increase the food-supply: the dancers wore the skins and mimicked the action of the animals which they wished to multiply.

The Acorn Dance to increase the supply of acorns.

In the Acorn Dance the dancers imitate the knocking down of acorns from the trees.

the *intichiuma* ceremonies of the Central Australians they aimed at increasing the supply of food by means of sympathetic magic, the dancers mimicking the animals which they desired to multiply. On this subject Mr. R. B. Dixon tells us that "where animals are represented, particularly in the region of the North-western Maidu, the dancers wear either the skin of the animal in whole or in part (as in the Bear, Deer, and Coyote dances), or ornaments which in some way symbolize the animal or bird in question. In none are any masks worn. In these dances, the personators of the animals endeavor to imitate the actions of the animal, and to utter its characteristic cries. The purpose of these animal dances (confined very largely to the Sacramento Valley area) is said to be varied. Some—like the Deer, Duck, and Turtle dances—have for their purpose the increase of the animals in question, that food may be plenty, and seem to have as an important feature a prayer or address in which the animal is besought to multiply and increase. Other dances, such as the Bear dance, are to soothe and pacify the animal, and render it less likely to attack hunters. Other dances still, like the Coyote dance, seem to refer to the Coyote myths at times, and the part the Coyote played in the creation and during the time of the 'first people.' One of the dances of the Sacramento Valley people, although not an animal dance, seems to have for its purpose the one which was referred to in the first class of animal dances; namely, the increase of the food-supply of the people, acorns here being desired instead of game."¹

The last of these dances, which we may perhaps call the Acorn dance, is held about April when the leaves are well out on the trees. In the course of the dance acorn-flour is sprinkled at the foot of the main central post of the dance-house, and one of the dancers four times expresses a wish that the chief may have plenty of acorn-flour. Then all the spectators, both men and women, take long poles in their hands and dance round the main post, after which they strike the post with their poles.² This last part

¹ Roland B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, pp. 285 sq. 304-306. The native name for the dance is *āki*.

² Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* pp.

of the ceremony is interpreted by Mr. Dixon with much probability "as symbolical of the striking of the branches of the oaks in the autumn in the process of gathering acorns."¹ For "the collection and preparation of acorns for food were among the most important industries of the Maidu, in common with most of the Central Californian tribes. At the time in the autumn when the acorns are ripe, every one is busy. The men and larger boys climb the trees, and, by the aid of long poles, beat the branches, knocking off the acorns. The women and smaller children gather these in burden-baskets, and carry them to the village, storing them in the granaries or in the large storage-baskets in the houses."² Indeed "the chief dependence of the Maidu, in common with most of the Indians of the central part of the State, was upon the acorn. The Maidu recognize about a dozen different varieties of these. In the creation myth it is declared that the Creator's first act, after forming the dry land, was to cause a great oak-tree to spring up, on which grew all the twelve varieties of acorns."³ One who knew the Californian Indians well in the days when they were still but little contaminated by contact with the whites has estimated that more than half of the food of the tribes which lived in oak forests consisted of acorns.⁴ Of one tribe he says that "like all their brethren they are also very fond of acorns, and the old Indians cling tenaciously to them in preference to the finest wheaten bread."⁵ The acorns were pounded into meal, which was then baked into bread; and a characteristic sound which greeted the ears of a traveller as he approached an Indian village in an oak forest used to be the monotonous thump, thump of the pestles wielded by the patient women as they prepared the daily bread for the household.⁶ In antiquity

Importance of acorns as an article of diet to the Californian Indians.

Acorn-meal and acorn-bread.

¹ Roland B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, p. 286.

² Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* p. 184.

³ Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* p. 181.

⁴ S. Powers, *Tribes of California* (Washington, 1877), pp. 415 sq.

⁵ S. Powers, *op. cit.* pp. 187 sq.

⁶ S. Powers, *op. cit.* p. 49. As to the preparation of the acorns for food, see *ibid.* p. 188; Roland B.

Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, pp. 184 sqq. As to the kinds of acorns which are used as food Mr. R. B. Dixon says (*op. cit.* p. 181): "Although the acorns of all species of oaks growing in the region are eaten, some varieties are distinctly preferred to others. In general *Quercus Kelloggii*, Newberry, *Quercus chrysolepis*, Liebm. and *Quercus Wislizeni*, A.D.C.,

the mountaineers of Lusitania, the modern Portugal, lived for two thirds of the year on acorns, which they dried, ground, baked into bread, and stored up for future use.¹

We need not wonder, therefore, that acorns, as the staple food of many tribes, should have played a part in their religion, and that religious or magical rites should have been performed to secure a plentiful crop of them. Some Californian tribes held an acorn dance in autumn. Thus the Tatus danced soon after the acorns were ripe, men and women, decked with feathers and white owls' down, tripping it together at evening within a circle of fires, while a rude barbaric music gave the time to their steps. Such acorn dances, we are told, were common in all these parts.² Amongst the Hololupai Maidus the acorn dance was one of the most important of their many dances. They called it "the all-eating dance" and danced it "in autumn, soon after the winter rains set in, to insure a bountiful crop of acorns the following year." Men and women, adorned in all their finery, danced standing in two circles, the men in one circle and the women in the other. In the intervals of the dance two priests, wearing gorgeous head-dresses and long mantles of black eagle feathers, took their stations on opposite sides of one of the pillars which supported the roof, and there chanted solemn prayers to the spirits. From time to time the dancers refreshed themselves with acorn-porridge.³

The
autumn
Acorn
Dance of
the Cali-
fornian
Indians.

Elaborate
dances of
the Maidus
of the
Sacramento
Valley.

The dances of the Maidus in the Sacramento Valley were the most numerous and elaborate. They had a regular dance-season, beginning in October and continuing through the winter till April or May.⁴ Their country is a level park-like land with miles and miles of waving grass and flowers and magnificent open groves of oak,⁵

were the favorite species." Mr. A. S. Powers mentions the chestnut-oak (*Quercus densiflora*) as the species of which the acorns were made into bread (*Tribes of California*, p. 49).

¹ Strabo iii. 3. 7, p. 155. The ancient Greeks, especially the Arcadians, also ate acorns. See Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 230 sq.; Herodotus i. 66; Neumann and Partsch, *Physik-*

alische Geographie von Griechenland (Breslau, 1885), pp. 381 sq.

² S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, pp. 143 sq.; compare *ib.* pp. 155, 224, 325, 354 sq.

³ S. Powers, *op. cit.* pp. 285 sq.

⁴ Roland B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, pp. 287, 288.

⁵ Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* p. 126.

where the Indians gathered the acorns and danced the acorn-dance.

But while the Maidus thus aimed at increasing the supply of food, both animal and vegetable, by sympathetic or imitative magic, mimicking the appearance and gait of animals and simulating the gathering of acorns, it is to be remembered that these magical rites were not, like the analogous magical rites of the Central Australians, performed by members of totemic clans who had acorns or the particular kinds of animals for their totems; for in common, apparently, with all the Californian tribes the Maidus were without totems and totemic clans. Their example may, therefore, serve to remind us that such ceremonies may be performed by non-totemic just as well as by totemic peoples, and that accordingly their occurrence in any particular tribe is not of itself a proof of totemism.

But these magical ceremonies were not, as among the Central Australians, performed by members of totemic clans.

Amongst the north-eastern Maidus men become shamans by dreaming of spirits, just as in so many Indian tribes men acquire guardian spirits by their fasting visions. All the great Maidu shamans have many spirits, some of which are animals, while other spirits live in rocks, lakes, and so on. Shamans who dream of thunder become weather-prophets. Every shaman must do exactly what the spirits tell him, or they will kill him. While any man can become a shaman who has had the necessary dreams, the profession is hereditary; all the children of a male or a female shaman without exception are bound to become shamans too, though generally not until the death of the father or mother. But while they inherit the profession from their parent, they must also see the spirits in their dreams; only the spirits which thus appear to them are those which formerly appeared in dreams to their father or mother. Thus the same spirits remain in the family for generations. Such hereditary patrons, especially when they take the form of animals, bear a close resemblance to totems; and this resemblance is much increased by the rule that "whatever animal a man dreams of during his first set of dreams when he is just beginning to be a shaman, that animal he may never eat or kill. Should he do so, he would die. 'If he

Among the Maidus men become shamans by dreaming of spirits. The children of shamans are also shamans and dream of the same spirits as their father or mother.

Such hereditary spirits resemble totems. When a shaman first

dreams of an animal, he may never eat or kill the creature. kills his dream, he kills himself.'"¹ Thus it would seem that the shaman's life was believed to be bound up with that of the animal of which he had dreamed; it was what the Central American Indians would call his *nagual*;² it was the vehicle in which his soul was deposited. However, many men did not dream of animals at all; indeed mountains, rocks, and lakes appeared oftener to the visionary.³

Marriage customs of the Maidus. While the Maidus, like the rest of the Californian Indians, appear not to have been organised in totemic and exogamous clans,⁴ they observed some of the marriage customs which we have found practised by totemic tribes of Indians. Thus, a man had a right to marry his wife's sisters; and if he did not exercise his right, it passed to his brother.⁵ Such a right points to a former custom of marriage between a group of brothers on one side and a group of sisters on the other. Again, the law of the levirate used to be generally, though not invariably, observed;⁶ that is, a man usually married the widow of his deceased brother. Right to marry a wife's sisters. The Levirate. Avoidance of the wife's mother. Finally, a man and his wife's mother neither looked at nor spoke to each other; a woman always covered her head when she met her daughter's husband.⁷

¹ Roland B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, pp. 274-283 (the passage quoted in the text is on p. 277).

² See above, pp. 443 *sqq.*

³ Roland B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, p. 277.

⁴ Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* p. 223.

⁵ Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* p. 241: "If one of two brothers marries one

of two or more sisters, the other brother has the right to marry the remaining sister, or sisters, if the first brother does not."

⁶ Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* pp. 239, 241.

⁷ Roland B. Dixon, *op. cit.* pp. 239 *sq.*

CHAPTER XX

SECRET SOCIETIES AMONG THE INDIANS OF NORTH- WEST AMERICA

§ 1. *General Features of these Societies*

AMONG some of the Indian tribes of North-West America, especially those which dwell on the coast, secret societies played a great part in the social life of the people, and the members gave elaborate dramatic performances, in which they personated their guardian spirits. As these guardian spirits commonly, though by no means always, took the shape of animals, the actors in the sacred dramas often dressed in the skins and feathers of the beasts and birds and mimicked the actions and cries of the creatures with considerable fidelity. In the opinion of Dr. Boas, who has studied the subject with care and to whose researches among the Indians of the North-West Pacific Coast we owe much valuable information, the secret societies in their present form have spread from the Kwakiutl to the other tribes of this region. He thinks, if I apprehend him aright, that the guardian spirit or *manitoo* is the source both of the hereditary clans and of the secret societies: when men or women transmitted their guardian spirit to their descendants, these descendants became a clan with the hereditary guardian spirit for its totem; when the guardian spirit acquired by individuals was not transmitted by them to their descendants, it became, not the totem of a clan, but the patron of a secret society, the members of which consisted of all those who had acquired that particular spirit for their guardian.¹ The theory, which has the merit

Secret Societies on the north-west coast of America.

According to Dr. Boas, the guardian spirit is the source both of the hereditary clans and of the secret societies.

¹ Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for*

of clearness and simplicity, will be considered later on. Here, without entering into the questions of the origin and diffusion of the secret societies, I shall describe some typical examples of them in a roughly geographical order, proceeding from south to north. But before doing so it may be well to quote an account of these societies which sets forth their main general features. The writer is Mr. J. Adrian Jacobsen, who travelled repeatedly among the Indians of the North-West Pacific coast, and whose brother Mr. Philipp Jacobsen lived amongst them for years, knew their languages (or one of them), and studied their customs. The account runs thus :—

Mr. J. A. Jacobsen's account of the secret societies of N.W. America.

Belief that gods appear in the form of animals and shew themselves to men at festivals.

“ However diverse the gods and the hero-tales of savages may appear in the different continents, they have almost all this feature in common, that besides the gods and men the animals also play a very important part, and the thought that the gods or spirits assume by preference animal forms may be found amongst nearly every people of the earth. Nowhere perhaps does this thought appear more sharply expressed than among the inhabitants of the north-west coast of America. There, according to the belief of the Indians, the various deities come down to earth at different times and in many forms, shew themselves to men, and take part in the festivals celebrated in their honour. Most of these gods are well-disposed to men ; indeed almost every family claims to be descended from some god or other, so that an intimate intercourse thereby exists to a certain extent between gods and men. Besides the tribal gods they believe also in evil spirits, which can visit mankind with misfortune ; but their power is inferior and they can pretty easily be banished and rendered innocuous by the medicine-man and the mighty spirits of all sorts who are in league with him.

The gods are represented by masked and inspired

“ The task of representing the gods is undertaken in every tribe by some intelligent and, according to their own account, inspired men ; they form the Secret Societies, in order that their secret arts and doctrines, their mummeries

1895 (Washington, 1897), pp. 660-662 ; compare pp. 336, 393 ; *id.* in *Twelfth Report of the Committee on*

the North-Western Tribes of Canada, pp. 674-677 (*Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898).

and masquerades may not be revealed to the uninitiated and to the public. The intention of these exhibitions is to confirm the faith of the young people and the women in the ancient traditions as to the intercourse of the gods with men and as to their own intimate relations to the gods. In order to convince possible doubters, the members of the Secret Societies have had recourse to all kinds of mysterious means, which to a civilised man must appear the height of savagery; for example, they mutilate their bodies, rend corpses in pieces and devour them, tear pieces out of the bodies of living men, and so on. Further, the almost morbid vanity of the North-Western Indians and their desire to win fame, respect, and distinction may have served as a motive for joining the Secret Societies; since every member of them enjoys great respect.

"There were and still are hundreds of masks in use, every one of which represents a spirit who occurs in their legends. In the exhibitions they appear singly or in groups, according as the legend to be represented requires, and the masked men are then looked upon by the astonished crowd, not merely as actors representing the gods, but as the very gods themselves who have come down from heaven to earth. Hence every such representative must do exactly what legend says the spirit did. If the representative wears no mask, as often happens with the *Hametztes* (the Cannibals or Biters) or the *Pakwalla* (Medicine-men), then the spirit whom he represents has passed into his body, and accordingly the man possessed by the spirit is not responsible for what he does amiss in this condition. As the use of masks throws a sort of mysterious glamour over the performance and at the same time allows the actor to remain unknown, the peculiarly sacred festivals are much oftener celebrated with masks than without them. In every Secret Society there are definite rules as to how often and how long a mask may be used. Amongst the Quakiutl the masks may not, under the heaviest penalties, be disposed of for four winters, the season when such festivals are usually celebrated. After that time they may be destroyed or hidden in the forest, that no uninitiated person may find them, or they may be finally sold. The masks are made

men, the members of the Secret Societies.

Extravagances perpetrated by these representatives of the gods.

The masks are thought to convert the wearers into gods.

Hence the actors in the most sacred festivals are generally masked.

The masks
are made
in secret ;
no un-
initiated
person
may wit-
ness the
process.

only in secret, generally in the deep solitude of the woods, in order that no uninitiated person may detect the maker at work. How strictly the mystery is guarded may be seen from the following example. In the village of Nouette, in north-west Vancouver, an Indian was once busy carving a mask, when his half-grown son, who had noticed that his father often went into the wood, one day sought him out in his retreat. Thereupon the father fell into such a rage that he killed his own son on the spot, lest he should betray the sacred affair.

New
songs and
dances are
constantly
invented.

"The dance is accompanied by a song which celebrates in boastful words the power of the gods and the mighty deeds represented in the performance. At the main part of the performance all present join in the song, for it is generally known to everybody and is repeated in recitative again and again. It seems that new songs and new performances are constantly springing up in one or other of the villages through the agency of some intelligent young man, hitherto without a song of his own, who treats in a poetical fashion some legend which has been handed down orally from their forefathers. For every man who takes part in the performances and festivals must make his *début* with a song composed by himself. In this way new songs and dances are constantly originating, the material for them being, of course, always taken from the tribal deities of the particular singer and poet.

The
badges.

"Besides the masks other badges of the Secret Societies are worn, which I will discuss later.¹

The Great
Dance of
the Spirits
in late
autumn.

"Of the dances which do not, so far as I know, belong to the four Secret Societies I may mention the *Nawalok* or *Nawalok*, that is, the Great Dance of the Spirits. This dance usually takes place in late autumn. Several Indians disguised with masks take post behind a curtain. The type of mask used in this dance generally portrays *Mis-missallami* (the God of the Sun)—a mask in the shape of the sun with half-shut eyes and a revolving wheel, which represents the motion of the sun. Most of the other masks portray the sun in the form of an eagle, as he loves to visit the earth. Whereas most of the dances can only be per-

The mask
of the Sun.

¹ As to the badges of red cedar bark, see below, p. 504.

formed in winter, this dance can also exceptionally be performed in July. For example, I visited the Quakiutl village of Nakortok in July 1885. When the Indians learned that I particularly wished to have the mask pertaining to the *Navalok* dance, they began that dance; for several masks had served their time that season and could therefore be sold. The festival began with a number of men blowing on wooden flutes sometimes in the houses, sometimes in the woods, from morning to night, to the great terror of the young people. I was told that the sun-god was now leaving the sun in the shape of a great eagle and approaching the village. Then followed the dance, and at its close I procured the masks, which in accordance with custom had been used for four winters.

"The time when the young Indian can be admitted to the Society is usually the attainment of puberty. Amongst the Ahts of West Vancouver the youth at that time of life is taken into the wood, where half the inhabitants of the village, disguised in wolf-skins and wolf-masks and provided with the aforesaid flutes, blow on them continually and dance the so-called Wolf dance. Then the children say that the youth has been carried off by the wolf in order to give him a *skokom tamtam*, that is, a strong heart or faith. This performance is in an altered shape the *Navalok* of the Bella Coolas. The Catholic missionaries there call it 'the boy's Indian baptism,' while the Indians themselves call it *Klokwalla*. It is naturally very difficult for a foreigner to obtain a thorough knowledge of the various customs observed in the Secret Societies; for few even of the Indians themselves who are concerned in them understand what goes on in their midst. Only the members of a Secret Society can give information as to the procedure in it, but they are loth to betray anything, because otherwise their secrets would cease to be secrets, and also because the betrayal may be visited with heavy penalties or even with death."¹

Amongst the Ahts a young man at puberty is carried off to the woods by men disguised in wolf-skins.

To the same effect Dr. Boas tells us that in the belief

¹ J. Adrian Jacobsen, "Geheimbünde der Küstenbewohner Nordwest-America's," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Eth-*

nologie und Urgeschichte (1891), pp. (383)-(385) (appended to the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxiii. 1891).

Acquisition of super-natural power (*tlokoala*). of these Indians "all nature is animated, and the spirit of any being can become the genius of a man, who thus acquires supernatural powers." The native name for these much-coveted supernatural powers is *tlokoala*, a Kwakiutl word which is used in the same sense also by the Nootkas, the Tsimshians, and the Bella Coolas. This diffusion of the Kwakiutl term for supernatural power seems to point, as Dr. Boas observes, to the wide influence which the ideas of the Kwakiutl on these subjects have exercised on their neighbours.¹

The badges of the Secret Societies are made of red cedar bark. With regard to the badges of the Secret Societies we are told that "the insignia of all these societies are made of the bark of cedar, carefully prepared and dyed red by means of maple bark. It may be said that the secrets are vested in these ornaments of red cedar bark, and wherever these ornaments are found on the north-west coast secret societies occur. I do not hesitate to say that this custom must have originated among the Kwakiutl, as it is principally developed among them, and as the other tribes whenever they have such societies designate them by Kwakiutl names. Historical traditions are in accord with this view."²

§ 2. *Secret Societies among the Indians of Vancouver Island*

The Secret Society of the Wolves among the Nootkas is said to have been instituted by wolves, who carried off a chief's son and tried to kill him, but finally Among the Nootkas of Vancouver Island there was a Secret Society called *Tlokoala*, whose members imitated wolves. The name *Tlokoala* is a Kwakiutl word signifying the acquisition of a guardian spirit. The Nootka tradition is that the society was instituted by wolves who carried off a chief's son and tried to kill him, but finally became his friends, taught him the rites of the society, and ordered him to instruct his people in them. Then they carried the young man back to his village. Hence every new member of the society must be initiated by the wolves.

¹ Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 52 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint).

of the *British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint). Compare *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 660 sq.

² Franz Boas, *op. cit.* p. 53 (*Report*

At night a pack of wolves, that is, Indians dressed in wolf-skins and wearing wolf-masks, make their appearance, seize the novice, and carry him off into the woods. When the wolves are heard outside the village coming to fetch the novice, all the members of the society blacken their faces and sing this song:—"Among all the tribes is great excitement because I am *Tlokoala*." Next day the wolves return the young man to all appearance dead, and the members of the society have to revive him. It is believed that the wolves have put a magic stone, apparently a quartz, into his body, and that till the stone has been extracted he cannot come back to life. Thus the stone plays the same part in the Nootka ceremony as the white shell in the ceremonies of the Ojibways and other eastern tribes.¹ The pretended dead body is left outside the house; two shamans go and extract the stone from it, and then the novice is restored to life. After the novices have been thus resuscitated, they are painted red and black. Blood is seen to stream from their mouths, and they run at once to the beach and jump into the water. Soon they are seen to float lifeless on the surface. They have died the second death. A canoe is sent out to gather up the corpses, and when it has landed them on the beach, they suddenly revive and repair to the dance-house, where they remain for four days. They may eat nothing but dried fish and dried berries. At night during these four days dances are performed in the house, and the whole population is permitted to witness them.²

initiated him. The ritual of initiation into the society is a reproduction of this legend.

Pretended death and resurrection of the novice.

Each festival of the *Tlokoala* Society lasts four days. It is only celebrated when some tribesman distributes a large amount of property to the members of the society, and the most common occasion is the initiation of a new member. Sometimes it is held at the time of the ceremonies which

Duration and occasions of the festivals of the Secret Society (*Tlokoala*).

¹ See above, pp. 467, 468, 485, 487, 488, 489.

² Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 47 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for*

1895 (Washington, 1897), pp. 632 sq. The ceremony of the pretended killing of a chief's son and his removal by men dressed in wolf-skins, with wolf-masks on their heads, was witnessed at the beginning of the nineteenth century by John R. Jewitt, a captive among the Nootkas. See *Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt* (Middletown, 1820), p. 119.

take place when a girl attains to puberty. The house of the man who pays for the celebration appears to be for the time being the sacred or taboo house of the society. As soon as the festival begins, the ordinary social organisation of the tribe is suspended, just as among the Kwakiutl.¹ The people then arrange themselves, not according to their clans, but according to their societies. Each society has its own song and festival, which members of the other societies have not the right to attend, though they may be invited to do so. There is a certain amount of hostility between the societies, and when they meet at night in the taboo house, the members of each society, sitting apart from the rest, indulge in continual raileries at the expense of the others. Apparently there are not separate societies for men and women.²

Swan's account of the sacred dramas of the Secret Society.

These dramas take the place of theatrical performances.

They are thought to have been revealed by the spirits.

The sacred dramas exhibited by the *Tlokoala* or *Dukwally* society of the Nootkas are very varied, as we may learn from the following account:—

"The *Dukwally* and other *tamanawas* performances³ are exhibitions intended to represent incidents connected with their mythological legends. There are a great variety, and they seem to take the place, in a measure, of theatrical performances or games during the season of the religious festivals. There are no persons especially set apart as priests for the performance of these ceremonies, although some, who seem more expert than others, are usually hired to give life to the scenes, but these performers are quite as often found among the slaves or common people as among the chiefs, and excepting during the continuance of the festivities are not looked on as of any particular importance. On inquiring the origin of these ceremonies, I was informed that they did not originate with the Indians, but were revelations of the guardian spirits, who made known what they wished to be performed. An Indian, for instance, who

¹ See above, pp. 333 *sq.*

² Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 48 *sq.* (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies

of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 633 *sq.*

³ *Tamanawas* performances are those which relate to guardian spirits. See above, pp. 405 *sqq.*

has been consulting with his guardian spirit, which is done by going through the washing and fasting process before described, will imagine or think he is called upon to represent the owl. He arranges in his mind the style of dress, the number of performers, the songs and dances or other movements, and, having the plan perfected, announces at a *tamanawas* meeting that he has had a revelation which he will impart to a select few. These are then taught and drilled in strict secrecy, and when they have perfected themselves, will suddenly make their appearance and perform before the astonished tribe. Another Indian gets up the representation of the whale, others do the same of birds, and in fact of everything that they can think of. If any performance is a success, it is repeated, and gradually comes to be looked upon as one of the regular order in the ceremonies; if it does not satisfy the audience, it is laid aside. Thus they have performances which have been handed down from remote ages, while others are of a more recent date.”¹

The Lkungen or Songish, an Indian tribe of the Coast Salish stock who inhabited the south-eastern part of Vancouver Island, had two secret societies. One of the two societies, called *Tcyiyiwan*, might be joined by any member of the tribe. He had only to go into the woods and there bathe and cleanse his body with cedar boughs continually till he dreamed of the dance which he wished to dance and the song he wished to sing. According to his dream he belonged to one of the five orders which composed the secret society, and each of which had its own mode of dancing. The other secret society called Dog-howlers (*Qenqanitel*) was more select; for heavy payments were exacted at initiation so that none but rich people could join it. The festivals of the society, including the initiatory ceremonies, took place only in winter. When a young man was to be initiated, his father feasted the society for five days, during which masked dances were performed. Persons who did not belong to the society were allowed to witness the

Secret
Societies
of the
Lkungen
or Songish.

Winter
festivals.
Rites of
initiation.

¹ J. G. Swan, *The Indians of Cape Flattery*, p. 66, quoted by Franz Boas, in *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 637 sq.

Death the
penalty for
divulging
the mys-
teries.

dances. At the end of these days the novice was entrusted to four members of the society who bathed him in the sea and led him into the woods, where he remained till he met the spirit who was to initiate him. The mysteries of this society were kept profoundly secret; any man who blabbed was torn to pieces.¹

§ 3. *Secret Societies among the Shuswap*

Dancing
societies
among the
Shuswap,
each with
its guardian
spirit,
song, and
dance.

Among the Western Shuswap, a tribe of the Salish stock in the interior of British Columbia, the common people as distinguished from the nobles were divided into a number of groups, which were not strictly hereditary and appear to have been analogous to the dancing societies with which we are here concerned. Each group or society had its own guardian spirit, dance, and song. The guardian spirits or protectors were for the most part beasts or birds, such as Black Bear, Moose, Cariboo, Elk, Deer, Sheep or Goat, Beaver, Marmot, Hare, Buffalo, Wolf or Dog, Frog, Salmon, Owl, Ruffed Grouse, Prairie Chicken, and Goose; but they also included such real or imaginary beings as Thunder-Bird, Service-Berry, Cannibal, Corpse, Wind, Rain, Rock-slide (or Avalanche), Arrow, Snow (or Snowshoe), and Hunger or Famine. Some of these groups were closely related to each other; for example, the groups which had the Wolf or Dog, the Cannibal, and the Corpse for their guardian spirits appear to have formed parts of a larger unit, so that a member of any one of them had a right to dance the dances and sing the songs of the others. Similarly the groups which had the Beaver, Thunder-Bird, Frog, Wind, Rain and Arrow for their guardian spirits formed together a larger group or society.²

Modes of
admission
to the
societies.

Any man could join any of these groups or societies by passing through a short training and fasting a few days in

¹ Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 26 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for*

1895 (Washington, 1897), pp. 644-646.

² James Teit, *The Shuswap* (Leyden and New York, 1909), p. 577 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*).

the woods ; further he had to observe a rite of initiation in which he mimicked by dress and action the guardian spirit of the society. However, a son generally became a member of his father's group or society in preference to any other.¹

In the dances the dancers imitated their guardian spirits by their costume and gestures. For example, men impersonated moose, cariboo, elk, and deer, wearing the skins of these animals with the scalps on their heads and mimicking all the actions of the beasts at pasture, in combat, in the chase, and finally in capture or death. Some of the actors had antlers attached to their heads and necks. In the Prairie Chicken dance men and women imitated the cries and all the actions of the bird. In the Marmot dance one man played the part of a marmot, moving and whistling like the animal, while another man represented a trapper ; the dance ended with the capture of the pretended marmot by the real man. In the Service-Berry dance women carried baskets and branches of service-berry bushes and acted the gathering of berries. In the Hunger or Famine dance the chief actor appeared almost naked and painted like a skeleton to represent famine, which was a figure of Shuswap mythology. In another dance hunters dressed as if they were travelling on snowshoes in cold weather ; they scattered much swan's down about, probably in imitation of snow ; and they sang the song of the Snow. Members of the Beaver Society wore masks and head-bands of beaver-skin, with a beaver tail in front ; and members of the Corpse and Cannibal societies wore masks representing corpses. No member of a society had a right to use the ceremonial dresses and ornaments of another society. Most of the dances were performed in the winter, but some could take place at any season.²

In the opinion of Mr. James Teit, our chief authority on the Shuswap, this system of dancing societies was not native to these Indians but was borrowed by them from the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Lillooet tribes, who in turn borrowed it from their neighbours on the coast, the Tsimshians, Bella Coolas, and Squamish. It seems to have first reached the Shuswap

The dancers imitated their guardian spirits in costume and gesture.

The Dancing Societies of the Shuswap have been borrowed from other tribes.

¹ James Teit, *The Shuswap*, p. 577.

² James Teit, *op. cit.* pp. 577-580.

about the beginning of the nineteenth century and to have gradually spread until by 1855 it embraced almost all the western division of the tribe.¹

§ 4. *Secret Societies among the Bella Coolas*

Two kinds of ceremonies among the Bella Coolas, the *Sisauk* and the *Kusiut*.

The three chief societies.

Personation of the gods by masked dancers.

Breaches of the ceremonial laws punished with death.

The Bella Coolas, the most northerly Indian tribe of the Salish stock in British Columbia, have two kinds of ceremonial called respectively the *Sisauk* and the *Kusiut*. Of these the *Sisauk* ceremonies are mostly dramatic representations of the clan legends and therefore do not concern us here. On the other hand the *Kusiut* ceremonies are dramatic representations of the initiation of members of various clans into certain secret societies. The most important of these secret societies are the Cannibals (*Elaxolela*), the Laughers (*Olx*), and the Throwers (*Datia*).² Membership of any of these societies is obtained by initiation. The novice receives a new name which he retains through life; and he wears a necklace of red cedar-bark over his blanket for a year. In the *Kusiut* ceremonies all the deities of heaven are personified by masked dancers, whose masks are adorned with designs representing the moon, the stars, the rainbow, the kingfisher, the blossom of the salmonberry bush, and so forth. Amongst others the thunder-bird and his servant are thus acted by men in masks. The masks used in these dances are burnt immediately at the end of the dancing season. Any person who breaks the laws of the *Kusiut* ceremonial is punished with death. To dance a dance to which a man has no right, to deride the ceremonies, and to make a mistake in dancing are all capital offences. The offender is summoned before a council of chiefs, and if he is found guilty the execution is entrusted to a shaman, who kills the culprit by witchcraft, throwing a magical object at him or perhaps taking him off by poison.³

¹ James Teit, *The Shuswap*, p. 581.

² Franz Boas, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians* (1898), p. 114 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*).

³ Franz Boas, in *Seventh Annual Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 6-11 (*Report of the British Association, Cardiff, 1891, separate reprint*); *id.* "The Social Organization and the

A person who wishes to be initiated into the Cannibal Society goes away into the forest to meet the guardian spirit of the society. Formerly he had to live on human flesh during his seclusion. Before his departure a slave was killed and one half of his body devoured by the Cannibals; the rest served as provision for the novice, who was tied up in the forest and left there, it might be, for many days. At last to his disordered fancy it seemed that his guardian spirit appeared to him, carried him up to the sun or to the House of Myths, and there initiated him into the order of the Cannibals. After that he returned to the village naked and with almost no hair on his head, the rest of it having been (so the Indians think) torn out by the wind which blows remarkably fresh in the celestial regions. He was now in a state of frenzy, having lost his own soul, which was dispossessed and replaced by the cannibal spirit. So he bit every person whom he could catch, and if he could not catch any one he would bite his own arm. The object of the ceremonial which followed was to pacify the new Cannibal by exorcising the dangerous spirit which possessed him and restoring to him his lost human soul. For this purpose four masked men attended him crying "*Hoïp*" to soothe his rage; and people tried to throw a noose over his head and to bind him with ropes; but he slipped from the noose, broke the ropes, and escaped. This lasted four days: every night the new Cannibal danced in the dancing-house, and the people strove to pacify him by songs and dances. At the end of the four days the ceremony of exorcising the *salptsä*, the monster which possessed him, took place. By means of his incantations one of the masked men succeeded in making the Cannibal vomit the snake, the wolf, the eagle, or whatever it was that possessed him, into a large dish ornamented with red cedar-bark. Then the Cannibal was seen carrying the head of the animal under his left arm, while his attendants held fast the headless trunk in the rear, making it disgorge flesh and blood into a dish. Suddenly the monster disappeared, and the Cannibal was restored to

The Cannibal Society; its rites of initiation. The novice was secluded and lived on human flesh.

Returning in a state of frenzy, possessed by the Cannibal Spirit, he tried to bite people, while they sought to soothe him and exorcise the spirit.

Final exorcism of the Cannibal Spirit.

Seclusion
and
purification
of the
Cannibal
after his
frenzy was
over.

his right mind. The contents of the dish were thrown into the water and the dish itself burned in the dancing-house, which was supposed to convey it to heaven. For four days afterwards the Cannibal had to sleep in the rear of the house; then he might enter it again, but like the priests of Dagon he had to jump over the threshold. After four days more he was led by many men to the river and pushed into it. This was the final purification. Then he was led back and wept because the spirit had left him entirely. But still for a long time he was subject to various restrictions. For two or three months he might not leave his house; for a year he might not go near his wife; and for four years he might not gamble. But the separation of husband and wife has of late years been restricted to one month. Members of the Cannibal order who bit people also devoured corpses; but weaker brethren contented themselves with merely tearing a dog to pieces and gobbling it up or, weaker still, they devoured raw salmon.

The
Society
of the
Laughers.

The members of the other two Secret Societies, the Laughers and the Throwers, do not retire to the woods to be initiated, though the initiation of the Laughers takes place in heaven. The Laugher walks on tight ropes, makes fun of everything, and scratches people with his nails, till they succeed in muffling up his head in a blanket, which acts as an extinguisher on his too exuberant sense of

The
Society
of the
Throwers.

humour. The Thrower goes about with sticks and stones smashing household goods and canoes. This is calculated to afford him unmixed enjoyment, were it not for a tedious rule that the damage which he does by day he must pay for at night. It is seldom that the bill presented by pleasure has to be settled so promptly.¹

§ 5. *Secret Societies among the Kwakiutl*

Secret
Societies
carried to

Amongst the Indian tribes of North-West America the Kwakiutl appear to have carried the system of Secret

¹ Franz Boas, in *Seventh Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 10 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Cardiff, 1891, separate reprint); *id.* "The Social Organization and the Secret

Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 649 sq.; *id.*, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola*, pp. 118-120.

Societies to the highest pitch, and Dr. Franz Boas, our principal authority on the subject, is probably right in believing that the institution has spread from them to other tribes of this region. It is to Dr. Boas that we owe most of our information on the Secret Societies of the tribe, and as the system is somewhat complex, it may be best to begin by quoting his latest and clearest general exposition of it. Afterwards, drawing on the copious store of materials with which his researches have provided us, I shall illustrate the general account by some details.¹

the highest pitch among the Kwakiutl.
Dr. F. Boas's general account of them.

"All along the north-west coast is found a ritualistic organization which intercrosses the family organization in a most curious manner. This organization seems to be most marked among the Kwakiutl Indians, and I will describe the conditions found among them.

"Besides the crests, which are owned by each individual,² he has also the privilege, which is inherited, together with the crests, of being initiated by a supernatural being. The method of initiation is the same as that of the eastern Indians, who find supernatural power after fasting. The difference between the acquisition of supernatural power among the eastern Indians and that believed in by the Kwakiutl is that among the former the relation between the individual and the supernatural power is purely personal, while among the latter it is a family affair, each family having the right to be initiated by a certain supernatural being. The relation between this idea and the property in crests is

Every person inherits the privilege of being initiated by a supernatural being and so of acquiring magical powers.

¹ Dr. Boas's earlier accounts of the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl are contained in the *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 52-56 (*Report of the British Association*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1889, separate reprint); and in the *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 62-80 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint). His fullest exposition of the system is in his treatise "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," published in the *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897),

pp. 310-738. To this treatise I shall principally refer in the sequel, citing it for the sake of brevity as "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl." The latest statement of Dr. Boas on this subject with which I am acquainted is contained in his article, "The Tribes of the North Pacific Coast," in *Annual Archaeological Report, 1905* (Toronto), pp. 243-246. It is this latest statement which I quote in the text. The system has also been discussed, on the basis of Dr. Boas's information, by Professor Hutton Webster in his *Primitive Secret Societies*, pp. 147-152.

² As to the Kwakiutl crests, see above, pp. 321 *sqq.*, 329 *sqg.*

also characteristic. They descend in the same manner, but, while the crest is inherited without any particular ritualistic performance giving the individual the right to the crest, the protection of the supernatural being must be acquired in each individual case by an initiation. There is an important difference between the traditions relating to the acquisition of crests and those which relate to the gift of magic powers by a supernatural being. While the ancestor acquired the crest for the whole family, he only acquired the privilege for his descendants to communicate with the same supernatural being.

The supernatural protectors of families are few in number ; hence many families have the same.

"The supernatural beings who are the protectors of families are, comparatively speaking, few in number, and for this reason a considerable number of families have the same supernatural being as their protector. Notwithstanding this fact, the method of initiation is different for each family, the method being determined by the legend which accounts for the acquisition of the supernatural being as the family protector.

All persons who have the same supernatural protector are grouped together in a Secret Society during the season when the sacred ceremonies are performed ; at this time, therefore, the organisation of the community in families is dissolved and replaced by an organisation in Secret Societies.

"All the individuals in the tribe who have the same supernatural being as their protector are grouped together during the ritualistic performance in one group, which takes the place of the family organization that prevails during the rest of the year. Among all the north-west coast tribes these ritualistic performances are confined to the winter months, and the season is set off from the rest of the year as the sacred season. Since all the families participate in the rituals celebrated during the sacred season, the whole family organization is broken up during this period. The individuals initiated by supernatural beings form one group in the tribe. They are treated with particular regard and take the place of the high nobility. The uninitiated, on the other hand, take the position of the common people. The uninitiated, in turn, are also subdivided into a number of groups, not according to the families to which they belong, but according to their prospective position among the initiated. Thus, young children, who will probably not belong to the initiated for a considerable time to come, form a group by themselves. The young men, older men, and those who in former times belonged to the initiated, and

who have given up their membership in favor of their sons-in-law, each form a class by themselves. Thus, we find the whole tribe, instead of being arranged in families, arranged in two large groups, the uninitiated and the initiated. The uninitiated are subdivided into age classes, while the initiated are grouped according to the spirits by which each group is initiated. The most important among these are the Cannibal Spirit, the Ghost, the Grisly Bear, and the Fool Spirit.

The four chief societies.

"All the legends explaining the practices of these sacred societies relate some event telling how a member of the family was carried away by one of these spirits; how he saw the spirit's house, and the ritual, and how later on he was taken back, and imitated what he had seen. This, which is the characteristic explanation of practically all Indian rituals of North America, is, of course, merely a re-statement of the practices that are used at the present time. The reasons assigned for the various practices, the most important among which is ritualistic cannibalism, show material differences, not only among different tribes, but even inside of the same tribe. Thus, the principal myth explaining cannibalism relates the visit of four brothers to the house of the cannibal spirit, who threatened to devour them. By a stratagem the young men made their escape and reached their father's house pursued by the cannibal. The father then invited the cannibal, pretending that he would make a feast for him. In the course of this visit, the cannibal was thrown into a ditch filled with red-hot stones, where he was burned, and from his ashes arose the mosquitoes. From this time on one of the sons imitated the actions of the cannibal, while another son imitated the actions of the grisly bear, who was the cannibal's watchman.

The practices of the Secret Societies are explained by stories, which tell how a member of the family was carried away by a spirit, saw the ritual, and on his return imitated it. Myth relating the institution of ceremonial cannibalism.

"In another tradition of the Kwakiutl, which accounts for the cannibalism of another family, it is told how a young man, upon leaving his house in the evening, was taken away by the cannibal spirit, who took him to his house, where he saw a dance performed, the singers being seated in a ditch, and the rainbow appearing during the dance in the house. While dancing, the cannibal killed and devoured a slave. Since that time the dance is performed in this manner by the young man's family.

Another story of the institution of cannibalism.

"Notwithstanding the difference of these traditions, the men initiated in these different forms by the cannibal spirit belong to the same society during the sacred season. The Cannibal is highest in rank in the tribe, and next to him is the Ghost Dancer.

The ritual consists of the initiation of the novice, his return, and the exorcising of the spirit.

"Among the Kwakiutl the ritual consists in the initiation of the novice, the return of the novice, and the exorcising of the spirit that possesses him. The usual sequence during the ritual is the following: The singers sit in the rear of the house, beating time on a plank with batons; in the left hand rear corner of the house is seated the man who beats the box-drum; in front of the singers, near the fire, which is built in the centre of the house, sit the members of the initiated, those highest in rank in the middle, those of lower rank arranged all along both sides. The uninitiated sit in groups along the sides of the house, those lowest in rank, that is the women and children, near the door.

The novice carried off by the spirits.

"The ceremonial begins with a number of speeches and songs, and with some of the incidents of the *potlatch*.¹ During these introductory incidents, the voices of the spirits are heard (represented by whistles, which are blown inside or outside of the house), and suddenly one among the uninitiated disappears. It is stated that he has been taken away by the spirits, and that at a set time he will return.

His return, and his dance, in which he personates the spirit.

On the day set for his return the whistles of the spirits are heard again, and the people go to search for the novice, who is generally found at some little distance from the houses, in the woods, and he is then brought back by the tribe, who arrange themselves in formal procession. Then follow a series of dances, partly performed by the novice who impersonates the spirit that possesses him. Other dances are performed and songs are sung in order to quiet the spirit. After four formal dances it is supposed that the spirit has left, and the novice has to undergo a ceremonial purification, which lasts for a considerable time, and consists essentially in ceremonial washings, which are repeated at intervals of four days, or multiples of four days.

His ceremonial purification.

"This whole performance is interrupted by numerous

¹ That is, a festival accompanied by the distribution of property among the guests. See above, p. 262.

accessory performances, consisting largely in dances of the older members of the initiated. These are often provoked by transgressions of the rules of behaviour during the sacred season. Thus, the Cannibal may be excited by failure to observe the rule that nobody is allowed to eat before the cannibal has eaten; or the Fool may be excited by mention of a long nose, which is believed to be characteristic of the Fool.

Other dances.

"The dances themselves, as stated before, are pantomimic presentations of the acts of the spirits. As a rule, the first dance is performed by the novice, who is dressed in certain rings made of hemlock branches, and with characteristic face-painting, these being determined by the tradition of the initiation. In the second dance the novice appears wearing a mask, which represents the spirit which possesses him. In the third dance he appears wearing rings made of cedar bark dyed red, which is a symbol of the sacred ceremonies. The form of these rings also depends upon the tradition explaining the ritual. In the last dance he appears again wearing the mask of the spirit."¹

The dances are dramas representing the acts of the spirits.

Masks and badges.

With these general outlines of the system before us, we may now consider the institution somewhat more in detail, selecting for that purpose some main facts and typical examples out of the great store of information collected by Dr. Boas.

We have seen² that the social organisation of the Kwakiutl changes with the seasons; during summer the tribe is organised in hereditary clans, during winter it is organised in Secret Societies, each of which is composed of all persons who have received the same supernatural power or secret from one of the spirits. The spirits are supposed to be present with the Indians in winter; that is why in winter, as soon as the spirits arrive, the Kwakiutl drop their summer names, the hereditary clan names, and assume their winter names, the new names bestowed upon them by the spirits at initiation into the societies. The summer season, when the system of hereditary clans is in force, is called by the Kwakiutl *baxus*, which term also designates those who

The social organisation of the Kwakiutl changes with the seasons; during the summer the people are organised in families, during the winter in Secret Societies.

¹ Franz Boas, "The Tribes of the North Pacific Coast," *Annual Archaeological Report*, 1905 (Toronto), pp. 243-246.

² Above, pp. 333 sq.

have not been initiated by any spirit and might therefore be translated "uninitiated" or "profane." The winter season, when the system of Secret Societies is in force, is called by the Kwakiutl *tsetsaeka*, "the secrets," a term which is also applied to the ceremonial itself. The Indians express this alternation of the seasons by saying that in summer the *baxus* is on top and the *tsetsaeka* below, whereas in winter the *baxus* is below and the *tsetsaeka* on top.¹

The whole winter ceremonial aims at bringing back the novice from the home of the supernatural being, the patron of the society, and at exorcising the dangerous spirit which possesses him.

"The object of the whole winter ceremonial is, first, to bring back the youth who is supposed to stay with the supernatural being who is the protector of his society, and then, when he has returned in a state of ecstasy, to exorcise the spirit which possesses him and to restore him from his holy madness. These objects are attained by songs and by dances. In order to bring the youth back, members of all the secret societies perform their dances. It is believed that they will attract the attention of the absent novice, until finally one of the dances may excite him to such a degree that he will approach flying through the air. As soon as he appears his friends endeavor to capture him. Then begins the second part of the ceremony, the exorcising of the spirit; or, as the Kwakiutl call it, the taming of the novice. This is accomplished by means of songs sung in his honor, by dances performed by women in his honor, and by the endeavors of the shaman. After the novice has thus been restored to his senses, he must undergo a ceremonial purification before he is allowed to take part in the ordinary pursuits of life. The strictness and severity of this purification depend upon the character of the dance. Novices must drink water through the wing bone of an eagle, as their mouths must not touch the brim of the cup; they must suck no more and no less than four times. They must not blow hot food, else they would lose their teeth."²

Serious effect produced by mistakes in the ritual; such

When a mistake is made in the songs or dances which are intended to pacify the novice, the effect is not merely to renew the ecstasy of the novice; it also excites all the older members of the various societies and thus produces a general ecstasy. A slip in rhythm, a wrong turn in the

¹ Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," p. 418.

² Franz Boas, *op. cit.* pp. 431 sq.

dance, to smile, and to chew gum, are all mistakes which have this serious result. The dancer who has made the mistake thereby forfeits his place in the society and must undergo the ceremony of initiation again, which may be a very troublesome and costly affair. The greatest misfortune of all is for a dancer to fall in the dance. If this happens to a member of the Cannibal Society, he must lie like dead, till a man touches his neck with a staff in which blood is concealed, so that the fallen Cannibal's neck appears to bleed; then he is carried four times round the fire and disappears into the woods, where he stays till he is initiated afresh. It is said that in former times the unfortunate Cannibal who fell in the dance used to be killed, often at the instance of his own father. Among some of the Kwakiutl any dancer who made a mistake was tied up in a blanket, thrown into the fire, and roasted alive. The fall of a dancer appears to be regarded as an evil omen, signifying either that the spirit of the society is angry or that he will be defeated by the spirit of another tribe.¹

mistakes
used some-
times to be
punished
with death.

The paraphernalia of the dances consist largely of ornaments made of cedar bark, which is dyed in the juice of alder bark, and they also include masks, whistles, and carvings of various kinds. None of these might be seen by the profane. If any uninitiated person beheld them in the old days, he or she was killed without mercy. By far the greater part of the winter ceremonial is performed in a house set apart for the purpose. The house is called *lopeku*, "emptied," because it is emptied of everything profane. Only when dances are performed may the uninitiated or profane enter the house. They must sit at the left hand side of the entrance. Most of the dances are performed in connection with feasts, but some are exhibited on the occasion of a *potlatch* or distribution of property.²

The para-
phernalia
of the
dances—
masks,
whistles,
etc., made
of red
cedar bark.

The number of members in each society is limited; hence a new member can only be admitted when an old one drops out, whose place the novice succeeds to. The reason

The
number of
members
in each
society is
limited.

¹ Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 433-435; *id.* in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p.

71 (*Report of the British Association, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint*).

² Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 435 *sq.*

why the number is limited is that "the members of the society derive each their membership from the initiation of one of the ancestors of the nobility. These ancestors have each only one representative at a time. But many of them are grouped together."¹

The Secret Societies are arranged in two principal groups, the *Me-emkoat* ("the Seals") and the *Kuekutsa*.

The societies are arranged in two principal groups called respectively the *Me-emkoat* ("the Seals") and the *Kuekutsa*. Of these the Seals rank the higher. The two groups are hostile to one another; when the Seals are excited they attack and torment the *Kuekutsa*, and the latter in return tease and provoke the Seals. The *Kuekutsa* societies embrace all who for the time being are not possessed by spirits. A member of any of the *Kuekutsa* societies may at any time be initiated by a new spirit and then he or she leaves their ranks. Or he may be possessed by his own guardian spirit and exhibit his dance or ceremony. In that case he is for the time being not considered as belonging to the *Kuekutsa*. Thus the *Kuekutsa* people correspond very nearly to the group of people who have resigned their places in favour of younger persons, but who can in like manner also enter again into the ranks of the nobility by marrying and receiving with their wife a new name.² The *Kuekutsa* societies are ten in number and are graduated according to age and sex as follows:—

List of the *Kuekutsa* Societies.

Name of Society.		Composed of
Men	1. <i>Naanexsoku</i> . . .	Boys.
	2. Killer-whales . . .	Young men.
	3. Rock-cods . . .	Young men about twenty-five years old.
	4. Sea-lions . . .	Older men.
	5. Whales . . .	Chiefs.
	6. <i>Koskimos</i> . . .	Old men.
	7. Eaters . . .	Head chiefs.
Women	8. <i>Kekixalaku</i> . . .	Girls.
	9. Hens . . .	Young women.
	10. Cows . . .	Old women.

¹ Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 418 sq.

² Franz Boas, *op. cit.* pp. 419, 420; *id.* in *Sixth Report of the Committee on*

The number of these societies has undergone frequent changes, but the Killer-whales, Rock-cods, and Whales have always remained. The present societies of the women are new, as appears from two of the names, Hens and Cows.¹

Among the Tlatlasikoalas, a branch of the Kwakiutl who live at Newetee, the societies comprised in the group which corresponds to the *Kuekutsa* are as follows:—²

List of the *Kuekutsa* societies among the Tlatlasikoalas.

Name of Society.		Composed of
Men	1. Puffins . . .	Little boys.
	2. Mallard ducks . .	Boys.
	3. Sea anemones . .	Sick and lame people.
	4. Halibut hooks . .	Young chiefs.
	5. Red cod . . .	Third-class chiefs.
	6. Sea lions . . .	Men about thirty years old.
	7. Anchor lines of tribes	Old chiefs.
Women	8. Eating first . . .	Girls.
	9. <i>Tsetsaersak</i> (a species of birds)	Women.
	10. Albatrosses . . .	Old women.

Thus it appears that most of the *Kuekutsa* societies bear the names of animals. The Indians explain this by saying that the ceremonial was instituted at the time when men had still the form of animals, before the mythical transformer had put everything into its present shape. The present ceremonial is a repetition of the ceremonial performed by the man-animals or, as we might say, a dramatisation of the myth. Therefore the people who do not represent spirits, represent these animals.³

The societies included under the group of the *Me-emkoat* ("the Seals") are many in number; amongst them may be mentioned the Cannibals (*Hamatsas*), the Fools (*Nutlmatl*),

Origin of the animal names of the Secret Societies.

The societies of the Cannibals,

the North-Western Tribes of Canada, p. 63 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint). For the Kwakiutl custom of obtaining a crest by marriage, see above, pp. 329 sqq.

¹ Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 419 sq. Compare *id.*, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*,

p. 64 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint). In this latter passage Dr. Boas gives the native name of the Girls' Society as *Kekyaqalaka*, "Crows."

² Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," p. 419. As to the Tlatlasikoala, see *ibid.* p. 329.

³ Franz Boas, *op. cit.* pp. 420 sq.

the Fools, the Grizzly Bears, and the Ghosts. The Cannibal Society. Initiation.

the Grizzly Bears (*Nane*), and the Ghosts (*Lelâalenôx*).¹ Of all the societies the chief is that of the Cannibals, and accordingly during the season of the winter ceremonial the Cannibals are at the head of the whole tribe.² Members of the Cannibal Society are initiated by a spirit called by the terrible name of *Baxbakualanuxsiwae*. They are possessed by a violent desire of eating men. The novice is supposed to be taken away by the spirit and to stay in his house for a long time. In fact he lives for three or four months in the woods. About the middle of this time he reappears near the village, and his sharp whistle and cries of "*Hap, hap, hap*" (eating, eating, eating) are heard. Then he comes back to fetch a female relative, who must procure food for him. Finally, he returns to the village and attacks every one whom he can catch, biting pieces of flesh out of their arms and chests. As soon as he arrives certain attendants called Healers (*Heliga*) run up to him swinging their rattles, which are supposed to pacify his fury. The office of these Healers is hereditary in the male line, and either four or six of them must accompany the Cannibal whenever the fit is on him. They close round him in a circle to keep him from getting at the people, and they utter the soothing cry of "*Hoip, hoip!*" Their rattles are always carved with a design which originally represented a skull. In olden times, when the Cannibal was in a state of ecstasy, slaves were killed for him and he devoured them raw. Besides devouring fresh-killed slaves the Cannibals also devoured corpses; but one of them has stated that it is much harder to eat fresh human flesh than dried corpses. The bones of the killed slaves were kept at the north side of the house, where the sun did not shine on them. During the fourth night they were taken out of the house, tied up, weighted with a stone, and

Return of the novice: his fury; attempts of the Healers to appease him.

Slaves killed and eaten and corpses devoured by the Cannibals.

¹ Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 419, 437, 466, 468, 482, 714. Compare *id.*, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 64-70 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint). In the latter work Dr. Boas gives a list of fourteen societies included in the *Me-emkoat* group. In his "Secret

Societies of the Kwakiutl," p. 419, he gives a list of only eight, but the list does not profess to be complete, and it is supplemented by many more societies or dances in the sequel.

² Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 63 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint).

thrown into deep water, because it is believed that if they were buried they would come back and take their master's soul. When the Cannibal had bitten a piece out of the arm of an enemy and swallowed the flesh, he used to drink hot water for the purpose of inflaming, by sympathetic magic, the wound in the man's arm. Nowadays, the ferocity of these customs has been mitigated; the cannibal no longer actually bites flesh out of people's bodies, but merely pinches up the skin with his teeth, sucks as much blood as he can, and secretly snips off a bit of skin with a sharp knife. He does not swallow the snippet, but hides it behind his ear till the dance is over, when he returns it to the owner in order to satisfy him that it will not be used to bewitch him.¹ Sometimes, when the new Cannibal returns from the woods after his initiation, he appears carrying a corpse, which is eaten after the dance. In order to be eaten the corpses have to be prepared in a special way; for the Kwakiutl bury their dead on trees, so that the bodies, by exposure to the free circulation of the air, generally mummify and are therefore hard and uneatable. It is the business of the Healer to prepare the corpse to be devoured. For that purpose he soaks it in salt water, and slits the skin round the wrists and ankles; for the Cannibal may not eat the hands and feet, or he would die immediately. When the corpse is quite ready to be eaten, all the old Cannibals gather round it, naked and excited, like vultures round carrion. The master of the ceremonies carves the body and distributes the gobbets to the Cannibals, who bolt them; for they are not allowed to chew the flesh. After the meal the Healers arise, seize each one a Cannibal by the head, drag them to the salt water, and duck them four times under it. Every time the Cannibal bobs up spluttering, he cries "*Hap!*" then down he goes again. After that they all return to the house in a more sober frame of mind. The paroxysm is over. They dance the following nights, looking downcast and sheepish, and do not utter their peculiar cry of "*Hap, hap!*" Perhaps they remember that the day of

The ferocity of these customs is now mitigated.

The corpses specially prepared to be eaten.

Bathing of the Cannibal in salt water.

¹ Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 437-441. For the legend of the foundation of the society,

see *id.* "Songs and Dances of the Kwakiutl," *Journal of American Folklore*, i. (1888) pp. 52 sqq.

The
Cannibal
indemnifies
those
whom he
has bitten.

reckoning is at hand. For when the ceremonies are over the Cannibal has to indemnify by a payment of blankets all whom he has bitten, as well as the owner of the slaves whom he has devoured.¹

Ornaments
of the
Cannibal.

When he first returns from his initiation the Cannibal wears a head-ring, necklace, bracelet, and anklets made of hemlock branches. He does not wear the cedar-bark ornaments till his fourth dance. They consist of a heavy crown of plated cedar-bark and a necklace to match, with bracelets and anklets. Generally the Cannibal's face is painted black all over, but some have two curved red lines on each cheek.²

Two
character-
istic dances
of the
Cannibal.

The Cannibal has two characteristic dances; one represents him in his paroxysm of excitement seeking whom he may devour; the other represents him cooling down. In the first he dances stark naked in a squatting position, his arms extended sideways and trembling violently. On he comes with long slow steps, reaching out his arms first to the right and then to the left, his head lifted up, his lips protruding, his eyes wide open, looking for a human body. He is now dangerous, and his attendants surround him, two of them gripping him by the necklace to keep him off the people. In the second dance he stands erect. If not yet in his right mind, he is quieter and wears a blanket; he holds his forearms upwards, with the elbows at his sides. His hands still tremble violently, and he dances in rhythmical time to the beat of the batons, stepping so high that his knees almost touch his chest.³ While he dances, whistles are heard sounding; they represent the voices of the spirits.⁴

After
his first
dance the
Cannibal
disappears
to burst
out again
with
dramatic
effect from
an inner
room.

After his first dance the Cannibal disappears into a secret room set apart for this purpose at the back of the house. It is called *marwitl* and is supposed to be the house of the mighty *Baxbakualanuxsiwae* himself, the spirit who initiates the Cannibals. The front of it, which answers the purpose of a stage curtain, is painted with the face either of the spirit himself or of his servant the raven. The room is always so arranged that when the Cannibal reappears he bursts out, with dramatic effect, from the very mouth of the

¹ Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 441-443.

² Franz Boas, *op. cit.* pp. 444-446.

³ Franz Boas, *op. cit.* pp. 443 sq.

⁴ Franz Boas, *op. cit.* p. 446.

great painted face. His attendants run up to him as soon as he emerges and seize him by the necklace. Then he dances his dance. Soon after the Cannibal has retired behind the veil, his cries are heard in the inner room and presently he, or rather an actor who takes his place, is seen coming out backward at the side. He now personates the raven, the slave of the spirit, and wears a raven mask with an enormous beak, the jaws of which he makes to gape and shut rapidly with a loud clapping noise by pulling certain strings. At sight of the gaping, clapping mask, the singers burst into a song, saying how everybody's heart goes pit-a-pat at the apparition of the hooked-beak cannibal mask. Afterwards another dancer dances wearing the mask of the mighty spirit *Baxbakualanuxsiwae* himself.¹

Personation of the Raven by a masked actor.

While it is the business of the Healers to soothe and restrain the frantic Cannibal, members of the *Kuekutsa* societies on the contrary try, somewhat imprudently, to excite his fury. This they do by breaking some of the many rules which regulate their behaviour to him; for example, they will offer him a kettle full of food and then, as soon as it begins to boil, they will upset it. Again, the Cannibals are excited by the sight or mention of various things, all referring to death. With one it will be the word "ghost," with another "skulls," with another "head cut off." Whenever any of these words occur in a song, or whenever any of these things is exhibited in a dance or in a painting, the paroxysm returns upon the Cannibal, the Fool Dancers shut the doors to prevent the escape of the people, and the Cannibal rushes round biting whomever he can get hold of.²

Attempts of the *Kuekutsa* societies to enrage the Cannibal.

After they have bitten people, and particularly after they have devoured slaves or corpses, the Cannibals have to observe many stringent rules before they are allowed to mix freely with other people. As soon as they have eaten of a corpse, they swallow great quantities of salt water to make them vomit. The bones of the body which they have devoured are preserved for four months. They are kept

Customs observed by the Cannibals after they have eaten human flesh. Disposal of the bones of the corpses.

¹ Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 446 sq.

² Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes*

of Canada, pp. 65 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint); *id.* "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," p. 445.

alternately four days in their bedrooms on the north side of the house where the sun does not strike them, and four days under rocks in the sea. Finally they are thrown into the sea. The Cannibals may not go out of the house by the ordinary door, but must always use the secret door in the rear of the house. When one of them goes out for a necessary purpose, all the others must go with him, each carrying a small stick. They must all sit down together on a long log, and having done so they must rise again three times, only really sitting down the fourth time. Both before sitting down and before rising up they must turn four times. When they go back to the house they must raise their feet four times before they enter it. With the fourth step they actually pass the door and go in right foot first. In the doorway they turn four times and walk slowly into the house. They are not allowed to look back.

Rules as to eating and drinking observed by the Cannibals after a cannibal repast.

Further, for four months after eating human flesh the Cannibal uses a spoon, dish, and kettle of his own, which are afterwards thrown away. Before taking water out of a bucket or a brook, he must dip his cup thrice into the water, and he may not take more than four mouthfuls at one time. He must carry the wing bone of an eagle and drink through it, as his lips may not touch the brim of his cup. Also he carries a copper nail to scratch his head with, for his nails may not touch his skin, else they would drop off. For sixteen days after partaking of human flesh he may not eat any warm food, and for four months he is not allowed to blow hot food in order to cool it. For a whole year he may not touch his wife, nor gamble, nor work. When the dancing season is over, he feigns to have forgotten the ordinary ways of man and has to learn everything anew. He acts as though he were very hungry all the time.¹ What the intention of these curious restrictions may be, we are not told. Perhaps they are designed to keep the ghost of the Cannibal's victim at bay or to throw him off the scent.²

¹ Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 537 sq. Compare *id.*, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 66 (*Report of the British*

Association, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint).

² Compare what is said about the bones of the victim above, pp. 522 sq.

The whole ceremony of bringing back the novice after initiation is, according to the belief of the Kwakiutl, a repetition of the ceremony performed by the wolves when they attempted to bring back their novices.¹ Thus it resembles the ceremony of the Nootkas, in which the initiation of the novice is conducted by men disguised as wolves.²

Mythical explanation of the ceremony of bringing back the novice.

Another important Secret Society of the Kwakiutl is that of the Grizzly Bears (*Nane*). At initiation the members of this society are not taken away by the spirit, but are merely hidden in a corner of the house, whence at the proper moment they come forward to shew that they have been initiated. They are perhaps the most dreaded helpers of the Cannibals, for it is their duty, along with the Fool Dancers, to punish any breaches of the rules relating to the privileges of the Cannibals or to the winter ceremonial in general. The unfortunate transgressors were killed by the Bears and the Fool Dancers. They are also the watchers of the dancing house, and often, mustering on the roof, they frighten away people by their wild cries and threatening gestures. They always wear bear's claws on their hands and sometimes appear clad in bearskins. Their faces are painted in imitation of the huge mouth of a bear. Their head rings and necklaces are made of red and white cedar bark. In their dances they imitate the actions of a bear, walking on all fours, pawing or scratching the ground, sitting on their haunches, and growling.³

The Secret Society of the Grizzly Bears.

They wear bear's claws and sometimes bearskins and imitate bears.

The Fool Dancers (*Noontlematla* plural, *Nutlamatl* singular) form another important Secret Society of the Kwakiutl. They, like the Grizzly Bears, are messengers and helpers of the Cannibals and help to enforce the ceremonial customs. Their mode of doing so is to throw stones at people and hit them with sticks; in serious cases they stab and kill the offenders with spears and axes. They are supposed to be initiated by certain fabulous beings with very long noses and bodies covered with loathsome filth. Accordingly the Fool Dancers are thought to have very

The Secret Society of the Fool Dancers.

Their long noses and filthy habits.

¹ Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," p. 538.

³ Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 466 sq.

² See above, pp. 503, 504 sq.

Their ex-
travagant
behaviour.

Initiation
into the
society.

long noses, and they are sensitive on the subject; the mere mention of a long nose excites them. In their persons they are exceedingly filthy; they dislike even to see clean and beautiful clothing, so they tear and soil it. They are supposed to be mad, and their behaviour does not bely the supposition, for they smash canoes, houses, kettles, and boxes, and play every wild prank conceivable. However, at the end of the dancing season they must indemnify the owners of all the property they have destroyed. They carry spears and clubs with which to despatch offenders, and in dancing they wear masks with long and curiously rounded noses. When any one wishes to be initiated into this madcap society, he begins to scratch his head and body violently, which is taken as a sign that he is inspired by the spirit of the winter dance. After four days he is confined in the corner of the house, and comes out as a full-blown member at the next dance. When a young man is to be initiated into this loathsome order, the old members will take filth from their noses and fling it at him, which is believed to "throw the spirit of the winter ceremonial into him."¹

The Ghost
Society. At
initiation
the novice
is supposed
to descend
into the
nether
world and
to receive
super-
natural
power from
Ghosts.

Members of the Ghost Society are supposed to be initiated by the ghosts and to receive magical or supernatural powers from them. Hence the ghost dancer wears a head-ring and a necklace set with skulls. The dance represents a visit to the world of ghosts under the earth. Elaborate preparations are made for it. A ditch is dug behind the fire in the dancing-house, and speaking-tubes made of kelp are laid under the floor of the house so as to terminate in the fire. The ghost dancer, roped to an attendant, goes round the fire four times summoning the ghosts. After the fourth round he slowly disappears in the ditch near the fire. The people try to hold him back by pulling at the rope, but in vain; down he sinks into the ground. Then many voices are heard coming from the fire and saying that the ghosts have carried off the dancer, but that after so many days he will come back. However, these are not really the voices of the ghosts, they are merely the voices of people speaking from their

¹ Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 468 *sq.*

bedrooms through the kelp tubes. When the time for the dancer to return has come, an effigy of a ghost is seen to rise from the ground carrying the lost dancer. He sings this song:—

I went down to the under world with the chief of the ghosts. Therefore I have supernatural power.
The chief of the ghosts made me dance. Therefore I have supernatural power.
He put a beautiful ornament on to my forehead. Therefore I have supernatural power.

The Ghost Society is said to rank as high as the Cannibal Society but to be opposed to it.¹

The Kwakiutl have two Wolf dances, one called *Walasaxa* and the other *Tlokoala*. In the *Walasaxa* dance all the men of the tribe dress in blankets and head-dresses representing the wolf. They hide behind a curtain stretched across the rear of the house, and when the singers begin to sing, the pretended wolves come out and march four times round the fire. On the fourth circuit they squat down and imitate the motions of wolves. The *Tlokoala* Wolf Dance corresponds almost exactly to the *Tlokoala* of the Nootkas.² The dancers wear frontlets consisting of small carved images of a wolf's head. It is said that the dance is derived from the wolves. The legend runs thus. The sons of the chief of the wolves were preparing to be initiated, when Mink found and killed them. So he obtained their names and places in accordance with the rule that names and all the privileges connected with them may be obtained by killing the owner of the name, either in war or by murder. The slayer has then the right to put his own successor in the place of his slain enemy. In this manner names and customs have often spread from tribe to tribe. So when Mink had killed the sons of the wolf chief he came back wearing the wolf's scalp as a head mask. Three times he danced round the fire, covering his face and his head with his

Two Wolf
Dances
of the
Kwakiutl.

Dance of
men dis-
guised as
wolves
round the
fire.

Legend of
the origin
of the
Tlokoala
Wolf
Dance.

¹ Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 482 sq.; *id.*, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp.

64, 68-70 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint).

² See above, pp. 503, 504 sq.

blanket. Then the fourth time he uncovered himself and thus shewed that he had killed the wolves. All the animals tried to kill him, but they could not. So Mink obtained the wolf's name and the wolf's supernatural power (*tlokoala*). The Wolf dancer sings a song which is intended to excite the Fool Dancers; for the Fool Dancers are thought to be friends of the wolf chiefs whom Mink killed.¹

The Salmon Society of the Kwakiutl. In their dance the members of the society imitate the leap of the salmon and sing a salmon song.

Some of the Kwakiutl have also a Salmon Society, the members of which dance the Salmon Dance. The novice who is to be initiated into the society disappears and stays in the woods for several months. When he is brought back, the people hide all the eagle down, the symbol of wealth, but put it on when he enters in token that the salmon brings affluence. The amount of property distributed by the novice's father at initiation is as large as that which is needed for the initiation of a Cannibal. The dance is meant to imitate the leaping of the salmon, and the dancer sings the following song:—

*Many salmon are coming ashore with me.
They are coming ashore to you, the post of our heaven.
They are dancing from the salmon's country to the shore.
I come to dance before you at the right-hand side of the world,
overtowering, outshining, surpassing all; I, the salmon.*

Another song sung by a salmon dancer runs thus:—

*The salmon came to search for a dancer.
He came and put his supernatural power into him.
You have supernatural power. Therefore the chief of the salmon
came from beyond the ocean. The people praise you, for they
cannot carry the weight of your wealth.*²

The dance seems intended to multiply salmon by magic.

These songs seem to shew that the salmon dancer by dancing his Salmon Dance, in which he imitates the leaping of the fish, is supposed to produce a plentiful catch of salmon, the staple food of the tribe. If that is so, the Salmon Society of the Kwakiutl discharges a function like that discharged by the totemic clans of Central Australia, who multiply the edible

¹ Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 477-479; *id.*, in *Sixth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 68 (*Report of the British Association*, Leeds, 1890, separate reprint). As

to the rule that a man may obtain a name and the privileges which go with it by killing its owner, see Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," p. 335.

² Franz Boas, *op. cit.* pp. 474 sq.

animals and plants by their magical ceremonies in order to ensure a supply of food for the community.¹

Many other Secret Societies with their dances there are among the Kwakiutl, but it would be tedious and perhaps superfluous to enumerate them. I will conclude this account by noticing two dances which seem to be danced only by women.

In the *Kominoka* Society of the Kwakiutl the novice, whether a girl or a woman, disappears into the woods to be initiated by the mighty spirit *Baxbakualanuxsiwae*, who also initiates the Cannibals. When she is brought back by the spirit, her hair appears to be falling out and her head is covered with blood, or what looks like blood, because it has been torn by the spirit. In each hand she carries a skull. At the sight the Cannibals cry "*Hap!*" and dance up to her in their characteristic squatting attitude, eager to devour the heads she is carrying. The other members, present and past, of the society join in the dance and make as if they too were carrying heads. Thus she dances into the house, always surrounded by the Cannibals, who at last take the skulls from her hands, lick them, and eat the maggots and the dry skin which adheres to the grinning bones.²

Another dance danced by Kwakiutl women is called *Toquit*. The upper part of the dancer's body is naked; hemlock boughs are tied round her waist. The warriors before going on an expedition used to repair to the forest to meet the double-headed snake *Sisiutl*, which gives them great strength and power. After returning from the woods they engage a woman to dance the *Toquit*. Very elaborate arrangements are made for this dance. A double-headed snake, about twenty feet long, is made of wood, blankets, and skins and is hidden in a long ditch partly covered with boards. Strings are attached to it, which pass over the beams of the house and are worked by men concealed in the bedrooms. As soon as the dancer appears, the people begin to sing and beat time. In dancing the woman acts

The *Kominoka* Society of Kwakiutl women.

The *Toquit* Dance of Kwakiutl women. Effigy of the mythical double-headed snake (*Sisiutl*).

¹ See vol. i. pp. 104-112, 183-185, 214 *sqq.*

² Franz Boas, "Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl," pp. 462 *sq.* The

appearance of streaming blood and falling hair on the head of the novice is produced by alder juice and some loose tresses.

Pretence of
killing the
dancer and
bringing
her to life
again.

as though she were trying to catch something, and when she is supposed to have got it, she throws her hands back. Then the huge serpent rises out of the ground, wagging its two heads. If it does not move properly, the Cannibals, the Fool Dancers, the Bears and others jump up and drive the spectators out of the room, biting and striking them. Finally the serpent disappears again into the ditch. Next a messenger calls upon one of the attendants to kill the dancer. This he does apparently by driving a wedge through her head and splitting it open with a paddle, so that the blood streams down. But these are only clever conjuring tricks. Sometimes a pretence is made of burning her in the fire ; but by means of a double-bottomed box a corpse has been adroitly substituted for her and burned in her stead. The bones are afterwards raked out of the ashes and laid on a new mat. For four days the people chant over them. At last the bones themselves are heard to sing with the woman's voice. This trick is played by means of a speaking-tube laid underground from the woman's bedroom to the mat on which the bones are deposited. Next morning the woman is seen to be alive.¹ Apparently the belief, or the pretence, is that she has been raised from the dead by the incantations chanted over her bones. The whole ceremony thus affords another example of the simulated death and resurrection which is so common a feature in the rites of Secret Societies.

J. Dunn's
account
of the
Kwakiutl
ceremonies
at Milbank
Sound in
1833 and
1834.

These Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl are so curious and interesting that it may be well to quote an early description of some of their ceremonies, as these were observed near Fort M'Loughlin, on Milbank Sound, in 1833 and 1834. The writer, John Dunn, was an agent of the Hudson Bay Company, living and travelling for years among the Indians of this coast from the Columbia River northward. He calls the Indians of Milbank Sound by the name of Belbellahs, or, as the word is now spelled, Bellabellas. They are a Kwakiutl tribe, and their name Bellabella is said to be a mere Indian corruption of the English word Milbank.²

¹ Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 67 (*Report of the British Association*,

Leeds, 1890, separate reprint).

² *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*, i. 140 sq.

Mr. Dunn's description of what he saw and heard is perhaps not the less valuable because it is untinged by theory. He writes as follows :—

“ In the winter months these, as well as the neighbouring tribes, assemble in great numbers in the chief's house, for the purpose of witnessing the chief imitate different spirits, whom they are supposed to worship. He puts on, at intervals, different dresses ; and large masks, of different kinds, entirely covering his head and neck. The masks are made to open the mouth and eyes by means of secret springs, invisible to the spectators ; and different noises are sent forth. He dresses for each character behind a large curtain, drawn quite across the room, like the drop curtain in a theatre ; and then comes forth, and stands on a sort of stage in front of it, while the spectators are ranged on benches placed along the side walls. In one of his characters he imitates the rising sun, which they believe to be a shining man, wearing a radiated crown, and continually walking round the earth, which is stationary. He wears, on this occasion, a most splendid dress of ermine, and other valuable furs ; and a curiously constructed mask, set round with seals' whiskers, and feathers, which gradually expand like a fan ; and from the top of the mask swan-down is shaken out in great quantities, according as he moves his head. The expanding seals' bristles and feathers represent the sun's rays ; and the showers of down, rain and snow ; the Indians chaunting at the same time, in regular order and in a low key, showing reverence, awe, and devotion.

Public ceremonies in which the chief imitates various spirits, wearing the appropriate masks and costumes.

Imitation of the rising sun.

Imitation of a snow-shower.

“ Sometimes the various divine personages are represented by one man ; sometimes there are two or three personators on the stage all at once, representing different divinities. Our men were often invited to witness these religious exhibitions ; but the greatest silence, attention, and decorum were expected from them. Our attendance they considered a high compliment ; and they invariably made us presents, generally of skins, before we departed. One of our people, a half-breed, a funny volatile boy, son of Mr. Manson, used to imitate, on a sort of many barred fife, the noise made by the sacerdotal chiefs on the stage. The Indians, when they used to come to the fort and hear this, seemed much amazed ;

Sometimes several actors take part in these sacred dramas.

and often begged of me to check him. After the conclusion of the ceremony they have a feast, consisting generally of seals' and dogs' flesh, salmon, boiled and roast, and different kinds of berries. During the representation and the feast, there is a large wood-fire in the centre of the room.

"As I acquired a knowledge of their language, I was admitted to much of their personal confidence, and soon became interpreter.

At times
the chief
retires to
solitude in
the woods
to hold
converse
with the
Great
Spirit.

"There is one very remarkable peculiarity of their religious customs which deserves to be noticed: and if I had not personal evidence of its reality, I should be slow to bring myself to a belief of its actual existence. The chief, who is supposed to possess the 'right divine' of governing, and to be the intermediate agent between the great solar spirit—the Creator and Supreme Ruler—and his creatures here below, retires at times, whenever he fancies himself summoned by the divine call, from the tribe, without giving them any previous intimation of his mission; and takes up his abode in the lonely woods and mountains, taking clandestinely with him a small stock of dried salmon for sustenance. When he is missed by his family, the report is spread abroad; and then it is known that he has gone to hold familiar converse with the Great Spirit, who will, within a short time, descend to give him an interview. Intelligence has then been procured, from the Indian who saw him last on that day, as to his route, and the district of the woods and hills to which he is likely to confine his wanderings; and a sacred boundary line is drawn round this district, within which it is a crime of profanation to pass, on hunting or fishing excursions, on pain of death. Should any unlucky Indian even meet this compound of chief and priest in his excursions, he is sure to be put to death; either by the chief himself, for he must be perfectly passive in the infuriated chief's hands; or, should the chief in his abstracted mood not attack him, he must, on his return to the tribe, acknowledge the guilt, and resign himself a voluntary victim. Should he conceal the fact of his meeting the chief, and should the chief, on his return, charge him with the fact, then he would undergo the most shocking torture. The duration of the chief's absence on this mission is irregular

In his
solitary
musings no
man may
meet him
under pain
of death.

—at least it is long enough to exhaust his small stock of food, even with the utmost economy. It is often three weeks. When hunger pinches him (and he generally selects the most desert and dreary region, destitute of esculent fruits or roots) his imagination becomes inflamed; and what was before religion or superstition, becomes now frenzy; during which the fancied interview with the Great Spirit occurs. He returns at last to the village, the most hideous object in nature, with matted hair, shrunk cheeks, blood-shot eyes, and parched lips—his blanket, which is his sole covering, all hanging in shreds about him, torn by boughs and brambles—his face all begrimed with filth; animated with all the unnatural ferocity of a demoniac. His return is by night, and as uncertain as his departure. He does not first arrive, generally, at his own house: but rushes to some other, according to the blind caprice of his wildness; and instead of entering it by the door, he ascends the roof, tears off one of the cedar-board coverings, and plunges down into the centre of the family circle; he then springs on one of the full grown inmates, like a famished wolf—wrenches with his teeth a mouthful of his flesh, from his limbs or body, which he convulsively bolts down, without any process of mastication, but barely chopping the lump once or twice for the purpose of easier deglutition. No resistance is made, for the sufferer thinks that he has been ordered by the Great Spirit to yield up a part of his flesh and blood, as a sort of peace or sin offering to the priest. The chief then rushes to another house in the same way, and makes the same hurried repast. He continues this process along other houses; until, in a few hours, he becomes exhausted, from the quantity of human living flesh that he has devoured. He is then taken home in a state of torpor; and thus remains, like an overgorged beast of prey, for a couple of days. After his resuscitation he is languid and sickly; and, as he must not partake of the usual food for a certain time after he has got his fill of the human sacrifice, he goes on but slowly to convalescence.

“I have been, more than once, in close connexion with one of these chiefs, after his restoration; and his breath was like an exhalation from a grave. The wounds inflicted

On his return to the village, haggard, emaciated, and frenzied, he goes from house to house biting people and bolting their flesh till, gorged and torpid, he can eat no more.

The persons whom he bites in his

frenzy are supposed to be consecrated, and they are proud of their wounds, though they sometimes die of them.

by his bite, though held as sacred trophies, often prove mortal. Their mode of cure is this:—They apply eagle-down as a stiptic to check the hemorrhage; and then apply a plaster, made of pine-tree gum. Several of the wounded and consecrated persons, after we established our fort, finding their own mode of treatment ineffectual, came to our surgeon (applying to me first as interpreter) to have their rankling sores healed. They used to present a most hideous appearance; being jagged and torn, and often showing the clear indentations of the human teeth; and besides the fetor issuing from them was most noxious. The daughter of one of the chiefs (who practised this abomination), the wife of one of our men, told me that her father, on his return to the village, after his sojourn in the woods and mountains, met an Indian on whom he flew, and whose side he continued to bite and devour until his bowels protruded. The Indian made no resistance; and when the chief ran off, he crawled to the village; and though every effort was made to heal his wounds, they were found to be too mortal for human remedy. He died soon afterwards, in their idea, a consecrated person. So much importance and pride do these Indians attach to these lacerations, that the youngsters, who have not had the good fortune to be thus scarred, apply lighted gunpowder to their limbs; and use other means to produce a holy gash.”¹

§ 6. *Secret Societies among the Tsimshians*

The Secret Societies of the Tsimshians. Dawson's account of them.

To the north of the Kwakiutl the system of Secret Societies exists among the tribes which are divided into totemic clans of the normal type. The institution as it exists among the Tsimshians or Tshimsians is described as follows by Dr. G. M. Dawson:—

“There are among the neighbouring Tshimsians four ‘religions,’ or systems of rites of a religious character. These have no relation to the totems, but divide the tribe on different lines. They are known as (1) *Sim-ha-lait*,

¹ John Dunn, *History of the Oregon Territory* (London, 1844), pp. 253-259. These Indians are called

Belbellahs by the author (*op. cit.* p. 271).

(2) *Mi-hla*, (3) *Nov-hlem*, (4) *Hop-pop*. The first is the simplest and seems to have no very distinctive rites. The central figure of the worship of the second was at Fort Simpson a little black image with long hair known as 'the only one above.' The third are 'dog-eaters,' a portion of their rite consisting in killing and cutting, or tearing to pieces, dogs, and eating the flesh. They eat in reality, however, as little of the flesh as they can, quietly disposing of the bulk of it when out of sight. The *hop-pop* or 'cannibals' are those who, in a state of real or pretended frenzy, bite flesh out of the extended arms of the people of the village as a part of their rite. When they issue forth for this purpose they utter cries like *hop-pop*—whence their name. On this sound being heard all but those of the same religion get out of the way if they can, frequently pushing off in canoes for this purpose. Those of the same creed, and brave, resolutely extend their arms to be bitten. A man may belong to more than one religion, and is in some cases even forced to become initiated into a second. If, for instance, one should pass where dog-eaters are holding a solemn conclave, he may be seized and initiated as a dog-eater *nolens volens*. Great hardships are sometimes endured during initiation. The more savage religions pretend to mysterious supernatural powers, and go to great pains sometimes to delude the common people, or those of other creeds. At Fort Simpson, for instance, a young chief was on one occasion carefully buried in the ground beforehand. When discovered the operators were pulling at a rope, and were supposed to be drawing the chief underground from the back of an island some way off. The rope after a time breaking, great apparent excitement occurs among the operators, who say the chief is now lost, but catching sticks begin to dig in the ground, and soon unearth him to the great amazement of the vulgar. In this case, however, the cold and cramped attitude so affected the chief that he was lame for life. They instil the truth of such stories especially in the minds of the young, who firmly believe in them. At Fort Simpson, in former days, they have even got up such things as an artificial whale, in some way formed on a canoe. This appeared suddenly on the

Six religious societies.

The Dog-Eaters kill and devour dogs.

The Cannibals bite flesh out of people's arms and bolt it.

Members of the more savage societies pretend to mysterious supernatural powers and resort to various devices in order to support the pretence in the minds of the ignorant vulgar.

bay, seemingly swimming along, with a little child on its back.”¹

Dr. Boas's account of initiation into a Secret Society of the Tsimshians. The novice is supposed to go to heaven, and on his return he appears floating on an artificial monster of the sort which forms the crest of the society.

The ceremony of initiation into a Secret Society of the Tsimshian is described by Dr. Boas as follows :—“ During the dancing season a feast is given, and while the women are dancing the novice is suddenly said to have disappeared. It is supposed that he goes to heaven. If he is a child, he stays away four days ; youths remain about six days, and grown-up persons several months. Chiefs are supposed to stay in heaven during the fall and the entire winter. When this period has elapsed, they suddenly reappear near the beach, carried by an artificial monster belonging to their crest. Then all the members of the secret society to which the novice is to belong gather and walk down in grand procession to the beach to fetch the child. At this time his parents bring presents, particularly elk skins, strung upon a rope as long as the procession, to be given at a subsequent feast. The people surround the novice and lead him into every house in order to show that he has returned. Then he is taken to the house of his parents, and a large bunch of cedar bark is fastened over the door to show that the house is tabooed and nobody is allowed to enter. The chief sings while the cedar bark is being fastened. In the afternoon the sacred house is prepared for the dance. A section in the rear of the house is divided off by means of curtains ; it is to serve as a stage on which the dancers and the novice appear. When all is ready, messengers, carrying large carved batons, are sent around to invite the members of the society, the chief first. The women sit down in one row, nicely dressed up in button blankets and their faces painted red. The chief wears the *amhalait*—a carving rising from the forehead, set with sea-lion barbs, and with a long drapery of ermine skins—the others, the cedar bark rings of their societies. Then the women begin to dance. After a while a prominent man rises to deliver a speech. He says : ‘ All of you know that our novice went up to heaven ; then he made a mistake and has been returned ; now you will see him.’ Then he begins the

Masked dance representing the novice in heaven surrounded by the spirits.

¹ G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 1878* (Montreal, 1880), p. 125 B.

song; the curtain is drawn and masked dancers are seen surrounding the novice and representing the spirits which he has encountered in heaven. At the same time eagle down is blown into the air. After the dance is over the presents which were strung on the rope are distributed among the members of the secret society.

"The novice has a beautifully painted room set apart for his use. He remains naked during the dancing season. He must not look into the fire. He must abstain from food and drink, and is only allowed to moisten his lips occasionally. He wears his head ring continually. After the ceremonies are all finished the festival of 'clothing the novice' is celebrated. He sits in his room quietly singing while the people assemble in the house. His song is heard to grow louder, and at last he makes his appearance. He has put off his ring of red cedar bark. Then the people try to throw a bear skin over him, which they succeed in doing only after a severe struggle. All the societies take part in this feast, each sitting grouped together. The uninitiated stand at the door. This ends the ceremonies."¹

Rules observed by the novice for some time after initiation.

§ 7. *Secret Societies among the Niskas*

The Niska Indians, who inhabit the valley of the Nass River, except its upper course, speak one of the chief dialects of the Tsimshian language and their customs are practically identical with those of the Tsimshians.² They have six Secret Societies, which rank in the following order: —*Semhalait*, *Meitla*, *Lotlem*, *Olala*, *Nanestat*, and *Honanatl*, the last of these being the highest. The ceremonies are said to have been derived from the Bellabellas, a Kwakiutl tribe on Milbank Sound,³ and this tradition is confirmed by the names of the Secret Societies, for with the exception of the first these are all Kwakiutl words. The *Olala* is a Cannibal Society corresponding to the *Hamatsa* of the

The six Secret Societies of the Niskas, a Tsimshian tribe.

The Cannibal Society.

¹ Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 659

sq.

² Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 48 (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint).

³ See above, p. 532.

Kwakiutl, and the members utter the same characteristic cry of "*Hap!*" which is a Kwakiutl word meaning "eating."¹

The
Semhalait
Society.

The *Semhalait* Society is the lowest in rank; its ceremonies are not confined to the winter. A person joins it when he obtains the first guardian spirit of his clan and performs the appropriate ceremony. The ceremonies of the other societies take place in December. The badges of the societies are made of cedar-bark dyed red in a decoction of alder-bark. For each repetition of the ceremony a new ring is added to the head ornament of the dancer. In the *Meitla* Society these rings are alternately red and white, twisted together.

Only a
limited
number of
places in a
society.

There are only a limited number of places in the societies, and a new member can be admitted only when he inherits the place of a deceased member, or if a living member voluntarily transfers his place to him. If such a transference is to take place, the consent of the chiefs of the clans must first be obtained. Then one evening the chiefs during a feast surround the youth and act as though they had caught the spirit of the society in their hands and throw it upon the novice. The youth faints, and the members of the society carry him round the fire and then throwing him upward shew to the people that he is lost. After some time, when the novice is expected back, the people assemble in the house, and all the members of the nobility try to bring him back by the help of their spirits. In order to do this they dance in all their finery, sometimes wearing the masks of their guardian spirits (*neqnok*). For example, if a man has the Spirit of Sleep for his guardian spirit, he will endeavour to bring back the lost novice by means of it. He will lie down as if overcome with sleep wearing a mask with shut eyes. Then a chief steps up to him and tries to awake him by hauling the drowsiness out of him with both his hands. Upon that the eyes of the mask open and roll about, while the pretended sleeper rises to his feet. The chief who took the drowsiness out of him

The disappearance
of the
novice,
and the
attempts to
bring him
back.

The Spirit
of Sleep.

¹ Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 54 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint); *id.* "The Social

Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 651 sq.

asks whether he shall try to put the people to sleep, and on being bidden to do so he throws his hands open, as if to allow the captured Spirit of Sleep to escape. So it enters the people and they shut their eyes as if fast asleep. After a time he gathers up the spirit again, and the people awake and sing, "Oh! how sleepy we are! Oh! how sleepy we are!" In that way the Spirit of Sleep proves his power and his presence, and he is asked to bring the novice back.

Thus one man after another tries to lure the lost youth back to his friends. If he does not come back by midnight, they break off and resume the ceremony next night. Early in the morning a killer-whale or some other animal, or rather an effigy of it worked by ropes, is seen floating on the river with the missing novice on its back. The people go forth to see him. Members of the *Lotlem* Society embark in a canoe and paddle, singing, to meet him. They take him on board their canoe and destroy the whale float which carried him. Meantime all the people have been chased into their houses by a member of the *Lotlem* Society who wears a bearskin. When the novice lands, he runs up and down the village street like one distracted, and the Cannibals follow him biting any of the profane who dare to leave their houses. The novice catches a dog, tears it to pieces, and devours it as he roams from house to house. Then they enter the house of the novice, which becomes tabooed. A rope hung with red cedar-bark is stretched from the door of the house to a pole set up on the beach, so as to prevent people from passing in front of the house. Next day, however, four men dressed in bearskins, with rings of red cedar-bark on their heads, go from house to house inviting the people to come and see the dance of the novice and to learn his songs. After he has danced his dance before them, his uncle pays the chiefs who tried to bring him back, and he distributes blankets among the other people also. A feast of berries and grease ends the ceremony, after which the novice is called "a perfect man."¹

Reappear-
ance of the
novice
floating on
an artificial
whale or
other
monster.

He tears
and de-
vours a
dog.

¹ Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 54, 56 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint); *id.* "The Social

Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 651, 654-657.

Initiation
into the
Cannibal
Society.
Pretence of
killing the
novice.

An Indian who had been initiated into the Cannibal (*Olala*) Society gave the following account of his initiation. During the festival at which the ceremony was to take place his friends drew their knives and pretended to kill him, cutting off the head of a dummy which was adroitly substituted for the living youth, while he slipped quietly away. Then they laid down the pretended corpse and covered it, and the women began to mourn and wail. The relations of the novice gave a feast, distributed blankets, slaves, canoes, and copper shields, and burnt the body. In short, they held a regular funeral for their professedly dead

The novice
resorts to
a grave
and lies
with the
corpse.

kinsman. After his disappearance the novice resorted to a grave, took out a body, and lay with it all night wrapt in a blanket. In the morning he put the body back in the grave. He continued to do so for some time "in order to acquire courage." All this time and for a year afterwards he might not be seen by any member of the tribe except by the members of his own society, the Cannibals (*Olala*). Finally, a year after his disappearance, his nephew invited all the tribes to bring him back. The ceremony resembled the one which has just been described. The novice appeared borne by an effigy of his totem animal.

Return of
the novice.

The
novices
brought
back by
effigies of
animals.

Some of the Niska Indians at initiation are brought back by the figure of a killer-whale, as we have seen; others are brought back by the effigy of a bear; others, again, appear on the back of an eagle which rises from the ground; while others come back riding on a frog. Sometimes the novice shews himself on a headland carrying a corpse in his arms and then appears to walk on the water across the bay to the village, the trick being performed by means of a submerged raft, which is hauled by the members of his society. On reaching the village he lands and eats of the corpse which he carries; formerly, too, one or other of the chiefs used to kill a slave and throw the body to the Cannibals, who devoured it. It is said that before eating human flesh the Cannibals always use emetics, and that afterwards they tickle their throats with feathers to make them vomit. Also after biting people they chew the bark of 'devil's club,' which acts as a purgative.

At the festivals which take place during the dancing

season the Cannibal receives his share of food first, and nobody may eat till he has begun to eat. He has a dish and spoon of his own, which are wound with bark. When he hears the word "ghost" (*lolek*), he grows excited and begins to bite again. When he ceases to bite and devour men, a heavy ring of red cedar-bark is placed round his neck and he is led slowly round the fire. This is called "making him heavy" and is intended to prevent his flying away and growing excited again. In his dances the Cannibal (*Olala*), among all the northern tribes, wears a head-dress representing a corpse. The whistles which are used to imitate the cry of the Cannibal Spirit are large and give out a deep, hollow sound. They are all carved or painted with the design of a death's head. Some are attached to bellows and being carried under the arm, concealed by a blanket, can be blown by pressure without being seen. The rattles carried by the companions of the Cannibal also shew a death's head. When members of the *Nanestat* and *Honanatl* Societies are in a state of ecstasy, they throw fire-brands about and destroy canoes, houses, and anything they can lay hands on.¹ These wild acts are no doubt attributed to the inspiration of the spirit.

Customs
of the
Cannibal
Society.

The
whistles
and
rattles.

In olden times the appearance of the artificial totem animal, or of the guardian spirit, was considered a matter of great importance, and any blunder which allowed the uninitiated to detect the pious fraud was a misfortune which could only be atoned for by the death of the clumsy manipulators of the sacred machinery. For example, in the Heiltsuk tribe three brothers once invited all the tribes, including the Tsimshians, to a festival. The eldest brother was to return from the bottom of the sea. When the guests arrived on the scene of action in their canoes, they landed and stood or sat on the beach awaiting the emergence of the modern Jonah. Soon there was a bubbling and disturbance of the water at some distance from the shore; a rock, or what looked like a rock, covered with kelp rose to

In old
times,
when the
novice was
brought
back by an
effigy of
the totem
animal or
guardian
spirit, any
mistake in
handling
the
machinery
which
allowed the
uninitiated
to detect
the pious
fraud was
punished
with death.

¹ Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 57 sq. (*Report of the British Association*, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint); *id.* "The Social

Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 653, 654, 657-659.

the surface, and from it stepped sure enough the lost brother, decked with his ceremonial head-dress. He danced his dance and then sank with the rock beneath the waves. Once more he emerged from the water, danced his dance, and sank, this time to rise no more. The ropes which regulated the movements of the rock, or rather of the raft, had become entangled, and though the workers of the oracle, concealed in the recesses of the woods, tugged and sweated away, they could not disentangle them, and the man was drowned. His family put a brave face on it and gave out, with a certain measure of truth, that their departed kinsman had stayed with the spirit at the bottom of the sea. They celebrated the rest of the festival with outward calm. But when it was over and the guests were gone, all the members of the family marched to the top of a cliff overhanging deep water. There they roped themselves together, sang the cradle song of their family, and leaping from the brow of the cliff rejoined their drowned brother in the bottom of the sea.¹

§ 8. *Secret Societies among the Haidas*

Secret
Societies of
the Haidas,
each
with its
guardian
spirit.

The Haidas of Queen Charlotte Islands have a number of Secret Societies, each presided over by its guardian spirit. Among these guardian spirits are the Cannibal Spirit (*Ulala*), the Grizzly Bear Spirit, the Wolf Spirit, the Dog-eating Spirit, the Fire-throwing Spirit, the Club-bearing Spirits, the Dress Spirit, and the Wrestling Spirit. The whole body of those who belong to these Secret Societies are denominated by a general name meaning "the Inspired," because they are supposed to be inspired by their guardian spirits. But apart from having been initiated and inspired by the same spirit, it does not appear that there is any bond of union between the members of a Secret Society; hence Mr. J. R. Swanton, our authority on this subject, prefers to treat all the so-called inspired or initiated as forming a single Secret Society, notwithstanding the difference between the various spirits by which a man might be initiated into it. The traditions, and all the

¹ Franz Boas, in *Tenth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 58 sq. (*Report of the*

British Association, Ipswich, 1895, separate reprint).

other evidence, point to the conclusion that the Haidas have borrowed the Secret Society or Societies from the Tsimshians or the Bellabellas. Apparently the introduction of the Societies took place not much earlier than the year 1700. Dances of the Secret Societies were an indispensable accompaniment of a *potlatch*, that is, of a festival attended by a distribution of property to the guests; and these dances were never performed on any other occasion.¹

These societies seem to have been borrowed by the Haidas from the Tsimshians or Bellabellas.

The ceremonies at the initiation of a Cannibal (*Ulala*) consisted of the usual medley of savagery and fraud. The novice bit the arms of people, and a pretence was made of killing him and bringing him to life again. His family wept crocodile tears over his seemingly dead body, then sang a spirit-song, and soon he reappeared from behind a curtain, alive and well, with a mask on his head. Even more dreaded than the inspired Cannibals were the inspired Fire-Throwers, from whose assaults people sought shelter behind boards.² The Dog-eating Spirit inspired both men and women, and moved by the spirit they killed dogs and devoured them as they walked along, but people were not afraid of them.³ A man high in rank could be inspired by a new spirit at each successive *potlatch*, provided that none of these spirits was owned by a chief of the other clan. Among the Southern Haidas a man who had been inspired ten times was free to do what he liked.⁴

The initiation of a Cannibal.

The Dog-eating Spirit.

§ 9. Secret Societies among the Tinnehs

Among the Western Tinnehs or Dénés we find that the tribe of the Carriers possessed what Father A. G. Morice calls "honorific totems" in addition to the totems of their four clans. These "honorific totems" appear to have been of the nature of guardian spirits, so that all persons who had the same guardian spirit may perhaps be said to have constituted a Secret Society, though that is not affirmed by Father Morice. He tells us that the "honorific totem" was

Father Morice on "honorific totems" among the Carriers. These totems seem to have been the guardian spirits of individuals.

¹ J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida* (Leyden and New York, 1905), pp. 156, 160 sq., 181.

² J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* pp. 163-170.

³ J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 171.

⁴ J. R. Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 161.

The
"honorific
totem" of
the Bear.

personal to a man and did not pass to his descendants. It was voluntarily assumed by any person who wished to raise himself in the social scale ; and certain initiatory ceremonies appropriate to the particular "honorific totem" had to be observed. Thus if a man wished to acquire the Bear as his "honorific totem," he would strip himself, don a bearskin, and thus attired would spend three or four days in the woods, "in deference to the wonts of his intended totem animal." Every night a party of his fellow-villagers would go out to search for him, and to their loud calls he would answer by growling in imitation of a bear. As a rule he could not be found but had to come back of himself. When he did so, he was apprehended and led to the ceremonial lodge, where he danced his first bear-dance along with all the other totem people, each of whom then personated his own particular totem. Afterwards followed a *potlatch*, that is, a feast accompanied by a distribution of property, at which the newly initiated Bear presented his captor with a newly dressed skin. Amongst the "honorific totems" or guardian spirits was one called a "darding knife." The initiation ceremony at acquiring this particular "honorific totem" included a simulated death and resurrection. A lance was prepared with a hollow shaft so arranged that the least pressure on the lance-head caused it to sink into the shaft. This being thrust at the bare chest of the novice seemed to penetrate his body ; he fell down and blood gushed from his mouth, though not from his wound. While the uninitiated gaped, one of those in the secret struck up a particular chant, at the sound of which the seemingly dead man gradually came back to life. He had to pay the songster a handsome fee for his resurrection.

The
"honorific
totem" of
the
"Darding
Knife"; the
initiation
ceremony
includes
a pretence
of death
and re-
surrection.

List of the
"honorific
totems" or
guardian
spirits of
the clans.

Of these "honorific totems" or guardian spirits there were many ; each of the four totem clans had its own, which could not be adopted by members of another clan. Some of these "honorific totems" are now forgotten. The following were remembered down to 1892 :—

1. In the Grouse clan there were the Owl, the Moose, the Weasel, the Crane, the Wolf, the Brook Trout, the Full Moon, the "Darding Knife," and the "Rain of Stones."
2. In the Beaver clan there was the Mountain Goat.

3. In the Toad clan there were the Sturgeon, the Porcupine, the Wolverine, the Red-headed Woodpecker, the Cattle, the Arrow, and the *Teltsa*, a fabulous animal like a gigantic toad, with large bulging eyes.

4. In the Grizzly Bear clan there was the Goose.

The connexion of a man with his "honorific totem" or guardian spirit appeared especially at ceremonial dances, when the man, attired if possible in the spoils of the animal, personated it before an admiring assembly. "On all such occasions, man and totem were also called by the same name."¹

Personation of the "honorific totem" in ceremonial dances.

§ 10. *Observations on the Secret Societies of the North American Indians*

From the foregoing account of the Religious Associations or Secret Societies of the North American Indians it will be seen that they present a number of resemblances to totemic clans. For they are commonly called after animals, and in some cases members of the societies will not kill the animal after which their own particular society is named.² Further, on ceremonial occasions the members usually dress in the skins, wear the masks, and imitate the gait and voice of their tutelary animals, thus identifying themselves with the creatures in a fashion characteristic of totemism. Moreover, members of these associations are regularly supposed to be endowed with supernatural or magical power, and this power they sometimes exercise for the public benefit, just as members of totemic clans in Central Australia and elsewhere perform magical ceremonies for the multiplication of game, the making of rain, and so forth. Thus the members of a Buffalo Society among the Omahas make rain in time of drought;³ and the Grand Master of the Secret Society of the Maidus not only makes rain but multiplies salmon and edible acorns for the good of the community.⁴ Again, members of the Salmon Society among the Kwakiutl imitate the leap of the salmon and

Resemblances between the Secret Societies and totemic clans.

¹ Father A. G. Morice, "Notes, Archaeological, Industrial, and Sociological, on the Western Dénés," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, iv.

(1892-93) pp. 203-206.

² See above, pp. 470, 484.

³ See above, p. 462.

⁴ See above, p. 493.

The chief difference between Secret Societies and totemic clans is that the latter are hereditary and the former are not. Yet this distinction does not always hold good.

Resemblance between the mode of joining a Secret Society and the mode of acquiring a guardian spirit.

Resemblance of graduated Secret Societies to age-grades.

sing a salmon song for the purpose, apparently, of increasing the number of the fish and thereby ensuring an abundant supply of food.¹ The chief difference between a Secret Society and a totemic clan is that, whereas the totemic clans are hereditary and every person is born into one or other of them, admission to the Secret Societies is acquired by each individual for himself or herself by means of an imaginary interview with the patron spirit of the society in a dream; hence, while the bond between members of a totemic clan is one of kinship or blood, the bond between members of a Secret Society is participation in a common vision or spiritual revelation. Yet even this distinction between the two institutions sometimes breaks down; for we have seen that in some tribes of North-West America the right to be initiated in certain Secret Societies is hereditary.² But hereditary Secret Societies, named after animals and mimicking them in costume, gait, and voice, are not far removed from totemic clans.

Further, the usual mode in which a man or woman becomes a member of a Secret Society is very like the mode in which a person regularly acquires a guardian spirit or what I formerly called an individual totem. In both cases the novice is commonly believed to encounter the supernatural patron in a vision or dream and to receive from him certain supernatural or magical powers, which are highly valued and which confer a greater or less degree of social distinction on their owner. Indeed it would appear that the Secret Societies are essentially associations of persons who have received the same spiritual gifts from the same spirits; so that the disintegration of society, which such personal revelations are apt to engender, is counteracted by the union of all the votaries of the same supernatural patron in a single corporation.³ Sometimes, as we have seen, the Secret Societies are graduated according to ages, and members pass from one to the other with advancing years.⁴ Societies so graduated present an analogy to the age-grades of many savage tribes⁵ and may perhaps have been developed out of them.

¹ See above, p. 530.

² See above, pp. 513 *sq.*, 540.

³ See above, pp. 453 *sq.*, 460.

⁴ See above, pp. 470-473, 475, 477-481.

⁵ For examples see above, vol. ii. 59-62, 412-416, 419, 431, 445 *sq.*

A very remarkable feature in the rites of initiation into many Secret Societies of North America is the pretence of killing the novice and bringing him to life again. Such a pretence appears natural enough when the Society into which he is to be initiated happens to be that of the Ghosts; for if he is to acquire the supernatural power of ghosts, the surest way of attaining that desirable end is to convert him into a ghost by killing him and so disengaging his pure spirit from its gross material clog, the body. But the simulation of death and resurrection is by no means limited to budding Ghosts; it is practised by many other societies, for example by the Wolf Society of the Nootkas and the Cannibal Society of the Niskas.¹ Its exact meaning is obscure. Elsewhere I have suggested that the intention of such ceremonies is to extract the soul of the novice from his body and to deposit it for safety in another place, whether in an animal or elsewhere, an interchange of life being effected so that, for example, the man dies as a man and revives as a wolf, while the wolf on the contrary dies as a wolf and comes to life as a man.² On this theory the man and the animal are both were-wolves; the man has in his body the soul of the wolf, and the wolf has in its body the soul of the man, and a sympathetic relation exists between the two such that whenever the one dies the other dies also. It is on this principle, for instance, that I would explain the bush souls of West Africa and the *naguals* of Central America.³ The American facts which we have just passed in review lend some support to the theory; for the Nootka ceremony of initiation, which seems to imply that the novice is killed as a man and restored to life as a wolf,⁴ may perhaps without undue straining be interpreted as an exchange of life or soul between a man and a wolf; and the custom of bringing back the novice after initiation on an effigy of an animal is possibly susceptible of a similar interpretation.⁵ But the whole cycle of initiatory rites, as I have already pointed out,⁶ stands sorely in need of elucidation.

A remarkable feature in the rites of initiation to many Secret Societies is the pretence of killing the novice and bringing him to life.

It has been suggested that the intention of such rites is to effect an exchange of life between a man and an animal, so that a sympathetic relation henceforth exists between them.

¹ See above, pp. 505, 542.
² *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, iii. 422-446.
³ See above, vol. ii. pp. 593 *sqq.*,

vol. iii. pp. 443 *sqq.*
⁴ See above, pp. 504 *sq.*
⁵ See above, pp. 537 *sq.*, 541, 542.
⁶ See above, p. 458.

The personation of gods, spirits, and so forth, by masked actors constitutes a religious drama like that of ancient Greece. Under favourable circumstances this religious drama of the North American Indians might in time have developed into a purely secular theatre.

Lastly, it may be observed that the personation of gods, spirits, and other beings, whether natural or supernatural, by masked actors, and the representation of their myths by action, song, and dance, clearly constitute a religious drama analogous to that of ancient Greece. The intention of all such sacred dramas, we may assume, was primarily not to awe the people with the spectacle of a solemn pageant or to amuse them with grotesque buffoonery ; it was to accomplish certain high and serious objects, such as the acquisition of supernatural powers and the production of an adequate supply of food for the community. Nowhere among the aborigines of North America have such miracle plays, as we may call them, been staged and acted with so elaborate, indeed so gorgeous an apparatus of costumes and scenic effects as among the Pueblo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico and the coast tribes of British Columbia ; nowhere, accordingly, is it so likely that these solemn religious rites would gradually have shrivelled or blossomed into a purely secular drama, if the course of evolution had not been cut short by the advent of the whites. The seed was sown ; it needed only time and favourable circumstances to spring up and bear the fine flower of art, whether in the desert air and under the blue skies of Arizona or in the rain-saturated forests of British Columbia.

CHAPTER XXI

TOTEMISM AMONG THE INDIANS OF CENTRAL AMERICA

§ 1. *Totemism among the Indians of Costa Rica*

ON the Atlantic slope of Costa Rica there are three tribes of Indians, the Cabecars, the Bri-bris, and the Tiribis. Indian tribes of Costa Rica, the Cabecars, Bri-bris, and Tiribis. Though they differ markedly in language, they are allied in their social, political, and religious institutions. The Cabecars inhabit the country from the frontiers of civilisation to the western side of the Coen branch of the Tiliri or Sicsola River. Adjoining them, the Bri-bris occupy the east side of the Coen, all the regions of the Lari, Uren, and Zhorquin and the valley lying round the mouths of these streams. The Tiribis live or lived in two villages on the Tilorio or Changanola River; but in the year 1875 their numbers were reduced to barely a hundred, and they may be now extinct. Physically, the Indians of these and the other tribes of Costa Rica bear a strong resemblance to each other. They are a short, broad-shouldered, heavily-built, and muscular race, with full chests and shapely limbs; they have the copper complexion of the North American Indians, perhaps a shade lighter in colour, though they live much nearer to the Equator. There seems to be little, if any, admixture of foreign blood in them. Nor should we expect to find it. They have lived aloof from foreigners, and it is only some eighty years since they ceased to wage open war on all intruders from the side of the sea. The Spanish occupation closed disastrously some two centuries ago, and was of too short duration, and the whites were too few, to

make a deep impression on what was then a populous country.¹

Strict
rule of
exogamy.

The Cabecars, Bri-bris, and Tiribis appear all to have been divided into exogamous clans, and to have enforced the rule of exogamy with great severity. Not only marriage but sexual intercourse within the forbidden limits was punished by burying both the culprits alive. On this subject Mr. W. W. Gabb, one of the few authorities on the Indians of Costa Rica, writes as follows:—

The
families or
clans exo-
gamous.

“There are certain limits within which parties may not marry. The tribes are divided into families, or something analogous to clans. Two persons of the same clan cannot marry. This is now a source of difficulty among the Tiribis. The tribe is so reduced that a number of marriageable persons of both sexes are unable to find eligible mates. I could not ascertain exactly how the question is settled as to which clan a person belongs, whether he inherits from father or mother, but so far as I could gather, I think from the father. Cousins, even to a remote degree, are called brother and sister, and are most strictly prohibited from intermarriage. The law, or custom, is not an introduced one, but one handed down from remote times. The penalty for its violation was originally very severe; nothing less than the burial alive of both parties. This penalty was not only enforced against improper marriage, but even against illicit intercourse on the part of persons within the forbidden limits. Mr. Lyon related to me a case that occurred since he has been living in the country, where the power of the chief Chirimo was insufficient to protect a man who married his second or third cousin. Fortunately for the delinquents, they succeeded in making their escape, though with difficulty, being followed two or three days’ journey by the avengers.

All
marriages
of cousins
forbidden
and
formerly
punished
with death.

“Infidelity is not rare, and the husband has the redress of whipping the woman and dismissing her if he desires, and of whipping her paramour if he is able. But so cautious are the people about the blood limit of inter-

Care
taken to
ascertain
consan-
guinity.

¹ Wm. W. Gabb, “On the Indian Tribes and Languages of Costa Rica,” *Proceedings of the American Philo-*

sophical Society held at Philadelphia, xiv. (Philadelphia, 1876) pp. 486 sq., 493.

marriage, that a woman on giving birth to an illegitimate child, for fear that it will not know the family to which it belongs, will usually brave the punishment, and at once confess its paternity.

"As cousins are called brother and sister, so are not only the brothers and sisters, but even the cousins of a wife or husband all called indiscriminately brother and sister-in-law; so that a person may on a single marriage find that he has annexed fifty or a hundred of these interesting relations."¹

The custom mentioned by Mr. Gabb, of bestowing the names of "brother" and "sister" on cousins of all degrees points to the existence of the classificatory system of relationship among these tribes.

From a later account of these Indians we learn the names of many of the exogamous divisions of the Bri-bris. The tribe is divided into two exogamous classes or phratries, each of which is subdivided into a number of clans. To judge from their names, these clans appear to be totemic. The two classes or phratries are called *Tubor* and *Kork* or *Dχbar* respectively. As is implied in the statement that the phratries are exogamous, a man may not marry a woman of his own phratry; he may only take a wife from the other. Thus, if he is a *Tubor*, his wife must be a *Kork*; if he is a *Kork*, his wife must be a *Tubor*. It does not appear whether the children take their clan from their father or from their mother. The Bri-bri name both for the phratry and the clan is *uak*. The following is a list of the clans included in each phratry, together with such explanations of the names as are forthcoming:—²

¹ Wm. W. Gabb, "On the Indian Tribes and Languages of Costa Rica," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia*, xiv. (Philadelphia, 1876) pp. 496 sq.

² H. Pittier de Fabrega, "Die

Sprache der Bribri-Indianer in Costa Rica," *Sitzungsberichte der philosophischen-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, cxxxviii. (Vienna, 1898) pp. 22 sq.

The terms brother and sister extended to cousins, etc.

The Bri-bris are divided into two exogamous classes or phratries and subdivided into a number of clans, which seem to be totemic.

SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE BRI-BRIS

TUBOR-UAK.	KORK-UAK OR D χ BAR-UAK.
Surits-uak ¹	D χ bar-uak
Duts-uak ²	Di-u-uak ¹¹
Bokir-uak	Tkbiri-uak ¹²
Do χ k-uak	Kos-uak ¹³
Sark-uak ³	Kipir χ k-uak ¹⁴
Dogdi-uak ⁴	Amu-kir-uak ¹⁵
Orori-uak ⁵	Tsirur-uak ¹⁶
Kugdi-uak ⁶	Uni-uak
Tkiut-uak ⁷	Sibri-uak ¹⁷
Duri-uak ⁸	Dauibri-uak ¹⁸
Arau-uak ⁹	Amuk-uak ¹⁹
Uri χ k-uak ¹⁰	Akter-uak ²⁰
	Kur-ki-uak ²¹
	Katša-ut-uak ²²
	Bobri-uak ²³

§ 2. *Traces of Totemism among the Guaymi Indians of Panama*

Totems or
guardian
animals

Speaking of the Guaymi Indians of Panama a French traveller, M. Alphonse Pinart, observes: "We find among

¹ *Suri*, wild (or wild beasts, German *wild*).

² *Du*, bird.

³ *Sar*, ape. This is the family of the kings, of whom in 1898 only one man and one woman survived.

⁴ *Dog-di*, *dug-di*, mussel river.

⁵ *Orori*, name of a tributary at the head-waters of the Arari.

⁶ *Kug*, German *Textilpalme*; *di*, water; name of a tributary of the Uren.

⁷ *Tki*, flea; *ut*, contraction of *u-t-itu*, place of the house.

⁸ *Du*, bird; *ri*, stream.

⁹ *Ara*, thunder; *u*, house.

¹⁰ *Uri*, ant-bear.

¹¹ *Di*, water; *u*, house.

¹² *Tkbi*, serpent; *ri*, stream.

¹³ *Kos*, mountain-slope.

¹⁴ *Kipi*, fruit of a wild creeper, eatable when boiled.

¹⁵ *Anu*, agave, *amuk*, plantation of agaves.

¹⁶ *Tsirur*, cacao, *ru*, derived from *eri*, ripe.

¹⁷ *Si*, posts, *bri*, water, brook.

¹⁸ *Dauibri* must be the name of a brook.

¹⁹ *Anu*, agave; *amuk*, plantation of agaves.

²⁰ *Akter*, stone-field.

²¹ *Kurki*, name of a place at the head-waters of the Uren; probably from *χkur*, ant-tree (*Cecropia* sp.); *ki*, in, upon.

²² *Katša*, Spanish *achiote*; *ut*, contraction from *u-t-itu*, place of the house.

²³ *Bobri*, place at the head-waters of the Uren. *Uak*, people, tribe.

the Guaymis traces of the totemic system, each tribe, each family, and each individual having a guardian animal. The commonest of these totemic animals appears to be the *ore*, a species of small parrot in honour of which I have heard a number of songs."¹ At certain times of the year the Guaymis observe rites of initiation for young men. These rites are called *urote* and are kept very secret: M. Pinart could only collect vague information on the subject. It appears that the medicine-men or shamans (*sukias*) or their agents gather together by night, and in great secrecy, all the young men who have reached the age of puberty. The place of assembly is a secluded spot in the depth of the forest. There the *thungun*, or master of the ceremonies, takes charge of the proceedings and teaches the young men the ancient traditions and the national songs; he exhorts them to be brave in war. So long as the rites (*urote*) last, the master of the ceremonies and his assistants never shew themselves to the youths except painted and wearing on their faces large wooden masks surrounded with leaves. Their persons are absolutely sacred and they make a great mystery of the whole affair. The young men have to submit to certain severe ordeals. Such as pass through them without a murmur are deemed worthy of the title of warriors; those who flinch are despised as poltroons. The ceremonies last about a fortnight, and during their continuance there is no intercourse with the outer world. The women whose duty it is to wait on the celebrants and on the novices are called *thungumia*; they do their work naked, but with their bodies painted and their heads covered by masks, which are surrounded with leaves and from which long pendants of moss droop to their heels. The rites over, all disperse by night to their homes, and no questions are asked by others as to what they have been doing.² After this ceremony of initiation a Guaymi lad takes another name, which he chooses for himself. It may be derived from his personal qualities or from an animal, bird, etc., which he has chosen as his guardian animal. The name may be afterwards changed.

among the
Guaymi
Indians of
Panama.

Rites of
initiation
of young
men.

New
names
assumed
after
initiation.

¹ Alphonse Pinart, "Les Indiens de l'État de Panama," *Revue d'Eth-*

nographie, vi. (Paris, 1887) p. 36.

² Alphonse Pinart, *op. cit.* pp. 40 sq.

The Guaymi, like most American Indians, has several names ; but the one by which he is known to his relations and friends is never mentioned to a stranger ; for according to their notions a stranger who succeeded in learning a man's name would thereby obtain a secret power over him.¹

It is uncertain whether the Guaymi guardian animals are totems.

From this somewhat vague and meagre account it is hardly possible to decide whether the "guardian animals" of which the writer speaks are the totems of clans or the guardian spirits of individuals. If we press his words, it would seem that the Guaymis have both these institutions, and so far their customs would agree with those of many tribes of North American Indians.

¹ Alphonse Pinart, "Les Indiens de l'État de Panama," *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vi. (Paris, 1887) pp. 43 sq.

CHAPTER XXII

TOTEMISM AMONG THE INDIANS OF SOUTH AMERICA

§ 1. *Totemism among the Goajiros*

THE Goajiros are a South American tribe of Indians inhabiting the Goajira peninsula in Colombia. The peninsula is a land of bare arid volcanic hills and broad plains, where water is scarce and has to be procured mainly by digging wells in the dry beds of the wadies. Only the mountains at the seaward end of the peninsula catch the rain-clouds from the ocean and draw down the fertilising showers to water the gardens on their verdant slopes. The Goajiros form a single tribe, but little or nothing is known of their history. They have a tradition that they came from a great distance and they point out traces of villages which belonged to the former inhabitants, whom they assert to have been the Arhuacos of the Sierra Nevada. It is remarkable that the Goajiros should have been able to remain down to the present time free and independent, with their ancient manners and customs uncontaminated, though they inhabit a peninsula which is accessible on all sides and lies on the highway of commerce. Till about the year 1882 their country was unexplored.¹

¹ F. A. A. Simons, "An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula, U.S. of Colombia," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, New Series, vii. (1885) pp. 781-786. Mr. Simons, a Civil Engineer, was commissioned by the National Government of Colombia about 1882 to explore and report on the Goajira Peninsula. His article in the *Proceedings of the Royal*

Geographical Society contains a summary of his results. It remains our chief, indeed almost only, authority on the country and its inhabitants. Subsequent writers appear to have drawn much, if not all, of their information about the customs of these Indians either avowedly or tacitly from Mr. Simons's report. See A. Ernst, "Die ethnographische Stellung

The Goajiro Indians of Colombia and their country.

Mr. F. A. A. Simons's account of the Goajiro totemic clans.

The Goajiros "are subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient 'clans' of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers, taking up the quarrel of any one of its members to make it general. The Goajiros are strictly conservative and aristocratic in their ideas, wealth and interest are omnipotent. A poor man may be insulted with impunity, when the same to a rich man would cause certain bloodshed. They have no veritable rulers, but each community recognises the wealthiest of its members as the chief or corporal, as he has been dubbed by the Spaniards, and look to him for protection. An Indian born poor, cannot become wealthy and great. Whatever herds he may accumulate, his humble origin would never be forgotten; he could, however, marry into a high caste family, having the means, and his children could become, through their mother's relations, great chiefs. Besides the name, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above their own symbol, adopt another of some more powerful denomination, to enjoy the privilege of a good protector. There are at present, altogether, some thirty odd castes among the Goajiros. Of these I was able to discover the names of twenty-two.

The large Urianas clan, subdivided into sections, which take their names from the tiger, rabbit, paularate, and lizard.

The remainder are insignificant, little known castes, chiefly inhabiting the hills. There are about ten of importance, chief among these the Urianas. This, the largest caste in the Goajira, has subdivided or split up into many ramifications, such as Urianas tiger, Urianas rabbit, Urianas paularate (a song bird), Urianas gecko (lizard). This family is at present not only by far the most numerous, but also the richest; due to its connections by marriage with the Pushainas, formerly the wealthiest of the land. The Pushainas are to-day still great holders of *tumas*¹ and ornaments, but

der Guajiro-Indianer," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* 1887 (Berlin, 1887), pp. (425) sqq. (appended to the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xix. 1887); W. Sievers, *Reise in der Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta* (Leipsic, 1887), pp. 243 sqq.; H. Candelier, *Rio-Hacha et les*

Indiens Goajires (Paris, 1893); Francis C. Nicholas, "The Aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Colombia," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, iii. (1901) pp. 645-649. This last account, though brief, seems to be quite independent.

¹ A *tuma* is a piece of polished stone with a hole drilled through it.

with the Indian, only cattle, mules, and horses are real estate. The Urianas on receiving the *tumas*, sold out for cattle. The second in numbers are the Epieyues; as a rule they are poor. Under their protection are the Secuanas, again under these the small caste of the Guorguoriyues." With the exception of a few small local tribes, "the other castes are distributed throughout the breadth and width of the land in the greatest confusion. Living as the Goajiro does, in continual strife and warfare, whole families would speedily become poor or extinct, if they did not take the precaution to separate their wealth and herds, and only keep a few in one place at a time. Scarcity of water and pasture compels them to lead a nomadic life, and makes house-building out of the question, for they are eternally changing abode, now in the upper Goajira and then in the lower or plains. Some branches among the castes have, in spite of their roving propensities, predispositions for certain spots. For example, the proud and wealthy Pushainas are chiefly found round and about Parashi and Ataipa. Urianas tiger frequent Taroa and Bahia Honda a great deal, while near Portete, Ipuanas and Epinayues abound."¹

The clans distributed over the country in great confusion.

The following is the list which Mr. Simons gives of the Goajiro castes or clans together with their animals and their favourite resting-places:—²

List of Goajiro clans.

Such stones (all carnelian, jasper, or other reddish varieties of silica) are found with gold ornaments in old graves, and the Goajiros value them above everything. See F. A. A. Simons, "An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula, U.S. of Colombia," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, New Series, vii. (1885) pp. 781 sq.

¹ F. A. A. Simons, *op. cit.* pp. 786 sq.

² F. A. A. Simons, *op. cit.* p. 796.

A list of ten clans is given by H. Candelier (*Rio-Hacha et les Indiens Goajires*, pp. 247 sq.), but it seems to have no independent value. A Spanish writer of the eighteenth century, Father Alvarez Don Jose Nicolas de la Rosa, in his *Florestia*

de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de la Ciudad de Santa Marta (written in 1739 and published at Valencia in 1833), mentions six castes of the Goajiros or Guagiros, as he calls them, namely, the castes of the Macaw, Turkey, a kind of Brush Hen, Monkey, Small Monkey, and Turkey Buzzard, of which the first was the highest and the last the lowest. The burial ceremonies, which consisted of crying, dancing, and eating, differed for each of the castes. See Francis C. Nicholas, "The Aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Colombia," *American Anthropologist*, iii. (1901) pp. 606, 634. I have not seen the Spanish work of Father de la Rosa to which Mr. Nicholas refers.

Clans.	Animals.	Favourite Resting Places.
Uriana . . .	<i>Canahapur</i> . Tiger	About Taroa and Bahia Honda.
" . . .	<i>Arpana</i> . Rabbit	About Cuce and Maracaybo coast.
" . . .	<i>Guinpirai</i> . A singing bird	Everywhere.
" . . .	<i>Hokoriu</i> . Gecko (lizard)	Only in the plains.
Epieyu . . .	<i>Guaruseche</i> . A species of vulture	Bahia Honda, Puerto Estrella, and plains
Pushaina . .	<i>Puiche</i> . A species of small peccary	Parashi, Ataipa, and plains.
Ipuana . . .	<i>Musharé</i> . A sort of hawk	Portete Joroy, Ciapana, etc.
Jayariu . . .	<i>Er</i> . Dog	Macuira and plains.
Jusayu . . .	<i>Kasiaurie</i> . Rat-snake	Teta, Hayare.
Arpushaina .	<i>Samur</i> . Vulture	Guincua and plains, Cohoro.
Sapuana . .	<i>Garina</i> . Hen	Plains, Guarero.
" . . .	<i>Carrai</i> . A species of stork	?
Epinayu . .	<i>Uyara</i> . A small buck	Portete, Hayarure.
Jirnu or Pieri .	<i>Guarir</i> . Fox	Only in the Macuira valley.
Secuana . . .	{ <i>Guorguor</i> or } Species of vulture	Only in the Upper Goajira.
Urariyu . . .	<i>Mara</i> . Rattlesnake	Everywhere.
Pausayu . . .	<i>Huche</i> . ?	?
Sijuana . . .	<i>Coori</i> . Wasp	Upper Goajira only.
Guaririn . .	<i>Guarir</i> . Fox	Only in the hills of Macuira.
Guauriu or } Guau-uriu }	<i>Per</i> . Partridge	Taroa and Upper Goajira.
Arapainayu .	<i>Anuwana</i> . Species of vulture	Upper Goajira only.
Samuriu . . .	<i>Hepepa</i> . Owl	" "
Arpusiata . .	<i>Ischu</i> . Red cardinal bird	" "
Ucharaiu . .	All Cocina (robber) Indians	Cohoro hills only.
Araurujuna .		A small almost unknown tribe in the hills of Macuira.
Guorguoriyu .	{ <i>Guorguor</i> or } Species of vulture	Only in the hills of Upper Goajira.

Compensation for injuries claimed by the maternal uncle.

Each of these castes or clans is responsible for the acts of any of its members. "Of course, like all Indians, they are singularly proficient in begging, stealing, and drinking, but besides these capital vices they add a fourth, that is demanding compensation, tear- or blood-money—principal cause of all the strife and blood feuds between the castes, and an everlasting danger to Indians and strangers alike. . . . The laws that govern these compensation cases are very intricate, their number is legion. First is the terrible law of retribution, that makes a whole caste responsible for the acts of any single member. . . . It must be borne in mind that it

is not the injured individual that demands compensation, but his relations, uncles on the mother's side as a rule. From this has arisen the common error that the father is ignored; as will be seen further on, this is not the case. In compensation it is the caste that reclaims, and the caste is always the mother's side. For example, a Pushaina man marries an Uriana girl; the children are Urianas. If one of these now should kill an Epieyu, for example, the whole caste of Uriana is at war with all the Epieyues, unless the matter is amicably settled by paying blood-money."¹

The clan is hereditary in the maternal line.

The statement that "the caste is always the mother's side" appears to imply that husband and wife are always of different castes or clans, and that children always belong to their mother's clan; in other words, we seem to be justified in inferring that the Goajiro clans are exogamous with descent in the female line.²

Apparently the clans are exogamous.

The Goajiros are polygamous. A man may have as many wives as he can maintain, and the more he has, the greater is his social importance. "The Indian girls are sold to their husbands, but their parents have nothing to say in the matter, the maternal uncles having full authority which the girl must recognize. The marriage ceremony consists of a series of fastings and exchanges of presents between the family of the bride and her husband; every present must be returned with another of equal value, and as the endowment must first be provided, it is for them a matter of some expense to be married. This endowment must be sufficient to maintain the wife in the position in which she was born, and as no Goajira will marry beneath his position, many of the men must remain without wives, though the greater number of them usually manage to obtain one, and polygamy is not so frequent among them as

The Goajiros are polygamous; wives are purchased from their maternal uncles, not from their fathers.

¹ F. A. A. Simons, "An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula, U.S. of Colombia," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, New Series, vii. (1885) pp. 789 sq.

² Mr. A. Ernst says that "only in rare cases do marriages take place between members of different families" (*Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie*

und Urgeschichte, 1887, p. 442). I do not know what his authority for this statement is. His information as to the Goajiro families, castes, or clans appears to be drawn wholly from Mr. Simons's report, to which he refers; and in that report the statement in question, so far as I see, is not made, indeed it is implicitly contradicted.

Payment
for wives
is usually
made in
cattle.

True
relation-
ship only
on the
maternal
side.

The
Levirate.

one might expect. After the purchase of the bride has been negotiated with her maternal uncles, who fix the value of her social position, they are supposed to take charge of whatever is received, payment being usually made in cattle. Among the ruling classes a small herd is required, but with the poor people five goats are regarded as sufficient. The uncles, on receiving the property, take careful account of it and put the animals out on the range for pasture; there they are maintained and allowed to increase."¹ Similarly, another writer observes that "according to the Goajiro law true relationship exists only on the maternal side, the side of blood: hence the son or daughter, for example, forms part of his mother's caste and not of his father's. With regard to marriage, the father cannot dispose of his daughter; that right belongs to the mother's brothers, the maternal uncles; they are considered by the Goajiro law as the proper natural protectors, the true fathers of the child. It is they who accept or refuse a proposal of marriage for their niece, who fix the amount of her price or, if you please, of her dowry: in case the proposal is accepted, they are the receivers, the depositaries of this dowry. Similarly, the young Indian woman does not inherit from her father, but from her maternal uncles and from her mother."²

The Goajiros observe the law of the levirate. On a man's death his widow goes to his brother, usually his youngest brother. If he has no brothers, his nephew inherits her.³

¹ Francis C. Nicholas, "The Aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Colombia," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, iii. (1901) pp. 647 sq.

² H. Candelier, *Rio-Hacha et les Indiens Goajiros* (Paris, 1893), pp. 207 sq. Similarly the Spanish writer Don José Nicolas de la Rosa observes: "Among the Indians it is not the child of the father who inherits; the property goes to the maternal nephews, the Indian saying, 'They are more nearly of my blood.' The sons of the sisters not only inherit the property of their uncle, but also his wives." See F. C. Nicholas, "The Aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Colombia," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, iii. (1901) p. 633. On

the other hand Mr. Simons writes: "Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the best part for himself and his relations, the rest going to the wife's relations. As it is chiefly in cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held" (*Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, New Series, vii. (1885) p. 792).

³ F. A. A. Simons, "An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, New Series, vii. (1885) p. 792.

The law of blood-revenge is pushed by the Goajiros to a curious extreme. Not only is a whole caste or clan responsible for a murder committed by any one of its members, but if a man accidentally wounds himself, he is bound to compensate his mother's clan for the injury he has done them by shedding their blood. "If an Indian," we are told, "accidentally cuts himself, say with his own knife, breaks a limb, or otherwise does himself an injury, his family on the mother's side immediately demands blood-money. Being of their blood, he is not allowed to spill it without paying for it. The father's relations demand tear-money, not so much. Friends present demand compensation to repay their sorrow at seeing a friend in pain. If anybody present can seize the instrument that caused the accident it is appropriated. The pay is in ratio to the injury. A slightly cut finger is settled with a little Indian corn, a kid, or such trifle. A bad cut requires at least a goat or a sheep, with other sundries. In all cases of compensation when the Indian has not the wherewith to satisfy his creditors, he goes round begging until it is obtained."¹

The law of blood-revenge pushed by the Goajiros to extremes. If a man injures himself, he must compensate his mother's clan.

The law of blood-revenge is the source of much hostility between the various clans; they are frequently at war with each other, and the hatred thus aroused is very bitter. Feuds are carried out to the extermination of the foe, and life is but little valued in the Goajiro country. It is estimated that a quarter of the male population perishes through the law of blood-revenge.²

Blood-revenge a source of war.

With regard to the relation which exists between a Goajiro clan and the animal which it is said to represent, we have no exact information; but as the clans appear to be exogamous with descent in the female line, we may fairly conjecture that the relation between a clan and its animal is totemic. If that is so, the Goajiros have a totemic system of the normal pattern.

Nothing known as to the relation between people and their totems.

¹ F. A. A. Simons, "An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, New Series, vii. (1885) p. 790.

² F. A. A. Simons, *op. cit.* p. 789; F. C. Nicholas, "Aborigines of Santa Marta, Colombia," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, iii. (1901) p. 647.

§ 2. Totemism among the Arawaks of British Guiana

The
Arawaks
of British
Guiana.
Their
villages.

Unlike the warlike Goajiros who are a nomadic cattle-rearing people roaming over an open arid country, the Arawaks of British Guiana live in permanent houses or villages built in clearings of the dense tropical woods and they subsist to a great extent by agriculture. All round such a clearing rise like a wall the giants of the forest. Irregularly - planted cassava, sugar - cane, pine - apples, and other plants which the Indian cultivates grow intermingled with wild seedlings and shoots from the stumps of the trees which once stood there ; and the whole is matted together by thickly-growing yam-vines, by razor-grass, with its stems and leaves edged like knives, and by passion-flowers with their great purple, crimson, and white blossoms. Charred trunks of felled trees lie in all directions amongst this dense mass of rankly luxuriant vegetation. A narrow, much-trodden path leads from the house through the clearing into the forest and through it down to the nearest water. So sheltered are the huts by the surrounding woods that they are built without walls ; a roof thatched with palm-leaves and supported on posts suffices, though on the long sides the thatch nearly reaches to the ground. Sometimes a partition of palm-leaves or bark ensures a certain degree of privacy. Many of these houses are clean and well cared for ; and floored as they are with glittering white sand and bordered by coffee and cashew trees, among which the beautiful crimson lilies (*Hippeastrum equestre*) cluster thickly, they are pleasant places in which to while away the sultry hours of the tropical day.¹ The staple vegetable food of these Indians is cassava-bread. To prepare their fields the men fell the trees, cut down the underwood, and set fire to the whole fallen mass. In the clearings thus produced the women plant the cassava, and it is they who dig up the roots and grate them into the pulp of which the bread is backd. After three or four crops have been taken from a field, it is deserted and a new clearing made in the forest.

Their
houses.

Their agri-
culture :
shifting
cultivation.

¹ Everard F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana* (London, 1883), pp. 202-204, 250 sqq.

"The reason of this periodical desertion of the old, and clearing of new ground is uncertain," says Sir Everard F. im Thurn, "but it is perhaps connected with some superstition."¹ Yet the partial exhaustion of the soil under this rude system of tillage may be a sufficient motive for shifting the patches of cultivation. While the women till the fields, the men hunt and fish; for the Indians of Guiana subsist in about equal measure on the products of agriculture and of the chase.²

The Arawaks are divided into a large number of exogamous clans with descent in the female line; and as most of the names of the clans appear to be drawn from the animals or plants of the country, we may reasonably infer that they are totemic, and hence that the Arawaks, like the Goajiros, either have or had a totemic system of the ordinary type. The existence of exogamous clans among the Arawaks was first detected by an English surveyor of Demerara, Mr. William Hilhouse, in the early part of the nineteenth century. He published the names of twenty-seven clans or families, as he called them, and he observed in regard to them that "the cast (*sic*) of blood is derived from the mother, and the family genealogy is preserved with the greatest care, as a preservative from incestuous intercourse—one family not being allowed to intermarry within itself. The children of a Maratakayu father cannot, therefore be Maratakayu; but if the mother be Queyurunto, the children are also Queyurunto, and can marry into the father's family, but not the mother's.

"Marriages are frequently contracted by the parents for their children when infants. In this case the young man is bound to assist the family of his wife till she arrives at puberty; he then takes her where he pleases, and establishes his own household. But young men and women who are free, at a more advanced age consult their inclinations without any ceremony beyond the mere permission of the parent, which is never withheld but on account of family feuds. Polygamy is allowed and practised by all those

¹ Everard F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, pp. 250-253, 260-264.

² E. F. im Thurn, *op. cit.* pp. 227 sq.

The Arawaks are divided into exogamous and apparently totemic clans with descent in the female line.

Marriage customs of the Arawaks.

who have the means of maintenance for a plurality of wives. This is generally the case with the chiefs or captains, who have sometimes three or four wives."¹

Sir E. F.
im Thurn's
list of
Arawak
clans.

Subsequent enquiries have enlarged the number of Arawak clans to nearly fifty, and it is thought to be certain that there are still others to be recorded. A full list of the names, so far as they are known, has been published by Sir Everard F. im Thurn, who received them from "Mr. McClintock, a man well known in Guiana, who has lived longer among the Arawaks, and has mixed more freely with them than any other European." The following is the full list of the names of the clans, together with the most probable explanations of these names, so far as Sir Everard F. im Thurn was able, after careful enquiries, to ascertain them:—²

Names of Clans.	Meanings of Names.
1. <i>Karuafona</i> . . .	"From the grassy land."
2. <i>Onishena</i> . . .	"From the rain or water."
3. <i>Koiarno</i> . . .	"From the deer."
4. <i>Urahkana</i> . . .	"From the <i>ourali</i> or bloodwood tree."
5. <i>Hairena</i> . . .	"From the wild plantain tree." The plant usually known under this name is the very striking <i>Ravenala guianensis</i> , but the same name is also applied to several species of <i>Heliconia</i> .

¹ "Notices of the Indians settled in the Interior of British Guiana," by William Hilhouse, Esq., Surveyor, Demerara, communicated by Captain J. E. Alexander, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, ii. (1832) p. 228. In a note (p. 227) it is said that "Mr. Hilhouse's book was published in 1825, but is very little known," and that his statements were "founded on a very intimate acquaintance with the people he describes." The names of the families or clans recorded by Mr. Hilhouse (*op. cit.* p. 228) are these:—1. Maratakayu; 2. Queyurunto; 3. Wooneseedo; 4. Demaridy; 5. Corobahady; 6. Wurallikaddy; 7. Ebesuana; 8. Dacamocaddy; 9. Aramukunyu; 10. Baboana; 11. Kanahea, Mackoveyu; 12. Daharabetady; 13. Carabunury; 14. Nebebeetaddy; 15. Seewedey; 16. Jorobalina; 17. Haduadafunha; 18. Boerybetady; 19. Carua-

fuddy; 20. Bakurucaddy; 21. Euboqueaddy; 22. Wakuyaddy; 23. Ehbeh-selio; 24. Wareerobaquady; 25. Aramkritu; 26. Kariwheete; 27. Eubotaddy. The names of the clans are repeated, after Hilhouse, by Sir Robert Schomburgk (*Reisen in Britisch-Guiana* (Leipsic, 1847-1848), ii. 459), who tells us that Hilhouse lived long among the Arawaks and married an Arawak wife. Compare Rev. W. H. Brett, *The Indian Tribes of Guiana* (London, 186), p. 98.

² Everard F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana* (London, 1883), pp. 176-183. In these names the final syllable *na* is a collective termination and has nothing to do with the root. The masculine termination is *die* and the feminine *do*. For example, a man of the *Karuafona* clan is *Karuafodie* and a woman is *Karuafodo*.

Names of Clans.	Meanings of Names.
6. <i>Yobotana</i> . . .	"From the black monkey." The species referred to is thought to be <i>Ateles beelzebub</i> .
7. <i>Haiawafona</i> . . .	"From the <i>hyawa</i> tree" (<i>Icica heptaphylla</i>). The tree produces an abundant and very sweet scented resin, which is much used by the Indians for the rapid kindling of fire, making torches, and perfuming the oils with which they anoint their bodies.
8. <i>Demarena</i> . . .	This name is variously interpreted. Some say that it means "from the water <i>mama</i> " or rather "from certain spirits" dwelling usually underground. The water <i>mama</i> is a spirit supposed to live under the water of rivers. The name is often used for supernatural beings in general. This family is said to intermarry with the <i>Karobahana</i> (No. 25) in accordance with an old legend.
9. <i>Wakuyana</i> . . .	The family sprung "from the redbreast bird" (<i>Leistes americana</i>), which is called <i>wakuya</i> in Arawak. This bird is one of the commonest and most striking in the coast region of Guiana, to which the Arawaks are confined.
10. <i>Kamikaihimikina</i> or <i>Akamikina</i>	The transcription of the name is believed to be erroneous. There is no satisfactory interpretation of it.
11. <i>Dakamokana</i> . . .	"From the <i>dakama</i> tree." This tree bears a nut like souari (<i>Pekea tuberculosa</i>), the kernel of which is grated and baked with cassava meal when cassava is scarce.
12. <i>Madayalena</i> , also given as <i>Moukina</i>	The family coming "from a treeless place," perhaps "from a savannah."
13. <i>Hekerowana</i> . . .	"From a tortoise." <i>Hekorie</i> is the Arawak name of the tortoise.
14. <i>Awarakana</i> . . .	"From the <i>awara</i> palm" (<i>Astrocaryum tucumoides</i>). This is a very common palm near Indian settlements on the coast. The fruit is much relished, and oil is extracted from it. The young leaves are used as fans for blowing up the fire.
15. <i>Kaikokana</i> . . .	"From a rat." The word <i>kaio</i> is the Arawak name for a species of rat.
16. <i>Ematana</i> . . .	Meaning unknown.
17. <i>Ebesowana</i> . . .	"The changed or transformed." The word <i>ebesoa</i> means "to change." The members of the family derive the name from a tradition that an ancestress of theirs was changed or magically transformed. Caterpillars are <i>ebesoa</i> or transformed into butterflies.
18. <i>Babowna</i> . . .	So called from a tree which produces a milk-like juice used medicinally to dress ulcers.
19. <i>Eeyicono</i> . . .	Apparently, "the newly come family," from <i>eeyato</i> , "raw," "fresh."

Names of Clans.	Meanings of Names.
20. <i>Ebesoleno</i> . . .	Interpreted by several as "the changed"; by one as "faithful, truthful, or heedful family."
21. <i>Warerokana</i> . . .	"From a wild plantain." This wild plantain appears to differ from the one mentioned above (No. 5), and to be a species of <i>Heliconia</i> .
22. <i>Pariana</i> . . .	"From a kind of bee."
23. <i>Yabieno</i> , or perhaps <i>Sabieno</i>	"The family sprung from the mocking-bird" (<i>Cassicus persicus</i>). Here again the bird chosen as name-father is one of the most prominent in the district.
24. <i>Kabolifona</i> . . .	"From the wild thorn tree" (according to Mr. Brett). "From the white winged ant" (according to Mr. McClintock).
25. <i>Karobahana</i> . . .	"Related to the <i>Coriaki</i> parrot." This clan intermarried with the <i>Demarena</i> (No. 8).
26. <i>Maratakayona</i> . . .	Sprung "from a (small) bee."
27. <i>Miekariona</i> . . .	No derivation suggested.
28. <i>Barakana</i> (or <i>Barakatanana</i> ?)	"From an armadillo." <i>Barkata</i> is the Arawak name for one species of armadillo, but which species is meant is unknown.
29. <i>Tahatahabetano</i> (or <i>Tahabetano</i> ?)	The family sprung "from a hawk." (?)
30. <i>Turubalena</i> (or <i>Turubalolu</i>)	"From the <i>туру</i> palm" (<i>Aenocarpus baccaba</i>), "the seed of which being dark, represents persons of dark complexion."
31. <i>Aramokena</i> (or <i>Aramokiyu</i> , plural)	"From the <i>arara</i> tree."
32. <i>Kamonena</i> . . .	Derivation not suggested.
33. <i>Dahati-betana</i> . . .	Sprung "from the pepper plant." The red pepper, or capsicum, is grown and used in very great quantities by the Indians.
34. <i>Kaboribetana</i> . . .	Said to mean "sprung from the <i>kabori</i> tree." What tree that may be is not known. Another interpretation is "from the wild yam," the fruit of which is much used by the Indians as bait for fish. The weight of evidence is in favour of this latter interpretation. A less probable derivation is from a kind of fish, species unknown.
35. <i>Mibibitana</i> . . .	"From the bush rope called <i>mibi</i> " (<i>Carludovica</i>). This rope is much used by the Indians in making their rough baskets, and in binding together the various parts of which their houses are built.
36. <i>Bakuriekana</i> . . .	"From another, smaller kind of bush rope." According to a less probable derivation, the name is connected with <i>bakarie</i> , "mother-in-law."
37. <i>Yabokaquana</i> . . .	"The deformed family."
38. <i>Atiyokana</i> (or perhaps <i>Antiyokana</i>)	A family sprung "from the wild cherry tree." This tree is not uncommon in the forest. Its fruit resembles a cherry in shape and colour and is much relished by the Indians.

Names of Clans.	Meanings of Names.
39. <i>Arase</i> . . .	Perhaps <i>Haraschino</i> from <i>harasche</i> , "without hair." The form of the word is abnormal.
40. <i>Seana</i> . . .	Said to mean sprung "from a bee," namely from another of the numerous species of bees. Compare Nos 22, 26.
41. <i>Seima</i> . . .	This family is said to be of no antiquity and its name to refer to an admixture of Spanish blood.
42. <i>Sewenana</i> . . .	A family sprung "from the razor-grinder," an insect remarkable for the extraordinarily loud sound with which it makes the forest resound.
43. <i>Yateyo</i> . . .	The form of this word is quite abnormal. Mr. McClintock says that it means "the offspring of a cannibal."
44. <i>Waruwakana</i> . . .	"From the <i>waruwaka</i> , or wild liquorice tree." The tree is <i>Cassia grandis</i> . It grows to a large size, and is one of the most beautiful trees in Guiana. When it is in bloom, every bough is covered with masses of small delicate pink flowers.
45. <i>Korikurena</i> . . .	Said to be connected with <i>korikuri</i> or, more probably, <i>karukuri</i> , "gold."
46. <i>Tetebetana</i> . . .	A family sprung "from a kind of night-jar" or goatsucker. There are several species of this bird in Guiana, and all of them are more or less remarkable for the extraordinary cries with which they make night hideous.
47. <i>Arubunoona</i> (or <i>Harubunoona</i>)	"From the velvet-leaf plant." This plant is common about Indian houses. Another authority says that the name refers to some mixture of Ackawoi blood with the true Arawak.

The authorities consulted by Sir Everard F. im Thurn with reference to the names of the clans agreed in saying that many of the names are derived from expressions now obsolete, and that the meanings of the rest were even then known only to a very few aged persons.¹

As to the names of the clans and the traditionary explanations of them Sir Everard F. im Thurn observes: "The fact chiefly evident is that the names are generally those of animals or plants common in Guiana. Two traditionary explanations of the origin of the names are given by the Arawaks themselves, one simple and the other marvellous. Some say that when the Arawak families in

Many of the names derived from obsolete expressions.

The names of the clans are generally names of animals or plants. Two explanations of the

¹ Everard F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 183.

names are given.
Most Arawaks say that the clan is descended from the eponymous animal, bird, or plant.

Guiana were increasing in number, at a meeting of the heads of these families, each arbitrarily chose a distinctive family name. One chief, specially mentioned, chose the name of the tree called *arara* (see No. 31), the leaves of which happened to be on the ground on which he sat; another chose the name of another which grew behind him; a third chose the name of a bird which happened to be heard at the moment; and a fourth that of an insect which was at the moment in sight. Most Arawaks, however, emphatically deny this account, and assert that each family is descended—their fathers knew how, but they themselves have forgotten—from its eponymous animal, bird, or plant. It is a matter of much regret that I have been unable to find examples of these legends of descent. In the present state of knowledge, all that can be observed is, the names are evidently almost invariably derived from natural objects, animal or vegetable, and that almost as invariably these eponymous objects are such as are in some way very prominent in Indian life.”¹

This is probably the ancient explanation of the totems.

Of these two competing explanations of the clan names, there can be no reasonable doubt that the tradition of descent from the animals and plants, which is emphatically maintained by most of the Arawaks, is the more ancient; and that the other, which derives the names from the arbitrary choice of ancestors, is a later attempt to rationalise the old mystic relation between the clanspeople and their eponymous animals or plants. A belief in the descent of an exogamous totemic clan from its eponymous animal or plant is so common as to make it in the highest degree probable that the exogamous clans of the Arawaks, named after animals or plants from which most of the Indians themselves stoutly claim to be descended, are in the full and strict sense of the word totemic.

Rules of marriage and descent among the Arawaks.

The rules of marriage and descent in the Arawak clans, or, as he calls them, families, are stated by Sir Everard F. im Thurn as follows:—“Each family is, or was, kept distinct by the fact that the descent is solely and rigidly in the female line, and that no intermarriage with relations on the mother’s side is permitted among these Indians. The first of these regulations, the descent in the female line, is doubt-

¹ Everard F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, pp. 184 sq.

less founded on the fact that, while there can be no doubt as to the mother of a child, there may be considerable doubt as to the father. The fundamental idea of the second regulation, which forbids the intermarriage of those related on the mother's side, is not so apparent. According to it, a child may marry a husband or wife, as the case may be, of its father's family, or of any other family but that of its mother. If the said child is a man, the offspring of his marriage belong to his wife's family, and bear her name; if it be a woman, the offspring of her marriage belong to her family, and consequently to her mother's. It is evident that the two regulations, taken together, ensure the purity of descent in each family. Quite in accordance with this system of retaining the descent in the female line is the fact . . . that an Indian, when he marries, goes to live in the house of his father-in-law, and works for him; he becomes, in fact, a part of his wife's family."¹ To put it in other words, the Arawak clans are exogamous with descent in the female line; no man may marry a woman of his own clan, but he may marry a woman of any other, and the children always belong to her clan, not to his. In short the Arawaks have, to all appearance, or had till lately, a totemic system of the regular pattern.

Descent is reckoned only in the female line, and marriage with relations on the mother's side is forbidden.

A man goes to live with his father-in-law.

§ 3. *Traces of Totemism among other Tribes of South America*

Of all the many Indian tribes of South America the Goajiros and the Arawaks are the only two of whom it can be affirmed with a degree of probability approaching to certainty that they have a system of totemism and exogamy. Over the other Indian tribes, who inhabit the dense tropical forests, the great open savannahs, and the lofty tablelands of that beautiful and wonderful continent, the supine indifference of Spaniards and Portuguese in modern times has spread a thick veil of ignorance, which has been rent only here and there by travellers or settlers of other races; and through the rifts we can catch a few glimpses of something that looks more or less like totemism. In this last

Apart from the Goajiros and Arawaks, there is little evidence of totemism among the Indian tribes of South America.

¹ Everard F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, pp. 185 sq.

section of my survey I propose to collect the scanty indications of this sort that I have met with, hoping that they may yet stimulate others to make enquiries before it is too late. For we may conjecture, though we cannot prove, that totemism and exogamy exist, or have existed, among many tribes of South America where their existence has not yet been recorded.

Indication
of totemism
among the
Bush
negroes of
Surinam.

In the first place, we are told that the Bush Negroes of Surinam, or Dutch Guiana, worship certain animals; one family respects the red ape, another the tortoise, another the crocodile, and so forth.¹ This points to a system of totemism. The Bush Negroes are communities of negroes living in the forests of Dutch Guiana; they are the descendants of slaves who escaped from their Dutch masters before 1712, and were reinforced in that year by others. In 1762 these communities concluded a treaty of peace with the Dutch.² They may have either brought totemism with them from Africa or borrowed it from a neighbouring Indian tribe.

The Salivas
of the
Orinoco.
The
Piaroas
of the
Orinoco.

Amongst the Salivas of the Orinoco one tribe claimed to be descended from the earth, others from trees, and others from the sun.³ The Piaroas, an Indian tribe on the right bank of the Orinoco, "admit the doctrine of metempsychosis. Thus, the tapir is their grandfather. The soul of the dying man transmigrates into the body of the beast. Hence they will never hunt the animal nor eat of its flesh, any more than of the jaguar, of which they stand in great fear. Though a tapir should pass and repass through their fields and ravage their crop, they will not even attempt to turn it aside or frighten it, they will rather abandon the place and go and settle elsewhere. With respect to the other animals, they are affiliated to different tribes. Certain spirits

Ceremonies
of the
Piaroas for
enchaining
the fish
or game
which they
are about
to hunt.

animate the plants and direct the beasts. At the time of the migrations of the peccaries and of certain fish, the Indians don their ornaments of feathers, teeth, and fish-bones, and assemble for a nocturnal liturgy, in which they enchant the game they are about to hunt or the fish they are about to

¹ J. Crevaux, *Voyages dans l'Amérique du sud* (Paris, 1883), p. 59.

² See A. M. Coster, "De Bosch-negers in de Kolonie Suriname," p. 6 (separate reprint). I possess a copy of

this work, but do not know from what periodical it is extracted.

³ J. Gumilla, *Histoire naturelle, civile et géographique de l'Orénoque* (Avignon, 1758), i. 174-178.

catch. On the eve of the day fixed for the expedition, at sunset, the comrades assemble round the hut of the most expert huntsman. The chief thunders out a chant in honour of the animal, the object of their desire, recites its history, and extols its virtues; then addressing himself to his friends, he chants the place of meeting, the attack and the victory, winding up with a boastful account of his own exploits and those of his predecessors. The principal objects of these litanies are the 'peccary, a small boar which only goes in herds'; the *palometa* and the *morocoto*, two delicious and delicate fishes, which are dried and preserved; and the *caribe*, another fish which they fry and make into a nutritious powder. He also sings to the manioc, the maize, and the banana called *platano*, which is dried in order to be kept." ¹ In this account the affiliation of certain tribes to certain animals, together with the belief in the transmigration of human souls into the bodies of beasts, are at least hints of totemism.

Incantations of the manioc, maize, and banana.

Some of the Indian tribes of Brazil are named after animals, plants, or other objects, and the nomenclature may perhaps be an indication of totemism. Thus among the Indians of the trackless forests on the Uaupés River, one of the tributaries of the Rio Negro in north-west Brazil, we find tribes named as follows:—*Ananas*, "Pine-apples"; *Piraiuru*, "Fish's mouth"; *Pisa*, "Net"; *Carapana*, "Mosquito"; *Tapiira*, "Tápir"; *Uaracu*, a fish; *Tucundera*, "an Ant"; *Jacami*, "Trumpeter"; *Miriti*, "Mauritia Palm"; *Taiassu*, "Pig Indians"; *Tijucu*, "Mud Indians"; *Arapasso*, "Woodpeckers"; *Tucanos*, "Toucans"; *Uacarras*, "Hérons"; *Pira*, "Fish"; *Ipecas*, "Ducks"; *Gi*, "Axe"; *Coua*, "Wasp"; *Corocoro*, "Green Ibis"; *Tatus*, "Armadillos"; *Tenimbuca*, "Ashes"; and *Mucura*, "Opossum." ² All these tribes are settled and agricultural: they cultivate manioc, sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, maize, plantains, bananas, pine-apples, and so forth; and they live in large well-built communal houses, which lodge many families or even a whole tribe. ³ "The

Tribes of the Uaupés River named after animals and plants.

¹ J. Chaffanjon, *L'Orénoque et le Negro* (London, 1889), pp. 334 sq. *Caura* (Paris, 1889), pp. 203 sq. (Minerva Library).

² A. R. Wallace, *Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio* ³ A. R. Wallace, *op. cit.* pp. 336, 341.

Their
marriage
customs.

men generally have but one wife, but there is no special limit, and many have two or three, and some of the chiefs more; the elder one is never turned away, but remains the mistress of the house. They have no particular ceremony at their marriages, except that of always carrying away the girl by force, or making a show of doing so, even when she and her parents are quite willing. They do not often marry with relations, or even neighbours,—preferring those from a distance, or even from other tribes.”¹ These customs afford an indication of exogamy. If that is so, and if the names of the tribes are based on a mystic relation between the people and the animals or plants after which they are named, we might conclude that the tribes of the Uaupés River have a full system of totemism and exogamy. But the evidence is too slender to support this conclusion. The men of these tribes appear to have a secret society, the mysteries of which are concerned with a certain evil spirit called *Jurupari*, who is the cause of thunder, of eclipses of the moon, and of deaths which we should call natural. At their festivals they play on certain flutes or trumpets, either eight or twelve in number, each pair of which gives out a distinct note producing a concert like that of clarionets and bassoons. This they call the *Jurupari* music. These instruments are surrounded with mystery; no woman may see them under pain of death. They are always kept at a distance from the village; and when they are heard approaching for a festival, every woman retires into hiding till the ceremony is over. It would be as much as her life is worth to have seen, or even to be suspected of having seen, the sacred trumpets. For such a sacrilege a father will not hesitate to sacrifice his daughter nor a husband his wife.²

Secret
Society
of the
Jurupari :
its sacred
flutes or
trumpets.

¹ A. R. Wallace, *Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* (London, 1889), p. 346. A more recent authority on the Uaupés Indians says of them: “Exogamy is the general practice. A wife is taken from a neighbouring tribe, but without capture or pretence of capture. Generally, the Indian of the Uaupés is monogamous.” See Henri A. Coudreau, *La France équinoxiale*, ii.

(Paris, 1887) p. 176.

² A. R. Wallace, *Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* (London, 1889), pp. 348 sq. For details of the religion of *Jurupari*, the festivals, and the sacred trumpets or flutes, see Henri A. Coudreau, *La France équinoxiale*, ii. (Paris, 1887), pp. 181 sqq. M. Coudreau is of opinion that this religion contains numerous reminiscences of Christian

Again, among the Indians on the Isanna River there are tribes called *Manivas*, "Manioc"; *Ciuçi*, "Stars"; *Coati*, the *Nasua coatimundi*; *Jurupari*, "Devils"; and *Ipeca*, "Ducks." Unlike the Uaupés tribes these Indians of the Isanna River do not live in large communal houses; each family has a separate house; and far from exhibiting a tendency to exogamy, "they marry one, two, or three wives, and prefer relations, marrying with cousins, uncles with nieces, and nephews with aunts, so that in a village all are connected."¹ In this preference for marriage with blood relations the Indians of the Isanna agree with other Indian tribes of South America, especially of Brazil. Thus with regard to the Indians of south-eastern Brazil, in the neighbourhood of what is now Rio de Janeiro, we learn from an early French settler that, while sons did not have intercourse with their mothers nor brothers with their sisters, "every other degree of relationship is there confounded, the uncle marrying his niece and the male cousin his female cousin, however near she may be to him. . . . The true and legitimate wives in this country are the daughters of their sisters, whom they call *Cherainditmebut*, that is to say, 'the daughter of my sister,' and *Cheremirekorem*, 'my future wife.' And on this it is to be remarked that as soon as the girls are born the maternal uncle takes them up from the ground and keeps them to be his future wife." If a girl refused to marry her maternal uncle and accepted another man for her husband, she was treated with contempt as a lewd woman; there was a special name (*souaragi*) for her; and her uncle could even divorce her mother (his sister) from her father, so that the girl was said to be without a father (*Toupu-éum*). Women divorced for such an infamous cause as the refusal of their own daughter to marry her own uncle sometimes killed themselves for shame and despair.² Indeed, where a Brazilian tribe lives dispersed in small isolated hordes or families, it is said that marriages between brothers and sisters are

Tribes of
the Isanna
River.

Marriages
with near
relations
among the
Indians of
Brazil.

Marriages
of men
with their
sisters'
daughters.

doctrines, such as the Immaculate Conception, the Passion, the Ascension, the forbidden fruit, and so on (*op. cit.* p. 196).

Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro (London, 1889), pp. 352 sq.

² André Thevet, *La Cosmographie universelle* (Paris, 1575), ii. 931

¹ A. R. Wallace, *Narrative of* [965] sq.

common. Tribes in which such unions are reported to occur are the Coerunas and Uainumas. "And in general," says von Martius, "it may be asserted that incest in all degrees is of frequent occurrence among the numerous tribes and hordes on the Amazon and the Rio Negro."¹

Tribes of
the Yapura
River in
Brazil
named
after
animals,
plants, etc.

Again, among the Juri Indians on the Yapura River, another tributary of the Rio Negro in north-western Brazil, we find various families or subordinate hordes which take their names from animals, plants, and other natural objects. One horde is named after the toucan, another after another species of large bird, another after a species of palm, another after the sun, and another after the wind. On the Pureos River there is a horde of these Juri Indians who take their name from cacao.² Similarly the Uainuma Indians on the Yapura River are divided into families or hordes, which take their names from animals or plants. Thus, two of them are called after two different kinds of palms, another after the bird *jacami*, another after the ounce (*Felis uncia*), and another after wood.³

The
Bororos
in Brazil
identify
themselves
with red
macaws.

Again, the Bororos of Matogrosso, in Brazil, identify themselves with red macaws; they say that the red macaws are Bororos, and that the Bororos are red macaws. They never eat a red macaw, and when one of the tame birds dies, they lament for it. But they kill the wild macaws for the sake of their gorgeous feathers, and for the same reason they pluck the tame ones.⁴ But this curious identification of themselves with the birds does not of itself constitute totemism, though it may be said to be totemic in principle. So much can hardly be said of the taboos which some Brazilian tribes observe in regard to the flesh of certain animals. Thus "the Coroados of the South will not taste the meat of deer, lest they should lose their rich black hair; or the protuberance on the neck of the tapir, which is the best morsel, lest they should lose the love of their wives. In the same way they avoid the

Some
taboos
on food
among the
South
American
Indians are
based on
sympa-
thetic
magic,
not on
totemism.

¹ C. F. Phil. v. Martius, *Zur Ethnographie Amerikas, zumal Brasiliens* (Leipsic, 1867), p. 116.

² J. B. von Spix und C. F. Ph. von Martius, *Reise in Brasilien* (Munich, 1823-1831), iii. 1236.

³ Spix und Martius, *Reise in Brasilien*, iii. 1208.

⁴ K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Central-Brasiliens* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 352 sq., 512.

meat of the duck and of the *cutia*, a very savoury rodent, lest their children should acquire big, ugly-shaped feet and ears. He who has shot the deadly arrow must not eat of the game if he would have steady aim and good luck for the future ; and the women also, to the evident advantage of their selfish, law-giving halves, are prohibited from the eating of many animals."¹ There is nothing to suggest that these and similar taboos are totemic ; some of them appear to be based on the principle of sympathetic magic. It is on that principle, and not from totemic scruples, that the Zaparo Indians of Ecuador generally abstain from heavy meats, such as tapir and peccary, but eat birds, monkeys, deer, fish, and so forth, "principally because they argue that the heavier meats make them also unwieldy, like the animals who supply the flesh, impeding their agility, and unfitting them for the chase."²

It is said that the aborigines of Peru, before the country was conquered by the Incas, worshipped many sorts of natural objects, such as rocks, hills, herbs, plants, all kinds of trees, and all kinds of animals, for example pumas, jaguars, bears, foxes, monkeys, dogs, serpents, lizards, toads, frogs, condors, eagles, falcons, and owls. Others "worshipped certain things from which they derived benefit, such as great fountains and rivers, which supplied water for irrigating their crops. Some worshipped the earth, and called it Mother, because it yielded their fruits ; others adored the air for its gift of breath to them, saying that it gave them life ; others the fire for its heat, and because they cooked their food with it ; others worshipped a sheep, because of the great flocks they reared ; others the great chain of snowy mountains for its height and grandeur, and for the many rivers which flow from it and furnish irrigation ; others adored maize or *sara*, as they call it, because it was their bread ; others worshipped other kinds of corn and pulse, according to the abundance of the yield in each province. The inhabitants of the sea-coast, besides an infinity of other gods,

Animals, plants, and other natural objects worshipped by the aborigines of Peru.

¹ Franz Keller, *The Amazon and Madeira Rivers* (London, 1874), p. 84.

² Alfred Simson, *Travels in the Wilds of Ecuador* (London, 1886), p.

168 ; *id.* "Notes on the Zaparos," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vii. (1878) p. 503.

People of different provinces worshipped the kind of fish which they caught in greatest abundance, as sardines, skate, dog-fish, gold-fish, and crabs.

Worship of a white sheep.

Some Indians of Peru claimed to be descended from lions (pumas), and others from condors,

worshipped the sea, which they call *Mama-cchoa*, or 'Mother Sea,' meaning that it filled the office of a mother, by supplying them with fish. They also worshipped the whale for its monstrous greatness. Besides this ordinary system of worship, which prevailed throughout the coast, the people of different provinces adored the fish that they caught in greatest abundance; for they said that the first fish that was made in the world above (for so they named Heaven) gave birth to all other fish of that species, and took care to send them plenty of its children to sustain their tribe. For this reason they worshipped sardines in one region, where they killed more of them than of any other fish; in others, the skate; in others, the dog fish; in others, the golden fish for its beauty; in others, the craw fish; in others, for want of larger gods, the crabs, where they had no other fish or where they knew not how to catch and kill them. In short, they had whatever fish was most serviceable to them as their gods."¹ Some of the Collas of Peru "thought that their first progenitor had come out of a river, and they held it in great reverence and veneration as a father, looking upon the killing of fish in that river as sacrilege; for they said that the fish were their brothers. They believed in many other fables respecting their origin; and, from the same cause, they had many different gods, some for one reason and others for another. There was only one deity which all the Collas united in worshipping and holding as their principal god. This was a white sheep, for they were the lords of innumerable flocks." Yet they offered up lambs and grease as sacrifices.²

The Chancas of Peru "boasted that they were descended from a lion, wherefore they adored the lion as a god, and, both before and after they were conquered by the Yncas, it was the custom among them, on days of festival, for two dozen Indians to come forth dressed in the way Hercules is painted, covered with lion skins, and their heads thrust into the skulls of lions. I have seen them so attired in the feast

¹ Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, translated by Clements R. Markham (London, 1869-1871), vol. i. pp. 47-

50 (bk. i. chapters 9 and 10).

² Garcilasso de la Vega, *op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 168 sq. (bk. ii. ch. 19).

of the most holy sacrament at Cuzco.”¹ Other Indians of Peru believed themselves to be descended from condors, and accordingly at festivals they dressed themselves up in the great black and white wings of these huge birds.²

and they dressed in imitation of the beasts or birds.

The Huancas of Peru, before they were conquered by the Incas, “worshipped the figure of a dog and had it in their temples as an idol, and they considered the flesh of a dog to be most savoury meat. It may be supposed that they worshipped the dog because they were fond of its flesh; and their greatest festival was the repast they provided with dog’s meat. To show their devotion to dogs, they made a sort of trumpet of their heads which, when they played at their feasts and dances, made a music that was very sweet to their ears; and when they went to war they also played on these trumpets to terrify and astonish their enemies, saying that the power of their god caused these two contrary effects.” When the Incas conquered these people, they destroyed their dog idols, forbade them to worship the figures of animals, and obliged them to make their trumpets out of the heads of deer instead of dogs.³

The Huancas of Peru worshipped the figure of a dog and feasted on dog’s flesh.

These accounts of the ancient religion and superstition of the Peruvian aborigines, which we have on the high authority of Garcilasso de la Vega, himself the son of an Inca princess, may perhaps be regarded as indications that these people had totemism or something like it. But the evidence is too slight to allow us to pronounce a decided opinion on the question.

These accounts furnish hints of totemism in Peru.

The report which Garcilasso de la Vega gives of the marriage customs of the Peruvian aborigines seems to shew that endogamy rather than exogamy was the rule with some of these people. He says: “In many nations they cohabited like beasts, without any special wife, but just as chance directed. Others followed their own desires, without excepting sisters, daughters, or mothers. Others excepted their mothers, but none else. In other provinces it was lawful,

Some aboriginal tribes of Peru contracted incestuous marriages with the nearest relations.

¹ Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, translated by Clements R. Markham (London, 1869-1871), vol. i. p. 323 (bk. iv. ch. 15). The animal referred to is no doubt the puma. There are

no lions in South America.

² Garcilasso de la Vega, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 156 (bk. vi. ch. 20).

³ Garcilasso de la Vega, *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 128 *sq.* (bk. vi. ch. 10).

and even praiseworthy, for the girls to be as immodest and abandoned as they pleased, and the most dissolute were more certain of marriage than those who were faithful. At all events the abandoned sorts of girls were held to be more lusty, while of the modest it was said that they had had no desire for any one because they were torpid. In other provinces they had an opposite custom, for the mothers guarded their daughters with great care; and when they were sought in marriage, they were brought out in public, and, in presence of the relations who had made the contract, the mothers deflowered them with their own hands, to show to all present the proof of the care that had been taken of them. In other provinces the nearest relations of the bride and her most intimate friends had connection with her, and on this condition the marriage was agreed to, and she was thus received by the husband."¹

The report of incestuous marriages among the aborigines of Peru is borne out by analogy.

The divergencies in the matrimonial customs thus recorded by Garcilasso de la Vega seem to shew that he was well acquainted with the facts; and accordingly we may accept with some confidence his statement that incestuous marriages between the nearest relations were common among many of the aboriginal tribes of Peru. We have seen that a similar state of things is reported among the Eastern Tinnehs of North-West America,² and that marriages between a father and his daughter are sanctioned by custom in some parts of New Guinea and Melanesia.³

Among the Mataranes of Peru the human dead were represented by dead ostriches. Perhaps the ostrich was the totem of the tribe.

The Mataranes of Paraguay celebrated an annual festival of their dead, and part of the festival consisted of a solemn procession in which each deceased person was represented by a dead ostrich. All the relations and friends of the departed who assembled on this occasion were expected to bring as many dead ostriches as they had dead kinsfolk to mourn. The festival lasted four days, and on the fourth day the dead were lamented for the space of one hour.⁴ It is possible that the dead Mataranes were supposed to trans-migrate into ostriches; and if that were so, the ostrich may

¹ Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, translated by Clements R. Markham (London, 1869-1871), vol. i. pp. 58 sq. (bk. i. ch. 14).

² See above, pp. 362 sq.

³ See vol. ii. pp. 40, 118.

⁴ De Charlevoix, *Histoire du Paraguay* (Paris, 1756), i. 462 (where 482 is a misprint).

have been their totem. This is merely a conjecture, but it is supported to some extent by the example of the Moluches or Araucanians, as we shall see immediately; for in that Indian nation there was an Ostrich clan, and the dead were supposed to live with the presiding deity of their clan, who in the case of the Ostrich clan might naturally be an ostrich.

The last people whom we shall notice in our survey of totemism are the Moluches, as they call themselves, or the Araucanians, as they are called by the Spaniards. They are a powerful and warlike tribe or rather nation of Southern Chili. The evidence that they had a totemic system is fairly strong, though it does not amount to a complete proof. In the first place they are divided into families or clans, which take their names from animals, plants, and other natural objects. On this subject the Abbé Molina, the historian of Chili, writes thus: "The names of the Araucanians are composed of the proper name, which is generally either an adjective or a numeral, and the family appellative or surname, which is always placed after the proper name, according to the European custom, as *cari-lemu*, green bush; *meli-antu*, four suns. The first denotes one of the family of the *lemus*, or bushes, and the second one of that of the *antus*, or suns. Nor is there scarcely a material object which does not furnish them with a discriminative name. From hence, we meet among them with the families of Rivers, Mountains, Stones, Lions, etc. These families, which are called *cuga*, or *elpa*, are more or less respected according to their rank, or the heroes they have given to their country. The origin of these surnames is unknown, but is certainly of a period much earlier than that of the Spanish conquests."¹ A later writer on the Araucanians gives as examples of their family

The Moluches or Araucanians of Chili are divided into families or clans, which are named after animals, plants, and other natural objects.

¹ Don J. Ignatius Molina, *The Geographical, Natural, and Civil History of Chili* (London, 1809), ii. 113 sq. The name Araucanians (Araucanos) has been bestowed on these Indians by the Spaniards, but they call themselves Moluches. According to Falkner, they are dispersed over the country both to the east and

the west of the Andes of Chili from the borders of Peru to the Straits of Magellan, and they may be divided into the different nations of the Picunches, Pehuenches, and Huilliches. See Thomas Falkner, *A Description of Patagonia and of the Adjoining Parts of South America* (Hereford, 1774), p. 96.

names *Hueno*, "Heaven"; *Coyam*, "Oak"; and *Lemu*, "Forest."¹

Each clan has its presiding deity, who lives in a vast cave under ground, and the dead clans-people go to live with him there. These clan-names and beliefs savour of totemism.

In the second place, the Moluches or Araucanians believe that each family or clan has its presiding deity. On this subject Thomas Falkner, who resided in their country for nearly forty years, tells us that "they have formed a multiplicity of these deities; each of whom they believe to preside over one particular cast or family of Indians, of which he is supposed to have been the creator. Some make themselves of the cast of the Tiger, some of the Lion, some of the Guanaco, and others of the Ostrich, etc. They imagine that these deities have each their separate habitations, in vast caverns under the earth, beneath some lake, hill, etc., and that when an Indian dies, his soul goes to live with the deity who presides over his particular family, there to enjoy the happiness of being eternally drunk."² These beliefs, taken together with the names of the families or clans, raise a fairly strong presumption that the Moluches or Araucanians have or once had a totemic system.

Form of capture of the bride at marriage among the Araucanians.

In their marriages the Moluches or Araucanians "scrupulously avoid the more immediate degrees of relationship";³ and the pretence of capturing the bride, which forms a regular part of an Araucanian marriage ceremony, may perhaps point to a custom of exogamy. "Their marriage ceremonies," says Molina, "have little formality, or, to speak more accurately, consist in nothing more than in carrying off the bride by pretended violence, which is considered by them, as by the negroes of Africa, an essential prerequisite to the nuptials. The husband, in concert with the father, conceals himself with some friends near the place where they know the bride is to pass. As soon as she arrives she is seized and put on horseback behind the bridegroom, notwithstanding her pretended resistance and her shrieks, which are far from being serious. In this manner she is conducted with much noise to the house of her husband, where her relations are assembled, and receive

¹ E. R. Smith, *The Araucanians, or Notes of a Tour among the Indian Tribes of Southern Chili* (London, 1855), p. 262.

Patagonia and the Adjoining Parts of South America (Hereford, 1774), p. 114.

² Thomas Falkner, *A Description of*

³ Molina, *History of Chili*, ii. 115.

the presents agreed upon, after having partaken of the nuptial entertainment.”¹

Amongst the Moluches or Araucanians, as among so many other Indian tribes, we find that a woman avoids the man who has married her daughter. Sometimes, we are told, this ceremonial avoidance is carried so far that for years after her daughter's marriage “the mother never addresses her son-in-law face to face ; though with her back turned, or with the interposition of a fence or a partition, she will converse with him freely.”²

Custom of avoidance between a man and his wife's mother.

¹ Molina, *History of Chili*, ii. 115 ² E. R. Smith, *The Araucanians*,
sg. Compare E. R. Smith, *The Araucanians*, pp. 217.
Araucanians, pp. 215 *sqq.*

END OF VOL III.



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